WEST BENGAL LEGISLATIVE
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Assembly Proceedings

Official Reports

West Bengal Legislative Assembly

First Session (Budget), 1950

(From 3rd February to 28th March, 1950)

3rd, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 13th, 14th, 16th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th and 28th February, 1950

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1950

GOVERNMENT OF WEST BENGAL.

GOVERNOR.

His Excellency DR. KAILAS NATH KATJU.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY, Chief Minister, Leader of the House and Minister-in-charge of the Home Department (excluding Defence-National Volunteer Force), and the Departments of Medical and Public Health, and Refugee Rehabilitation.

The Hon'ble NALINI RANJAN SARKER, Minister-in-charge of the Department of Finance, Commerce and Industries (including Cinchona).

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI, Minister-in-charge of the Education Department.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA, Minister-in-charge of the Local Self-Government Department.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN, Minister-in-charge of the Departments of Food, Co-operation, Credit, Relief and Rehabilitation, and Agriculture and Veterinary.

The Hon'ble HEM CHANDRA NASKAR, Minister-in-charge of the Forests (excluding Cinchona), and Fisheries Departments.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, Minister-in-charge of the Departments of Works and Buildings, and Land and Land Revenue.

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR, Minister-in-charge of the Departments of Irrigation and Waterways, and Home (Defence-National Volunteer Force).

The Hon'ble NIKUNJA BEHARY MAITY, Minister-in-charge of the Department of Supplies.

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR, Minister-in-charge of the Judicial and Legislative Departments.

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE, Minister-in-charge of the Labour Department.

The Hon'ble SYAMA PROSAD BARMAN, Minister-in-charge of the Excise Department.

WEST BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS.

SPEAKER.

The Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN.

DEPUTY SPEAKER.

Sj. ASHUTOSH MALLICK.

SECRETARY.

Sj. AJITA RANJAN MUKHERJEA, M.SC., B.L.

SPECIAL OFFICER.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA CHOUDHURI, B.L., ADVOCATE.

REGISTRAR.

Janab RAFIQUR RAHMAN, M.A., B.L.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS.

A

Abdul Wahid Sarkar, Janab. [Hooghly.]
Abdulla, Janab S. M. [24-Parganas Municipal.]
Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, Janab. [Muslim Chamber of Commerce.]
Abul Hashem, Janab. [Burdwan.]

B

Badrudduja, Janab Syed. [Jangipur.]
Bandyopadhyaya, Sj. Pramatha Nath. [Midnapore South-West.]
Banerjee, Sj. Sibnath. [Howrah (Registered Factories).]
'Banerjee, Sj. Sushil Kumar. [Howrah.]
Banerji, Dr. Suresh Chandra. [Calcutta and Suburbs (Registered Factories).]
Barman, The Hon'ble Syama Prasad. [West Dinajpur-*cum*-Malda.]
Basu, Sj. Hemanta Kumar. [Calcutta North.]
Basu, Sj. Jyoti. [Railway Trade Union.]
Bhandari, Sj. Charu Chandra. [24-Paganas North-West.]
Bhattacharyya, Sj. Shyamapada. [Murshidabad.]
Bhowmick, Sja. Bina. [Calcutta General.]
Bose, Sj. Sarat Chandra. [Calcutta South.]
Brahmin, Sj. Ratanlal. [Darjeeling Sadar.]

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*Parliamentary Secretary.

Note :—Sj. stands for Srijut.

C

Chakravarty, Sj. Satish Chandra. [Northern District Municipal.]

Chatterjee, Sj. Haripada. [Nadia.]

Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath. [Bankura East.]

Choudhury, Sj. Annada Prosad. [Jhargram-*cum*-Ghatal.]

Clarke, Mr. C. E. [Calcutta Trades Association, Indian Jute Mills Association, Indian Tea Association and Indian Mining Association.]

D

Das, Sj. Radha Nath. [Hooghly North-East.]

Das Gupta, Sj. Khagendra Nath. [Jalpaiguri-*cum*-Siliguri.]

*Dass, Sj. Kanai Lal. [Burdwan Central.]

De, Sj. Kanai Lal. [Bankura West.]

*Dolui, Sj. Harendra Nath. [Jhargram-*cum*-Ghatal.]

Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Niharendu. [Barrackpore (Registered Factories).]

G

Ganguli, Sj. Bepin Behari. [24-Parganas Municipal.]

Gayen, Sj. Arabinda. [Howrah.]

Ghose, Sj. A. K. [Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.]

Ghose, Sj. Bimal Comar. [Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.]

Ghosh, Dr. P. C. [Birbhum.]

Golam Hamidur Rahman, Janab. [West Dinajpur.]

Gomes, Mr. D. [Calcutta-*cum*-Presidency Division.]

Gupta, Sj. J. C. [Calcutta South Central.]

H

Haldar, Sj. Kuber Chand. [Murshidabad.]

Husan Ara Begum, Janab. [Calcutta.]

J

†Jalan, The Hon'ble Iswar Das. [Calcutta West.]

Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr. [24-Parganas, South.]

K

Kazem Ali Mirza, Shahibzada Kawan Jah Saiyid. [Murshidabad South-West.]

Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md. [Berhampore.]

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*Parliamentary Secretary.

†The Hon'ble Speaker.

M

Mahammad Syeed Mia, Janab. [Malda.]
Mahanty, Sj. Charu Chandra. [Midnapore Central.]
Mahtab, Sj. Uday Chand, Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan. [Burdwan Landholders.]
Maiti, The Hon'ble Nikunja Behari. [Burdwan Division North Municipal.]
*Majhi, Sj. Nishapati. [Birbhum.]
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Bhupati. [Hooghly-*cum*-Howrah Municipal.]
Mal, Sj. Iswar Chandra. [Midnapore South-East.]
†Mallick, Sj. Ashutosh. [Bankura West.]
Mandal, Sj. Annadaprasad. [Burdwan North-West.]
*Mandal, Sj. Bankubehari. [Burdwan North-West.]
*Mandal, Sj. Krishna Prasad. [Midnapore Centre.]
Mandal, Sj. Umesh Chandra. [Cooch Behar.]
Mohamad Rafique, Shaikh. [Calcutta North.]
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab. [Nadia.]
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Kalipada. [Calcutta East.]
Mudassir Hossain, Janab. [Birbhum.]
Muhammad Idris, Janab. [Howrah.]
Muhammad Qumruddin, Janab. [Barrackpore Municipal.]
Muhammad Siddique, Dr. Syed. [Bankura.]
§Mukherji, Sj. Dhirendra Narayan. [Hooghly North-East.]
Murarka, Sj. Basantlal. [Calcutta Central.]
Musharruff Hossain, Janab. [Jalpaiguri-*cum*-Darjeeling.]

N

Nandy, Maharaja Sris Chandra, of Cossimbazar. [Presidency Landholders.]
*Naskar, Sj. Ardhendu Sekhar. [24-Parganas North-West.]
Naskar, The Hon'ble Hem Chandra. [24-Parganas South-East.]

P

Panja, The Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath. [Burdwan Central.]
Pentony, Mr. L. R. [Anglo-Indian.]
Platel, Mr. R. E. [Anglo-Indian.]
Poddar, Sj. Anandilal. [Marwari Association.]
*Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta. [Midnapore East.]

R

Rai, Sj. Sheo Kumar. [Darjeeling.]
Ricketts, Mrs. E. M. [Anglo-Indian.]
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra. [University.]
Roy, Sj. Jajneswar. [Jalpaiguri-*cum*-Siliguri.]
Roy Singh Sarker, Sj. Satish Chandra. [Cooch Behar.]

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*Parliamentary Secretary.
†Deputy Speaker.
§Chief Government Whip.

S

Sarker, The Hon'ble Nalini Ranjan. [Indian Chamber of Commerce.]
Sen, Sj. Debendra Nath. [Colliery (Coal Mines).]
Sen, The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra. [Hooghly South-West.]
Serajuddin Ahammad, Janab. [Midnapore.]
Shamsul Huq, Janab. [Calcutta South.]
Sinha, The Hon'ble Bimal Chandra. [24-Parganas South-East.]

W

Walker, Mr. J. R. [Bengal Chamber of Commerce.]
Wilks, Mr. G. C. D. [Anglo-Indian.]

Z

Zaman, Janab A. M. A. [Hooghly-*cum*-Serampore (Registered Factories).]

THE WEST BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS

Official Reports of the First Session

(Budget), 1950.

Volume I—No. 1.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 3rd February, 1950, at 5 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 59 members.

Oath.

Mr. SPEAKER: Any member present who has not made an oath or affirmation of allegiance should come and take the oath or affirmation of allegiance.

The following members then took the oath or affirmation of allegiance:—

(1) The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy,
(2) Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh,
(3) The Hon'ble Bhupati Majumdar,
(4) Sj. Pramatha Nath Bandopadhyay,
(5) The Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri,
(6) Mr. G. C. D. Wilks, and
(7) Mrs. Edna M. Ricketts.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable members of the Assembly, before we start with the proceedings I would like to remind you that today is the first day when we have met after India's history has taken a momentous turn. Not only that we have shaken off centuries of foreign rule but also today a Republic, a people's government, has come into being, perhaps for the first time in India's recorded history. It is fit and proper that on this occasion we should remember the Almighty God in whose hands the destiny of the people lies and by whose blessing alone we can march forward for the fulfilment of our destiny. In order to mark the solemnity of the occasion and to remind ourselves of the mercy of the Almighty God I would request you, ladies and gentlemen, to rise in your seats and remain standing in silence for two minutes.

(Members rose in their seats and remained standing in silence for two minutes.)

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Please take your seats.

Panel of Chairmen.

Mr. SPEAKER: In accordance with the provisions of rule 7 of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly Procedure Rules, I nominate the following members of the Assembly to form a Panel of Chairmen for the ensuing Session:—

(1) Sj. Amar Krishna Ghose.

(2) Sj. J. C. Gupta.

(3) Janab Abul Hashem.

(4) Mrs. E. M. Ricketts.

Unless otherwise arranged the senior member among them present in the above order will preside over the deliberations of this Assembly in my absence and in the absence of the Deputy Speaker.

Arrival of His Excellency the Governor into the Chamber.

Mr. SPEAKER: Ladies and getlemen, His Excellency will be coming very shortly. A programme has already been circulated to the members of the House according to which I shall have to go with His Excellency to see him off after he has delivered his speech, but the Session will continue and after His Excellency has left the Chamber, honourable members are requested to keep to their seats, as thereafter a copy of the speech will be laid by me on the table and the respective motions, if any, will be moved.

[*At 5-12 p.m. the Secretary to the Assembly left the Chamber to receive His Excellency at the portico at 5-14 p.m. The Special Officer announced to the Hon'ble the Speaker that His Excellency the Governor was without.'*

The Hon'ble the Speaker then met His Excellency in the centre of the inner square under the small dome in the vestibule. His Excellency then entered the Chamber in a procession in the following order:—

Marshall with the Mace.

Special Officer,

Secretary to the Assembly,

The Hon'ble the Speaker,

His Excellency,

Secretary to His Excellency the Governor,

Aide-de-Camp.]

All present rose as the procession entered the Chamber and remained standing.

Mr. SPEAKER: I invite Your Excellency to take the Chair and deliver Your address.

Thereupon His Excellency took the Chair and delivered the following speech:—

Speech by His Excellency the Governor under Article 176 of the Constitution of India.

Members of the Legislative Assembly,

This Assembly meeting today will go down in the history of this Legislature as its first session in a Sovereign Democratic Republic. We have witnessed the Constitution of the Indian Republic ushered in on the

26th January, 1950, and in the midst of our rejoicing, it is fitting that we should give our humble and solemn thanks to God by whose Grace we have reached the glorious end of the historic progress of our country to complete independence. The deep significance to World History of India's inauguration as a Republic should not be missed. The Indian Republic forms a symbol of Asian unity, a unity which may have an everlasting influence in preventing conflicts and world wars. The Indian Republic will ever strive for peace, self-determination and social justice.

In this session you will be invited to approve a number of important measures. You will be asked to approve legislation to reform the electoral procedure and administrative organisation of the Corporation of Calcutta. Another Bill will be laid before you to extend the period of the temporary supersession of the Corporation of Calcutta in order to enable the completion of the preliminaries necessary for the introduction of the reformed Constitution.

Estimates for the public services for the coming financial year will be laid before you in due course and you will be asked to approve them in accordance with the new procedure laid down in the Constitution. You will also be asked to approve the supplementary financial measures for the current year at an early stage of the session for which the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, will be invoked. I am distressed to observe that owing to the financial stringency and the consequent curtailment of the development grants receivable from the Government of India, a number of useful schemes designed to promote the well-being of the people have had to be abandoned or their execution slowed down. It is my earnest hope that my Government will be able to resume the schemes or accelerate their execution at an early date.

My Government have been engaged for a considerable period in curbing the activities of anti-social elements which are out to create chaos and confusion in society. To meet these activities which are accompanied by organised violence, my Government have been forced with the greatest reluctance to take recourse to certain special powers which you will now be invited to approve. A Bill will be laid before you for the purpose. I am sure that the powers you will be asked to approve by legislation will be used only to the extent consistent with the security of the State. A number of allied measures for the speedy trial of some offences will also be placed before you. It cannot be overlooked, however, that legislation alone will be of little avail unless the people, by appreciating the nature of the problems before the country, co-operate with my Government in the administration of the laws.

My Ministers will do all in their power to develop to the fullest possible extent the food production of the State and make every endeavour to contribute to the realisation of the declared policy of attaining the self-sufficiency of the country in food. They will also continue to devote their earnest attention to the relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons in close co-operation with the Government of India. This is a matter which has been always on their mind.

It will be the constant aim of my Ministers to devise and carry out all possible measures for the amelioration of the condition of the people of the State.

My Ministers recognise the urgent need for reorganising the fire-fighting services in the State and legislation will be submitted to you to provide for a comprehensive scheme for the purpose. You will also be asked to approve the Secondary Education Bill which has been pending before you for some time.

A number of Ordinances promulgated before the commencement of the Constitution will be laid before you. You will be asked to approve their contents in appropriate enactments.

A Bill will be submitted to you for the control of house rents in the light of the experience gained in the past and of the recommendations made by a Committee appointed by my Government in this behalf.

Other legislative measures will be laid before you in due course for your approval.

I pray that Almighty God may give His blessing to your counsels.

JAI HIND.

[*His Excellency left the Chamber in the same order as mentioned on page 2.*]

Mr. SPEAKER: Ladies and Gentlemen. I have to acquaint the House that His Excellency the Governor was pleased to deliver a speech to this House this day of which for greater accuracy I have obtained a copy which is laid before the House for the information of honourable members.

Motion for an Address in reply to the Governor's Speech.

Sj. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU: Sir, I beg to move that a respectful Address in reply be presented to His Excellency the Governor as follows:—

"Your Excellency, we, the Members of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, assembled in this session beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Excellency for the most excellent speech which Your Excellency has delivered to this House."

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDHOPADHAYA: Sir, I second it.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I understand from a large section of the House that they do not desire to come tomorrow afternoon. I understood from you, Sir, that you would desire that the session should be held tomorrow afternoon at 3 o'clock. I understand from several groups that they are not very keen for meeting tomorrow afternoon. That is, Sir, for your information.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, we must have time to submit amendments.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I suggest Monday, Sir, at the usual time, half past three.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, let it be fixed at four.

Mr. SPEAKER: May I know as to what time should be given for receiving amendments?

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: We must have opportunity to know the text of the resolution.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: The amendments should be in the hands of the members at least by tomorrow afternoon some time, because they would like to consider the amendments.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Sir, we must have a copy of the text of the resolution.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. A copy of His Excellency's speech is being distributed just now and I believe that honourable members will be pleased to give their amendments tomorrow so that they may be cyclostyled and circulated amongst the members.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, this is a new procedure and we are not used to such things. In all humility I submit, Sir, we do not know the procedure. Sir, many members will have to look up the procedure followed in the Central Parliament, and for that, Sir, we should like a little more time. I humbly suggest that on Monday by 3 o'clock we shall give the amendments.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: If the amendments are put in on Monday by 3 o'clock there will hardly be any time for anybody to consider the amendments before coming to the House. So far as the resolution that has been read just now is concerned, a copy of it would be in the hands of every member by tomorrow morning and if the members want to put in any amendments they can very well do so so as to reach the Assembly by tomorrow evening, say, 5 o'clock.

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as His Excellency's speech is concerned I believe it is already in the hands of members. So far as the motion is concerned that will be circulated immediately, by tomorrow morning and I do believe that because the subject is of a general nature, the members will be pleased to put in their amendments by 5 p.m. tomorrow.

The House stands adjourned till 4 p.m. on Monday.

Adjournment.

The House was accordingly adjourned at 5-35 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Monday, the 6th February, 1950, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 6th February, 1950, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 9 Hon'ble Ministers and 56 members.

Oath.

Mr. SPEAKER: Any member who has not taken the oath may please come here and take the oath.

Mr. R. E. Platel then took the oath.

Obituary reference on the death of Sir B. L. Mitter.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, with your permission I beg to refer to the loss which the country has sustained at the death of Sir B. L. Mitter. Sir B. L. Mitter comes from an old family of Calcutta. He belonged to a group of students who were really head and shoulders above their competitors before and after. Men like Sir Nripen Sarkar, Sir C. C. Ghosh and others were his fellow students and from the beginning of his career in the bar he had shown practical wisdom and judgment of men and things which ultimately led him on to occupy the highest post that is open to a member of the profession under the Government, viz., Law Membership of the Government of India as also the Advocate-Generalship of India, and throughout the period of his work when he was associated with the Law Department either in his practice as Advocate-General of the High Court of Calcutta or later on, he exhibited the same sense of practical wisdom and knowledge of men and things which marked him out as a unique personality in this province. I cannot forget, Sir, I do not think those who know the history of that period can forget, the stand he took in April and May, 1947, when as Dewan of the State of Baroda he was the first man to raise his voice and decided that so far as his State was concerned—and he was authorised to say so on behalf of the Maharaja—they would unconditionally join the Indian Union and his example led other Princes and their Dewans to follow suit. I believe that in the process of mergership of the States with the Indian Union, the process of unification of India as a whole—India which belonged to the States and India which belonged to the British suzerainty—that Union was only possible because he had the vision and he had the courage to put this case before the joint session of the Rulers and their Dewans. He never budged an inch from the position he had taken in April and May, 1947, and we have now seen today the result of that forethought—India at last has become united so far as the States and what we used to call the British India are concerned. Till the last day of his life he never spared himself in giving his best to the service of his motherland. Whenever he was called upon to do public service, he was ready to accept the call. He for some time, as we are all aware, officiated as the Governor of this province during the temporary absence of Sri Rajagopalachari. He also became the President of the Committee appointed by the Chancellor recently for the purpose of looking into the affairs of the Calcutta University and I know for a fact that he did not spare himself, although he was advanced in age, in giving his best to the task that was imposed upon him. With your permission, Sir, I am asking on behalf of the whole Assembly to convey to the members of the bereaved family our sincerest condolences. May his soul rest in peace!

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I associate myself on behalf of the party of which I have the honour to be the leader with the sentiments just expressed by the Hon'ble Sri Bidhan Chandra Roy, the Prime Minister of West Bengal and the Leader of the House, and wholeheartedly support the condolence resolution that he has just moved. Sir B. L. Mitter belonged to that generation of Bengalee leaders who really laid the foundation of India's struggle for independence. He was, as the Hon'ble the Prime Minister has said, an honest and hard worker and as such till the end of his life he did all that was humanly possible for him to do in the making of new India. We all acknowledge with a deep sense of gratitude his contributions to the well-being of our motherland.

I offer my sincere and heartfelt condolence to the members of the bereaved family, friends and admirers. We have been losing one after another our great leaders. We feel that for the present generation it will be very difficult to fill the vacuum that his death has created.

Mr. C. E. CLARKE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of my colleague and myself I wish to express our deep sense of loss at the death of the late departed and to associate ourselves entirely with the words expressed by the Hon'ble Premier.

Mr. SPEAKER: I associate myself wholeheartedly with what has been said about Sir B. L. Mitter by the members of this House. During the early part of my life, as a lawyer I had to come in contact with him from time to time and found he was a giant in intellect and integrity, a sound lawyer and a good administrator.

Even at the age of 75 he was still going strong and keeping good health; and it was a big surprise to learn of his sudden death which took place on a certain morning. As a matter of fact, the State of Bengal—not only the State of Bengal but the whole of India—has lost in him a great patriot, a man of erudite scholarship, a man of sound judgment. Even at the time when he died he was the Chairman of the Calcutta University Enquiry Committee. I had a talk with him when he said that he had placed his services unreservedly at the disposal of the Government for whatever cause Government chose to utilise his services.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think you will pass the resolution of condolence standing.

(The honourable members rose in their seats.)

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, the Secretary will do the needful.

Point of Information.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: On a point of information, Sir. Could you tell me how many recognised parties and groups are there in this Assembly?

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as the office is concerned, we have been apprised of only one party of which Janab Abdul Hashem is the leader.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: What is the party known by?

Mr. SPEAKER: It will be better if the leader of the party will announce the name of his party.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: The name of my party is Parliamentary Opposition Party.

Amendments to the motion of address in reply to the Governor's speech.

Mr. SPEAKER: I propose to call the members who have sent in their motions to move them first and then the discussion may take place. That should, I believe, be the course which will be approved by the House. Motion No. 1—Mr. Jasimuddin Ahmed.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Sir, I beg to move that the following be added at the end of the address, viz.:—

"While expressing our disappointment at the failure of your Government to take adequate popular measures to avail of people's co-operation towards the removal of anti-social elements."

Point of Order.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Sir, I rise on a point of order. The point which I want you to clarify is this: About this debate we have not yet had any previous experience. There is nothing also in the rules as to how this debate should be conducted. There are conventions in certain other countries and I thought that since we have no rules and also no convention on this matter, we might as well try to develop a convention on the lines existing in the countries from which we have adopted this, and if that is so, I believe, Sir, that the question of moving the amendments might even come after the proposer and the seconder had moved the motion. If an amendment is to be moved at all, the privilege may be given to whoever happens to be the Leader of the Opposition. I do not know what procedure you want to follow in this matter and that is why I want the matter to be clarified.

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as the main motion is concerned, it was moved on the last occasion. Now I propose to call those members who have sent in these motions to move them and then I will call those gentlemen who have moved their motions to start the debate, and we shall follow the ordinary procedure of debate which we have been following throughout in connection with such matters. So far as the novelty of the procedure is concerned, we have been following the precedent of the House of Commons and I do believe that the members must be aware of that. Moreover, we can take some cue from what has happened in the Centre. Therefore, I propose to call all the gentlemen who have sent in their motions first, and then I will call each member who has already moved his motion to start the debate. After the gentlemen who have sent in their motions and moved them have finished, the rest of the members will start speaking.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I must admit that I have not been able to follow your enlightened ruling. I think what the honourable member to my left has suggested is that we might follow the procedure that is followed in other countries, that is to say, the honourable the Leader of the Opposition should initiate the debate on this motion. You have ruled, Sir, that the members should move their motions formally and after that is done the honourable the Leader of the Opposition may be given an opportunity to initiate the debate on all the amendments.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Sir, may I supplement by saying one word? I believe there is some reason why a particular procedure is followed in England where the Leader of the Opposition initiates the debate and then it is answered by somebody on behalf of the Government, and then the general discussion proceeds. This is done probably because the House in that case might know something about the Government policy. It is not always the Leader of the Opposition but it may be the Deputy Leader of the Opposition who initiates the debate, and it is not always the Prime Minister who answers it, it may be somebody on his behalf but having a very high position in the Cabinet.

Mr. SPEAKER: Unfortunately in this House we have not yet got a Leader of the Opposition and, therefore, that question cannot arise for the moment. We shall see to this matter later on, but in the absence of the Leader of the Opposition that privilege cannot be given to any other gentleman. I have, therefore, to follow the Order Paper and proceed with the

matter first and then call the gentlemen who have moved their motions one by one to go on with the debate, and then at the end the Government will reply to the debate and the matter will come to a close.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: On a point of information, Sir. There is certainly not a constituted opposition as such, but, Sir, there is a party in this House which has constituted itself into the Opposition Group or the Opposition Party as the House may choose to call it. In the absence of any constituted Opposition will the House be prepared to accept this only Party as Opposition and its leader as the Leader of the Opposition?

Mr. SPEAKER: Without meaning the slightest disrespect to the honourable member I should say that it is not a party. It is only a group consisting of several gentlemen. (A VOICE: Only nine members.) The question of the Leader of the Opposition will come when the opposition is properly organised, and the leader of that group which will be the largest majority among the Opposition groups will be regarded as the Leader of the Opposition. At present I cannot say who is the Leader of the Opposition and I shall be wrong if I do so. Under the circumstances I regret I cannot accede to this demand, and I would like to follow the procedure I have already indicated.

Amendments to the motion of address in reply to the Governor's speech.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Sir, I beg to move that the following be added at the end of the address, viz.:—

"But regret to find that no new policies have been enunciated to repeal oppressive measures, curtail costs of administration, provide adequate cheap food, hold election of the Corporation of Calcutta and bring in relief with a view to curb the unrest in the State of West Bengal."

Janab Syed BADRUDDUJA: Sir, I beg to move that the following be added at the end of the address, viz.:—

"But beg to express our regret that the speech makes no reference to the unfair allocation for the State under the Deshmukh Award, that it omits to mention any positive steps other than resort to special powers in combating the anti-social elements in the country, that it does not refer to minorities in the State and their rights and responsibilities, that it is silent on the unfortunate background created by partition—a background likely to affect the role of India in Asian unity as also against world conflicts and further that it ignores the forces generated by devaluation which has not merely brought about a deadlock in the general economic sphere, but is likely to affect the food position of the State as well."

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I beg to move that the following be added at the end of the address, viz.:—

"But regret the omission of—

(*i*) indication of any action being taken by the Government to have the development grants from the Centre increased,

(*ii*) mention of any policy pursued in rehabilitating refugees,

(*iii*) mention of Government policies, if any, to maximise the cultivation of jute in the State,

(*iv*) indication of any action being taken by the Government to bring down price of essential goods,

(*v*) indication of any Government action towards the abolition of Zamindari system."

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg to move that the following be added at the end of the address, viz. :—

"*But it is distressing to find that neither any beginning has been made nor any initiative taken to secure to the citizens of West Bengal* State the objectives of the august and great Constitution—the objectives being—

(*i*) justice—social, economic and political,

(*ii*) liberty of thought and expression,

(*iii*) equality of status and opportunity,

(*iv*) fraternity—assuring the dignity of individual and unity of the people of West Bengal,

by legislation on executive or administrative order or action or creation of organisation or making budgetary provision in this session of the Assembly,

but on the other hand steps are being taken to further curtail civil liberties, acts are continued to be done which are conducive to spread a reign of terror and corruption by executive and police action or inaction, especially in the Department of Supplies and Procurement and in the matter of protection of Mussalmans in the district of Murshidabad and other places,

and to find the total omission of social and economic and development plans or programme."

Mr. SPEAKER: With your permission before I start the debate I would like to ask Mr. Sibnath Banerjee to take the oath, for otherwise his red cap may create some confusion. (Roars of laughter.)

Oath.

The following members then took the Oath or Affirmation of Allegiance to the Constitution:—

(1) Sj. Sibnath Banerjee,

(2) Shahibzada Kawan Jah Saiyid Janab Kazem Ali Mirza.

Point of Information.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of information, Sir. এই ডিবেটে কত টাইম দেবেন সেইটা আমি জানতে চাই।

Mr. SPEAKER: The House has assembled and it will go on. We shall see to it later on. The debate is fixed for today.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: নতুন বিধানের পর নতুন প্রস্তাবের আলোচনা করতে আমার মনে একটু সংকোচ বোধ হচ্ছে। কি ভাবে করব, কেমন ভাবে করব তা জানা নাই।

আমার মনে হয় এই ধরণের আলোচনা করতাম, আমরা বাজেটের general discussionএ। তার কতক অংশ আজ আমরা এখানেই করবো। Constitutionএর ১৭৬ ধারাতে যা বলা আছে, তাতে গভর্ণরকে address দেবার কোন বিধানই নাই; কিম্বা সেই addressএর উত্তরে, তিনি যে কিছু বলবেন এই রকম কিছু বিধানও নাই। ধারাতে মাত্র বলা আছে গভর্ণর প্রথমে এসে এসেম্বলীর কার্য্য সম্পর্কে বক্তৃতা করবেন এবং সদস্যবর্গ সেই বক্তৃতার আলোচনা করবেন। কিন্তু আমাদের এসেম্বলীর নতুন procedureএ Speaker নিয়ম করেছেন যে গভর্ণরের বক্তৃতার উত্তরে ধন্যবাদজ্ঞাপক Resolution করা হবে। এই নিয়ম অনুসারে আমি একটা সংশোধন প্রস্তাব দিয়াছি।

আমার মনে হয় গভর্ণর মহোদয়ের বক্তৃতাটির সবই ভাল হইলেও তাহা অনেকাংশে অসম্পূর্ণ। যে উদ্দেশ্যে এসেম্বলী ডাকা হয়েছে তাহা এই দেশের মঙ্গল সাধনের জন্য বটে, কিন্তু বর্ত্তমান এসেম্বলীর জন্য যে কার্য্য বিবরণী দেওয়া হয়েছে তাতে দেখা যায় সে উদ্দেশ্যটি সম্পূর্ণ সফল হইবে না। দেশের মধ্যে একটা উৎপাত অর্থাৎ কমিউনিষ্ট নামক

…উৎপাতের একটা দল উপস্থিত হয়েছে, ইংরাজীতে এদের বলা হয় anti-social element. গভর্ণর …বাহাদুর বলেছেন যে এই anti-social element দূর করবার জন্য আইনের প্রয়োগই যথেষ্ট নয়। Security Act, Criminal Law Amendment Act যত কড়াই হউক না কেন তা যথেষ্ট হবে না, যতক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত না দেশের লোক স্বতঃপ্রবৃত্ত হ'য়ে এই উৎপাত দমনকার্য্যে মনযোগী হবে। কিন্তু আমরা দেখতে পাই পুনঃ পুনঃ বক্তৃতাতে এবং আমাদের মন্ত্রীবর্গের ভাষণে এই বিষয়ে দেশের লোকের সহানুভূতি বিশেষ দরকার, কিন্তু কি ধরণের সহানুভূতি, কি ধরণের সহায়তা দিতে হবে, তার কোন ইঙ্গিত দেওয়া হয় নাই। আমরা যতদূর জানি, পূর্ব্বে যখন দেশের মধ্যে কোন গোলমাল হয়েছে, আগেকার দিনে দেখা গেছে সেটা মেটাবার জন্যে আমাদের দেশে সমাজ ব্যবস্থাই ছিল যথেষ্ট। দেশের সমাজের কর্ত্তারা, মাতব্বর লোকেরা, আপনা হতেই সে গোলমাল থামিয়ে দিতে চেষ্টা করতেন। কিন্তু ইংরেজ গভর্নমেণ্ট ক্রমে ক্রমে আমাদের সেই সমাজ ব্যবস্থাকে খর্ব্ব করার জন্য এবং তার শক্তিটাকে হরণ করবার জন্য অনেক কিছু বিধান করেছে। গ্রাম্য পঞ্চায়েত প্রথাকে তুলে দিয়ে গ্রামের পাঁচজন মাতব্বরকে নিয়ে চৌকিদারী tax আদায় করবার জন্য নামমাত্র গ্রাম্য পঞ্চায়েত স্থাপন করে; তারপরে ইউনিয়ন বোর্ড স্থাপন ক'রে দেশের পঞ্চায়েতের দেশের তথা মাতব্বর লোকদের সকল শক্তি হরণ করবার ব্যবস্থা সম্পূর্ণ করে। এখন সেই আগেকার পুরাকালীন পঞ্চায়েতকে আবার যদি শক্তিশালী না করা হয় তাহ'লে উৎপাত দমন করবার কাজে দেশের লোকের সহানুভূতি বা সহায়তা চাওয়ার মানে হয় না। পঞ্চায়েতের কথা Constitutionএ বলা হয়েছে যে পঞ্চায়েতের কাজ এবং বিধানগুলি প্রাদেশিক Government করবে। কিন্তু বর্ত্তমান sessionএ যে সমস্ত কাজের ফর্দ্দ দেওয়া হয়েছে তাতে পঞ্চায়েতের কোন স্থান নাই। এই sessionএ এই রকম কাজের ফর্দ্দ করা উচিত ছিল। এই পঞ্চায়েতের মধ্যে এই কথাই প্রধান যে, গ্রামের লোকদের নিয়ে দেশের শক্তি দিয়ে দেশের লোককে সরকারী কার্য্যে, সুশাসনের কার্য্যে, প্রজারঞ্জনের কার্য্যে, লোকের সুখ সুবিধার কার্য্যে টেনে আনা। এইরূপ কতকগুলি বিধান, কতকগুলি সঙ্কল্প করা উচিত। যে পর্য্যন্ত তা না হয়, সে পর্য্যন্ত মাঝে মাঝে গ্রামের লোককে বলা আপনারা সাহায্য করুন, আপনারা সহায়তা করুন, co-operation করুন, এই সব কথার কোন মূল্য নাই। যদি দেশের সমস্ত কাজ গ্রামের এবং দেশের লোকের দ্বারা হয়, তাহ'লে তারা দেশের শাসনের মধ্যে সংযুক্ত আছে বলে মনে করতে পারবে।

এবার এই sessionএ যে সমস্ত কাজ করবার programme আছে, তাতে এই ধরণের কোন ব্যবস্থা নেই। কেবলমাত্র কতকগুলি কঠিন শাসন করবার ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে, এর মধ্যে গাদা গাদা বিল আছে, কেবলমাত্র …কে আমরা পুলিস জুলুম বলি সেই সমস্ত জুলুম করবার বিধান এবং সঙ্কল্প করা হয়েছে।

আমি সেই জন্য মূলতঃ এই প্রস্তাবের এই সংশোধনী প্রস্তাব দিয়েছি।

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are thankful to His Excellency for the speech that he delivered on the 3rd of this month, because, Sir, it afforded us an opportunity to place before you the public opinion as well as the reaction to that speech. Sir, with the establishment of a Sovereign Democratic Republic it was expected that a blind imitation of the bureaucratic system of administration will be done away with and replaced with something more congenial and compatible with our need and temperament, but the speech contains no such enunciation of policy.

Sir, in his speech His Excellency has mentioned that the Government will come forward to ask for an extension of the period of supersession of the Corporation of Calcutta. This is not news to us, because on the very first day when the Calcutta Corporation Supersession Bill was introduced I said that this supersession is not for one year but for many, many years, and the members sitting opposite laughed at my suggestion. Today, Sir, after two years we find that again the Government wants an extension for a further period of one year. I said, Sir, on that occasion that this election will not be held and cannot be held before the next general election and unless the party in power is sure of its seats the election of the Calcutta Corporation will not be held. The second reason was that the Government was anxious to provide individuals to responsible posts on account of previous commitment to provide them with seats in the Cabinet that this supersession gave them opportunity to fulfil their obligations. It was for those reasons that today after spending many lakhs of rupees we find that nothing new has come out of the Commissioner's report. I will not, Sir, go into the matter as I understand the Corporation Bill will be very shortly coming before us. I will mention

only this that the system which has been recommended is a novel system, again an imitation this time not of the United Kingdom but of America. None of the gentlemen who appeared before the Commission gave any evidence in respect of Council Manager Plan. Even those who were entrusted with this investigation did not care to take expert evidence or to go and see the system of working. It would not have mattered much if a couple of thousand rupees had been spent and if one or any of those gentlemen had gone to America to see how this system worked there and if it would be suitable for us to adopt that system.

Sir, we have been told by His Excellency that the Government have been forced with the greatest reluctance to take recourse to certain special powers which we will now be invited to approve. Again we are being asked to provide Government with some other new weapon to curtail civil liberties of the people. Have not we given enough power to the Government but with what result? We find, Sir, they have been not only unable to use those powers effectively but they have misused those powers. There is a lurking suspicion in my mind that more powers are being asked again to help them in coming election which will be held at the fag end of this year. We find that we have given more powers to the Government than the powers which we gave to the British Government. Today, it appears that the Province of West Bengal everybody has got bombs in his pockets just like the permits in the pockets of the Civil Supply Minister If there is any trouble anywhere, you find these crackers and bombs appearing immediately and instantaneously resulting in loss of property and life and resulting in confusion.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Did you say everybody has got bombs in his pockets?

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Yes. To me it appears.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Are you quite sure? Then you cannot go out of this House.

Shaikh MOHAMMAD RAFIQUE: I would ask the Hon'ble Premier to search his pockets.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: You better search yours first.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Sir, it has been said that all these activities are due to the Communists and they are responsible for all the troubles and anti-social activities that we are having in this province. I find it is not so. I have tried to analyse as to what are the contributory causes which have given place to this unrest. I find that unemployment in this province is increasing everyday. Food shortage, of course, it is there, and then there is refugee problem and inefficient police administration. Sir, we are having a series of troubles, riotings and firing and arson in the city of Calcutta since the 15th January. Only three or four days back we had trouble in Paikpara area near the house of one of the Hon'ble Ministers resulting in arson, loss of property and injury to many Muslims, Today, Sir, I hear there is again trouble in Batanagar resulting in the loss of life of a very prominent Muslim. We are having trouble in Kankurgachi, Belliaghata, Mirzapur and Bagmari areas. These troubles do not start at day time; they always take place at night. And as usual it takes time for the police to arrive. The police arrive not only one or two but sometimes three or four hours after the occurrence. Those who live near the College Street and Mechuabazar junction know how certain people, members of majority community, tried to interfere with the Kowali which was being held in the market there, resulting in loss of property and injuries to members of minority community.

We, Muslims, have all along shown that we are loyal to the State, much more loyal than many groups of the majority community. We have, by our

action, shown that when we have adopted India as our homeland we shall shed every drop of our blood for India, even though we have to suffer for it for the time being. Sir, we are molested and we are tortured. We have lost property and life. We have lost our business with no help from the Government. Still we stuck to the places not because we cannot retaliate, but because we do not want to take offensive action as any action on our side will be misinterpreted and misused. We take a passive view of the whole thing and watch with expectation if the State can give us protection.

Sir, we feel we are passing through a state of frustration in the hope that something will be done. I have placed all these facts before you today. Calcutta was one city where there was no trouble after the partition, and here, Sir, also today we have begun to feel that though we are citizens of free India, we are held here as hostages. If anything happens in any part of the other Dominion the repercussion is there for us. After all, if anything happens in the other Dominion, what have we got to do with that? Are we responsible for that? Have we not done everything that you wanted us to do, in order that the minority in the other Dominion may be given full protection? Sir, I want that the Hon'ble the Premier should give us some sort of assurance and, at the same time, bring in efficiency in the administration of the Calcutta Police? After all, we are all human beings, and as the Premier told us sometime back, he can of course issue orders, but men being what they are, they cannot remain uninfluenced by happenings in some other place. Communal passion has influenced police administration here. I have thought of a proposal which I do not know whether that is feasible or not. I do not know how far it would be practicable if we import police on a loan basis or temporarily from other provinces, which are less communal—for instance, from Madras. I have heard that during the last trouble in Delhi and in the East Punjab the policemen and the military from Madras were very useful in quietening the disturbances there. If this could be done, we could import a couple of thousand of policemen from Madras for the time being, because I feel that these policemen from Madras will not be so affected by communal temper as the policemen coming from East Bengal would be. After law and order and tranquillity have been re-established and restored in the city, these policemen can be sent back to Madras. Let us import policemen from other provinces where communal temper is not so high as in this province the police here is deeply affected by happenings in the sister Dominion. I have made this proposition without any reflection to the police force. I do not know how far this would be a practicable proposition, and whether it will appeal to the Chief Minister.

Regarding food shortage, we find that black market is there. It is very difficult to prevent it. Even the Government with all the powers has not been able to check it. You can buy anything in the black market at black market rate. The reasons are twofold. Those who can afford to buy food in the black market would not buy adulterated food for their children so that they may get diarrhoea or beri-beri. If they are prepared to pay a little more, they will buy unadulterated food. I wish it was possible for Government to sell rice and sugar at high prices to people who want to buy unadulterated foodgrains in the market. Let the Government sell at the rate of 200 or 250 per cent. or whatever price is deemed proper to such people. That will save some of the money which goes to the black market, and the money thus brought to the coffers of the Government may be profitably utilised in other nation-building activities or to meet the right cost of imported food articles. Sir, I do not know how far this suggestion of mine will find favour with the Government, but why should all this money be allowed to go to the black market when we can profitably make use of it and when it seems it will readily come into the pocket of the Government.

Then, Sir, there is the question of unemployment. As I said, unemployment is increasing every day, and the salary or remuneration which a Bengali here gets is quite inadequate and insufficient. Formerly with the

joint family system it was possible to run a house, but now it is not possible owing to the high cost of living and inflationary prices of essential commodities. Even the joint family system has cracked under the burden of high prices. The cost of administration by Government is high. If Government increase the salaries of people who are really efficient and put the other surplus people to some other constructive work, the cost of administration will come down. At the same time those who are getting very low salaries will be well off and they can make both ends meet. Sir, I find that people here are very lowly paid. For instance, an income-tax officer gets Rs. 275, a clerk in the Government Department gets Rs. 100 while a labourer here gets Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 3 a day. So, the rate of remuneration is very low, and that is one of the reasons why there is unrest in the province. The Government should seriously consider this matter and evolve a scheme so that middle class people can raise their standard of life.

Sir, at the end I want to draw the attention of the Government to the situation which exists in the city today—I represent a portion of this city. The Muslims are very nervous and panicky and the state of affairs, as it prevails today, has made them lose all hope of protection of life and property. The disturbances have resulted in the loss of trade. If Government find that they have not got sufficient police or efficient police, at least responsible people in public life should be given licences to retain arms. As I said, Sir, bombs and crackers and firearms readily make appearance at places where their existence is unexpected; unfortunately they are found in the hands of those who are law breakers and indulge in anti-social activities. Peaceful citizens who stand by law and order are denied the right to hold necessary arms to protect their lives. At least the Government can be more liberal in giving licences to the law-abiding and peaceful citizens and especially to members of the minority community, so that they can at least protect their houses and their women folk.

Mr. SPEAKER: I shall first call a member from this side (pointing to the Government benches) to speak before I call from that side.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Sir, the powers of the world are now divided into two sharp political groups, one dominated by Soviet Russia and the other by England and America. India to exert an effective influence between these two conflicting groups must have the good things of both and bad things of neither. Soviet Russia is not only communistic but also totalitarian and subtly imperialistic. So we should accept its communistic ideal and reject its totalitarian system and imperialistic policy. Anglo-America though democratic is also capitalistic and imperialistic. So we should accept the democratic principles of Anglo-America and avoid its capitalism and imperialism. Hence we should adopt and synthesise the communistic ideal of Russia and the democratic principle of Anglo-America and have democratic socialism, a more scientific expression for which is classless democracy and this the Congress accepted as its ideal at the Jaipur session of the Congress.

Sri SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, on a point of order. Dr. Banerjee যে lecture দিচ্ছেন সেটা খুব ভাল, আমারও খুব ভাল লাগছে। কিন্তু যে debate এর জন্য আমরা এসেছি, তার সঙ্গে এর কোন সম্বন্ধ এ পর্যন্ত পাওয়া যায়নি।

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you please allow him to develop his thesis?

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: If we can have classless democracy within a short time then only there is possibility of peace, prosperity and real democracy in India and other countries of Asia. After the victory of communists in China, practically in every country of the remaining portion of Asia there is sharp conflict between communist and anti-communist forces. The ultimate result of this conflict depends to a large extent on what we do in India. If we in India succeed by constitutional means to have

classless democracy in the near future, then the probability is that the anti-communist elements of other countries of Asia will forsake the communists and try to have classless democracy by peaceful means in their respective countries. So the early establishment of classless democracy in India is vital not only for us but also for the rest of Asia and the world as a whole.

Establishment of such a democracy is comparatively easy in India. Landlordism here is already an worn-out system. The landlords themselves seem to be tried of it. Industrialisation also is very little advanced. So there is not much hindrance to the abolition of landlordism and the nationalisation of industries. For the progress of the country towards prosperity also, the abolition of these two systems has become essential. Owing to age-long tradition of essential equality between man and man and also due to extreme poverty and long-continued oppression the people of this country have grown extremely averse to the systems of capitalism and landlordism.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, on a point of order. এই Houseএ স্বাধীনতা পাওয়ার আগে একটা নিয়ম ছিল যে written speach না পড়া। অবশ্য Finance Minister পড়তেন তার note নিয়ে। কিন্তু এখন দেখছি উনি পাতার পর পাতা উলটে পড়ে যাচ্ছেন। এটা কি in order.

Mr. SPEAKER: He is developing his point and he is taking the assistance of his notes.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: They sincerely believe that as long as these two systems continue there is no hope for the common man. This is the reason why in spite of the repeated appeals of prominent leaders like Panditji and Sardarji, production, both industrial and agricultural, is not substantially increasing. With a view to create the necessary mass psychology essential for increased production, a condition will have to be created in which the people will automatically feel that they have attained real independence and that they will be able to enjoy the fruits of their own production. This condition can be created only by eliminating all kinds of exploitation involved in landlordism and capitalism.

With the elimination of exploitation not only production will increase, unemployment will be on the wane, the living standards of men will rapidly improve but the menace of communism also will rapidly disappear. To eliminate this menace completely the Government should also be made more broadbased and thus really popular. This can only be done by having an early election according to the new constitution in which every adult has got a vote and the constituencies are very small. The Government which will be formed as a result of such an election will be considered by the people as their own and to defend such a Government against all sorts of communist menace the people will automatically exert every nerve and risk everything.

The displaced persons as a result of the peculiarly unfortunate positions to which they are put are likely to fall an easy victim to the communist prey. Hence it was the duty of the Government to rehabilitate them as soon as possible. It is really unfortunate that a large majority still remain unrehabilitated. The difficulty of rehabilitating them, though arduous, is not insurmountable. The displaced persons are not usually unreasonable. They know the difficulties of the Government. Hence they will be satisfied if they are given plots of land somewhere near Calcutta where they can build huts with some pecuniary help from the Government. As the Government was not sufficiently mindful towards their rehabilitation, a section of them has been forced to build huts in available vacant plots of land near about Calcutta. These huts are of a very tiny nature and indicate with how little these refugees may remain content, at least for the time being. From the way in which the re[illegible] themselves the Government should take a lesson and [illegible] up and doing [illegible]e matter.

ASSEMBLY ... LIBRARY OF ...

If these things are done, that is, if landlordism be abolished, if the tillers be made proprietors of the soil and the basic industries nationalised, and the worker be made practically the proprietor of the factory, and the worker be given a living wage and his working condition improved, then only will production increase, and the people will be able to realise the benefits of independence. Otherwise we will simply be a prey to forces called by His Excellency the Governor anti-social and which abound all round. So my humble request to this House is that we must be up and doing in everything in this direction; otherwise our independence which we have achieved after a long struggle will be short-lived and the democracy which we have established will not also be durable and we will be having some system of Government in which there will be no real independence of the people but a kind of dictatorship of the few. If we want to avoid these, we must do what I have suggested in this written speech, and it is essential that we should do all these within the shortest possible time.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, I am extremely grateful to His Excellency the Governor of West Bengal for having afforded us an opportunity to add to His Excellency's speech, this afternoon. The speech is worthy of his exalted office and of a great political and cultural background behind But I regret very much that it makes no reference whatsoever to the unfair allocation for the State under the Deshmukh Award. Undivided Bengal after years of struggle secured 20 per cent. of the undistributed proceeds of income-tax in the year 1936 under the Neimeyer Award: that too was reduced to only 12 per cent. under the arrangement of 1948. That has just been increased to 13·5 per cent. under the Deshmukh Award. It is really distressing to find that this State of West Bengal which, with her depleted resources, with her present problems of unemployment, of relief and rehabilitation of refugees, with seething discontent and turmoil due perhaps to her proximity to the burning cauldron of South East Asia, and to the problem of unemployment and the economic crisis which is fast deepening with her trade prospects greatly damaged by Partition and later on also by devaluation, needed all the greater encouragement, all the greater support, all the greater sympathy from the Centre, but she is thrown on the frosty side of neglect. How we wish that the President appointed the Finance Commission at an early date as provided in the Constitution so that this question might be reviewed in its proper implications as early as possible. This is a question of far-reaching importance and significance specially to the problem province of West Bengal and East Punjab. Sir, since our economy is shattered, we cannot undertake beneficial schemes which would be conducive to the welfare of the province. Because of our denuded finances we look to India to come to our rescue at this crisis of the State. Then again, Sir, mere resort to special powers without trying to remove the causes of discontent and unrest will not ease the tension or soothe the troubled waters in the least. Without trying to tackle the problems of soaring prices, of inflation and other causes of discontent which have been tackeld or are being attempted to be tackled by some other States in India our State cannot improve the situation at all. United Provinces has already resorted to—though somewhat fantastic—the Zemindary Abolition Fund, but this province is absolutely silent about the question of abolition of parmanent settlement, about reorganisation or revision of the land tenure system which has served as a chronic disability in the entire socio-economic structure since 1793. Sir, it would have been better if His Excellency's Government came forward with sufficient courage and vision to tackle these beneficial legislations at an early date so that this problem of unrest, the problem of discontent, the problem of ferment which has been affecting the province at large and the minorities in particular might have been effectively solved. Sir, we are here to co-operate with the Government in the best possible form provided only the Government took us into confidence. Let the Government and the public—all sections of the public—pool all their moral and material resources in building up a more

prosperous and more economically-sound Bengal so that this discontent might be a thing of the past.

Sir, it is really very sad that this magnificent speech of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal should not make even a passing reference to the question of unfortunate minorities of the State and their rights and responsibilities. Sir, I would not rake up the unpleasant past nor would I refer to it at this juncture when the Hon'ble Chief Minister is alive to the situation and has been taking all possible steps to bring the situation under control. A mere message to the Chief Secretary yesterday was enough to bring the situation in Birnagar under control. In Murshidabad, although the disturbances assumed very serious proportions, thanks to the definite directions issued by the Chief Minister and his Government, the situation was brought under control and the general public—all sections of our Hindu brethren—rose to the height of the occasion and saved the situation. We are grateful to them and we have publicly acknowledged our gratitude outside in the press. All that we feel is that the minorities, shorn of all power, denuded of all rights and deprived of all opportunities for self-expression, are pathetically clinging to a past which no longer exists for them. How we wish that consistent with the noble utterances—magnificent utterances—of our noble Premier Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Muslim minorities were once again rehabilitated in their proper positions in the administration, in the services, in all domains of thought, in all spheres of life, in all fields of activity. Woe for a leader of Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das's vision and imagination, of his creative talent, of his generous gesture, of his sympathetic approach to the problems of life, of his genuine urge-for soothing troubled waters. At this juncture the Muslims of India are passing through the crisis of the mind. I have repeatedly said in this House, Sir, as to my mind constitution or no constitution, safeguards or no safeguards, the character of the administration is always determined by the men at the helm of affairs, by men of imagination, men of vision, men of talent, men of sympathy, men of generous gesture, and also by men of efficiency, men of political sagacity and wisdom like the Hon'ble Premier Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy I am grateful to him. I feel that he is taking prompt action, but the disturbances seem to be in pursuance of an organised plan. Sir, public meetings are held in broad day light in the district headquarters and they are held under the inspiration and guidance of the Rashtriya Sewak Sangha and the Hindu Mahasabha and most inflammatory statements are issued to the press by responsible leaders. They have got to be checked. I do not see any reason why the Rashtriya Sewak Sangha which has ever thirsted for the blood not merely of the Muslims but thirsted for the blood of the greatest man of India and for the matter of that the Hindu Mahasabha with their aggressive violent communalism should be allowed to go unchecked and unfeterred. The Government of Bengal should take courage in both hands and ban these organisations and the mischievous activities of the irresponsible leaders of the province. We are here to pledge our co-operation to Government in the best possible form. Providence has placed us at your disposal. The problem of minorities has got to be tackled with softness, with love, with sympathy and consideration. I appeal to the Government of Bengal, I appeal to the Hon'ble Premier to rise to the height of the occasion as he has risen on very recent occasions—once again not merely to save the situation, not merely to arrest further deterioration but to prevent the malaise which has overtaken the entire society, to grapple with the root causes which have been responsible for all the serious complications which are poisoning the atmosphere. I have just now heard that in the Carmichael Hostel bombs were thrown by students. Some enquiries were made and ultimately, strange enough, we learn from the police that the students themselves threw the bombs on themselves. That is something astounding even to conceive of. Mr. Rafique was referring to only one death in Batanagar. The Chief Secretary and the Government of Bengal will however bear me out that there have been more deaths.

The press report that has appeared today says that there have been three deaths. How we feel? We feel insecure, we feel unsafe. We want security, guarantees for protection and immunity from organised hooliganism, organised vandalism—engineered under the protecting wings of some organisations. They have not yet been banned. Why these organisations? The Muslim League has liquidated itself. Why should not these communal organisations liquidate themselves in no time? In the interest of peace and harmony, in the interest of peaceful working of the administration, in the interest of efficiency of the administration, in the interest of fighting and combating the anti-social elements that are wide awake, in the interest of peaceful evolution of the constitution, let us hope that the Government of Bengal will rise to the height of the occasion as they have risen on recent occasions to protect the unfortunate minorities who have been placed in their hands. Sir, the Governor's speech does not refer to that unfortunate background that has been created by partition—the unfortunate background which has disturbed our social economy, the background that has disturbed our cultural hegemony and disintegrated our intellectual and political integrity. Day in and day out we find, Sir, that the situation is worsening. Thanks to the Hon'ble the Prime Minister of India, he is the one man who comes forward with that vision and observes that our relations with Pakistan must not be stiff, but must be friendly and that, however much the provocation may come from this side or that, we must try to face a situation like real statesmen. After all until yesterday we were linked up together geographically, politically, socially, culturally, economically and linguistically with our brethren in Pakistan with Hindus and Muslims over there. Their future and their interests are inextricably bound up with ours and if there is any repercussion, any incident over there, there is bound to be some repercussion over here and *vice versa* and only the innocent on either side will suffer for no fault of theirs. I suggest that both the Governments should come forward to co-operate with each other in the best possible spirit, in the spirit in which the Hon'ble Prime Minister of India made his magnificent utterance only the other day. For partition that has come about I will not blame the leaders now; we have blamed them so often. This partition has, however, created all the complications we have to face today. We had this from very confidential quarters I will not disclose their names. I had this from some friends who opposed and heroically resisted the miscreants in Murshidabad. They definitely said, "Remove some of the officers from the district and everything will be all right, replace them by officers who do not carry any prejudices, any passions, any legacy of bitterness from across the border, replace them by a better set of people, people who are not communal and do not inject communal poison in the atmosphere then perhaps the task of administration will be easier task and much smoother for improving the communal situation in Murshidabad". This is observation of some of my Hindu friends. I would appeal to the Hon'ble the Premier in that spirit, not in a spirit of rancour, not in a spirit of jealousy, not in a spirit of bitterness, not in a spirit of recrimination, but I would appeal to him in the name of humanity, in the name of the glorious traditions of India, in the name of the glorious contributions that Indian sages, Indian savants, Indian statesmen, Indian philosophers, Indian thinkers have made to the building of a new India, a happy India. Muslims and Hindus should feel that they are an integral part of the Indian Nation, that they are entitled to the same status, the same safety, the same protection, the same security and the same liberty.

Our Hon'ble Premier Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru expects India to be the symbol of Asian unity. I am afraid, Sir, uncertainty is still haging over the whole situation. I am afraid because of the unfortunate bitterness and misunderstanding existing between the two sides, the atmosphere is still surcharged with suspicion and distrust all over—I am afraid the economic crisis is fast deepening without any prospect of resolution of the tangle. I

find that power blocs all over the world are trying to compete with each other and to enlist the sympathy of nations in Asia and Europe. I doubt if India with all these difficulties, disturbances and complexities of the situation will be able to play that historic role in providing against that world conflagration which is fast approaching. Let us hope that in the name of all that is holy and sublime India will play her brilliant part—that India and Pakistan will compose their differences and their conflicting interest in the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi—in the spiit of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Let us hope that all these questions of devaluation and the resulting complications will be resolved in no time and that Mussalmans and Hindus of India will live as brethren and children of the same soil. When I was a member of the majority community in this House I said I did not accept any challenge from a brother to a brother, from a friend to a friend—from a colleague to another colleague in the house. I would appeal to the majority in the same spirit today. I would appeal to the majority community who have been entrusted with the task of administration to come forward with that gesture for peace, for reconciliation, for amity and friendship which is the cry of the moment.

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE : মাননীয় সভাপাল মহাশয়, অরাজকতা বন্ধ না হইলে, নিয়ম শৃঙ্খলা বজায় না থাকিলে, দেশকে গড়িবার কাজ সফল হইবে না। যাঁহারা অনিয়মতান্ত্রিকতার পথে, খুন ডাকাতি বোমা পিস্তলের পথে, রাষ্ট্র ব্যবস্থার পরিবর্ত্তন আনিতে চাহিতেছেন তাঁহারা দেশের শত্রুতা করিতেছেন। তবে কেবল দমননীতির দ্বারাই এইগুলি দূর করা যাইবে বলিয়া আমি মনে করি না। আমাদের নৈতিক জয়লাভ করিতে হইবে। কংগ্রেসের সত্যকার আদর্শ খুব জোরের সঙ্গেই কংগ্রেস বহুবার ঘোষণা করিয়াছেন। কৃষক-প্রজা-মজুররাজ প্রতিষ্ঠাই কংগ্রেসের কাম্য। যদি দেশের লোকের আমরা প্রত্যয় জন্মাইতে পারি যে আমাদের আদর্শ নিষ্ঠায় ফাঁকি নাই, আমরা কংগ্রেস নির্দিষ্ট পথে শ্রেণীহীন সমাজ প্রতিষ্ঠার জন্যই আমাদের সকল শক্তি নিয়োজিত করিয়া আপ্রাণ চেষ্টা করিতেছি, তাহা হইলে তাহারা আমাদের আগে নিশ্চয়ই দাঁড়াইবে। সমস্যা বহুবিধ। সমস্যা জটিল ও সুকঠিন। আপ্রাণ চেষ্টা করিয়াও সিদ্ধিলাভ করা সব সময় সম্ভব নয়, কিন্তু তাহাতেও ক্ষতি আসিয়া যাইত না। দেশের লোক নিতান্ত নির্ব্বোধ নহে। তাহারা দেখিতে চাহে আমরা কথা ও কাজে এক কিনা। আমি বিশ্বাস করি অরাজকতা দমন করিতে তাহারা নিজেরা অগ্রসর হইবে, যদি এই বিশ্বাস তাহাদের মনে আমরা জন্মাইতে পারি। নতুবা কেবল দমননীতি চালাইয়া আমরা কি করিব। আমরা চিরদিন মাথাভারী শাসন ব্যবস্থার নিন্দা করিয়াছি। জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদ করিব বলিয়া ঘোষণা করিয়াছি। চোরাকারবারীদের ফাঁসি দিব বলিয়াছি। ঘুষ, দুর্নীতি, ক্ষমতা হাতে পাইলে কেমন করিয়া ধ্বংস করিতে হয় তাহাও দেখাইব বলিয়াছি। কৃষক, প্রজা ও মজুরই আমাদের প্রভু—ধনিক ও পুঁজিবাদীরা নহে। ইহাও আমরা বহুবার বলিয়াছি। কিন্তু আমার ভয় হইতেছে ক্রমশঃই যেন আমরা লোকের বিশ্বাস হারাইতেছি। তাহারা আমাদের কথায় ও কাজে ঐক্য খুঁজিয়া পাইতেছে না।

ভারতবর্ষের সর্ব্বপ্রধান দুইটি শিল্প—বস্ত্র ও পাট। বস্ত্র আভ্যন্তরিক শিল্পের সর্ব্বশ্রেষ্ঠ। পাট রপ্তানি শিল্পের সর্ব্বশ্রেষ্ঠ। আমরা পাটের দ্বারা আমেরিকার ডলার পাইয়া থাকি। খাদ্য ও যন্ত্রপাতি খরিদ এই ডলার দ্বারা সম্ভব। এই পাট শিল্পের প্রধান স্তম্ভ হইতেছে এ দেশের লক্ষ লক্ষ কৃষক, মজুর ও মধ্যবিত্ত ঘরের লোক। অথচ পশ্চিমবঙ্গের এই সর্ব্বপ্রধান শিল্পটি দলিত হচ্ছে মুষ্টিমেয় কয়েকটি ধনিকের স্বার্থে। সব রকম দুর্নীতিই দেখা দিয়েছে পাট শিল্পে। পাট শিল্পের সঙ্কট যতই গুরুতর হচ্ছে ততই ধনিকেরা এই শিল্পটিকে দোহন করে নিজেদের লাভের অঙ্ক বাড়াবার জন্য সব রকম অপচেষ্টারই আশ্রয় নিচ্ছেন।

কিছুদিন পূর্ব্বে ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রী স্লোগান দিলেন "Produce or Perish", লক্ষ লক্ষ পাটচাষী ইহাতে সাড়া দিল। তাহারা যত জমিতে পাট বুনিত তদপেক্ষা অনেক অধিক জমিতে পাট বুনিল, কিন্তু মিল মালিকগণ ঠিক ইহার উল্টা কাজ আরম্ভ করিলেন। তাহারা পাটজাত দ্রব্যের উৎপন্ন খুবই কমাইয়া দিলেন। ১৯৪৯ সালের জুন মাসে তাহারা ১২½ পারসেণ্ট হেসীয়ান লুম্ seal করিয়া দিলেন। পরবর্তী মাস হইতে মিলগুলিকে প্রতি-মাসে এক সপ্তাহ করিয়া বন্ধ করিয়া রাখিবার সিদ্ধান্ত করিলেন। ফলে সঙ্গে সঙ্গে Jute crisis উপস্থিত হইল। পাটজাত দ্রব্যের দর যখন ১৯৪৮ সালের মতই চড়া রহিল তখন কাঁচা পাটের দর শতকরা ২৫৲ টাকা কমিয়া গেল।

(At this stage the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

SJ. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: আমি বলছিলাম—কাঁচা পাটের দর শতকরা ২৫৲ টাকা কমিয়া গেল। ফলে পাট চাষীদের বহু কোটী টাকা লোকসান হইল। চাষীরা পাট বিক্রয় করিয়া খাইবার ধান খরিদ করিয়া থাকে। সুতরাং তাহাদের এই লোকসান কমানোর মানে ধনিকদের স্বার্থে তাহাদের জোর করিয়া অভুক্ত রাখা। মিল-মালিকগণ উৎপন্ন বন্ধ করিবেন, আর সরকার চাষীদিগকে পাট চাষ বাড়াইতে উৎসাহিত করিবেন। ফলে পাটজাত দ্রব্যের দাম চড়িয়া মিল-মালিকগণের সুবিধা হইবে এবং কাঁচা পাটের দর কমিয়া পাটচাষীর সর্বনাশ হইবে। এ ব্যবস্থা চমৎকার নহে কি? এ সকল কথা devaluation এর পূর্ব্বের কথা, তখন বাজারে অবাধে পাকিস্তানী পাট আসিত।

পৃথিবীর প্রত্যেক সরকার, যেমন আমেরিকা, ইংলণ্ড, কানাডা, অষ্ট্রেলিয়া, চাষীদের উৎপন্ন ফসলের জন্য প্রয়োজন হইলে subsidy দেন এবং ফসলের দর নির্দ্দিষ্ট মাত্রা হইতে কমিয়া গেলে সরকার হইতে বাঁধাদরে সরকার নিজেই খরিদ আরম্ভ করেন। ভারত সরকারের Prices Sub-Committee Sri Krishnamachari Reportএ জোরের সহিত উৎপন্ন ফসলের উপযুক্ত সর্বনিম্ন দর বাঁধিয়া দিবার সুপারিশ করিয়াছেন। Indian Central Jute Committeeও পাটের ব্যাপারে পাটের সর্বনিম্ন দর বাঁধিয়া দিবার জন্য জোর সুপারিশ করিলেন। ১৯৪৮-৪৯ সালে পাটের রপ্তানী শুল্ক বাবদ সরকার ৮ কোটী টাকা পাইয়াছেন। সুতরাং কৃষকদের সংকটের সময় কেন সরকার কৃষকদের সাহায্যে অগ্রসর হইবেন না? বিদেশ হইতে উচ্চমূল্যে খাদ্য আমদানী করিতে সরকার বহুকোটী টাকা ব্যয় করেন। এর সামান্য কিছু subsidy দিলে কৃষকগণ ফসল ফলানোর কাজে আপ্রাণ চেষ্টা করিতে পারে। তাহা হইলে দেশের ফসলেই দেশের চাহিদা মিটিতে পারে। আর এই পাটের ব্যাপারেই বড়ই দুঃখের সঙ্গে বলিতে হইতেছে আমাদের প্রজাতন্ত্রী সরকার মিল-মালিকগণের কথাই বেশী শোনেন।

পাটচাষীদের সংঘ নাই। কিন্তু মিল-মালিকগণ সংঘবদ্ধ। তাহাদের সংঘের নাম Indian Jute Mills Association. এই সময় তাহারা Indian Jute Mills Association এক অপরিণামদর্শিতার কাজ করিলেন। যে হাঁস সোনার ডিম পাড়ে তাহার পেট চেরার আয়োজন তাঁহারা করিলেন। তাঁহারা সরকারের উপর চাপ দিয়ে এই ব্যবস্থা করিয়া লইলেন যে অতঃপর মফঃস্বল হইতে কলিকাতায় পাট আনিতে রেলকর্ত্তৃপক্ষ একমাত্র মিল-মালিকগণকেই মালগাড়ী দিবেন। Baler বা অন্য কোন ব্যবসায়ীই কোন মালগাড়ী পাইবেন না। এদিকে মিল-মালিকগণ নিজেদের মধ্যে Gentlemen's Agreement করিয়া মফঃস্বলে পাট কেনা বন্ধ করিয়া দিলেন। তাহাদের এই dog in the manger policyর জন্য পাটচাষীদের দারুণ সর্বনাশ উপস্থিত হইল। পাটের দর অসম্ভবরূপে কমিয়া গেল। যেখানে ধানের দরের তিন গুণ পাটের দর থাকা কর্ত্তব্য, সেখানে উহা স্থানে স্থানে ধানের দরের নীচে পর্য্যন্ত চলিয়া আসিল, তাহারা মা'রের উপর মা'র খাইল। কৃষক প্রতিনিধিদের চাপে পড়িয়া সরকার সাময়িকভাবে এই ব্যবস্থা রদ করিয়া দিতে বাধ্য হন। শুনা যাইতেছে মিল-মালিকগণ আবার এই ব্যবস্থা প্রবর্ত্তনের চেষ্টায় আছে। মিল-মালিকগণ যদি ক্ষুদ্র স্বার্থে অন্ধ না হইয়া সময়কালে পাট কিনিয়া যথেষ্ট পাট মজুদ করিয়া রাখিতেন, তাহা হইলে আজ devaluationএর পর পাট শিল্পের কত না ভাল হইত। পাটচাষীদের দারুণ সঙ্কটের সময় devaluationএর গোলযোগে পাকিস্থানী পাট আমদানী বন্ধ হওয়ায় এদেশের চাষীগণ দৈব কারণে কিঞ্চিৎ রক্ষা পাইল। কিন্তু তাহা হইলেও পাটের দাম ১৯৪৮ সালের দাম অপেক্ষা কম। Indian Central Jute Committeeর নিজস্ব পাঁচটা কেন্দ্রের হিসাব হইতে উদ্ধৃত করিতেছি। ইহা হইতে বুঝা যাইবে প্রত্যেক স্থানে ১৯৪৮ অপেক্ষা ১৯৪৯ সালে পাটের দর কম।

	১৯৪৮ মন করা।	১৯৪৯ মন করা।
মোনহরপুর	৩৫৷৷০	৩১৵০
বেলাকোবা	৩৩৸০	৩২/০
পুর্ণিয়া	২৯।৵০	২৮৸০
কেন্দ্রাপাড়া	৩৪/০	২৯৷৷০
নওগাঁ	২৮।৵০	২৮/০

ঠিক এই কয়টা কেন্দ্রে চাউলের দর অসম্ভব চড়া। কোন কেন্দ্রেই চাষী এক মণ পাট বিক্রয় করিয়া দেড় মণ চাউল খরিদ করিতে পারে না। অথচ পাট ও চাউলের দরের অনুপাত অন্ততঃ ১ : ১$\frac{১}{২}$ হওয়া উচিত। ইহা সর্ববাদীসম্মত।

Devaluationএর পরে পশ্চিম বঙ্গে পাট পাটজাত দ্রব্যের দাম যে ভাবে বেঁটে দেওয়া হয়েছে—তাতেও গভর্ণমেণ্ট পরোক্ষভাবে মিল-মালিক ও বণিক ব্যবসায়ীদের দুর্নীতির প্রশ্রয় দিচ্ছে। তারা ভাল উদ্দেশ্যে devaluation করিয়াছেন, তাঁরা টাকার মূল্য হ্রাস করিয়াছেন। আমেরিকার বাজারে যাতে ভারতের জিনিষ সস্তায় বিক্রি হয় এবং এই উদ্দেশ্যে বাংলার পাটের চড়া দর বাঁধা হয়েছে। কিন্তু চটকলের মালিকগণ সব বানচাল করেছেন। সরকারের চোখের সামনেই কলিকাতার মহানগরীতে পাটজাত দ্রব্যের একটা প্রকাণ্ড কালোবাজার চলিতেছে। কলিকাতার মিল মালিকরা আমেরিকায় নিজেদের অফিস খুলিয়াছেন এবং ভারতবর্ষ হইতে তথাকথিত control দরে পাটজাত দ্রব্য চালান দিতেছেন তাহাদের নিজেদের অফিসের নামে অথবা নিজেদের এজেণ্টের নামে। আমেরিকায় পাটজাত দ্রব্যের উপর কোনও control না থাকায় তাঁরা উঁচুদরে এই সব জিনিষ সেখানে বিক্রয় করিতেছেন। এই ভাবে গভর্ণমেণ্টকে তাঁহারা ঠকাইতেছেন এবং সমস্ত দেশের সর্ব্বনাশ করিতেছেন। আমেরিকার পাটজাত দ্রব্যের দাম কম হওয়া দূরের কথা এখন তাহা devaluationএ পূর্ব্বাপেক্ষাও অনেক বেশী; হয়ত substitute আসিয়া বাজার দখল করিবে এবং পাট শিল্প ধ্বংস হইবে। চাষী ঠকিল, জাতি ঠকিল, সাময়িক লাভ হইল মিল-মালিকদের। আসাম সরকার চাষীদের স্বার্থের জন্য পাটের নিম্নদর বাঁধিয়া দিয়াছেন, আমরা কিন্তু আজও তাহা করি নাই, পাটের উচ্চ দর বাঁধিয়াই ক্ষান্ত হইয়াছি। কৃষকদের স্বার্থের জন্য অনতিবিলম্বে আমাদের পাটের নিম্নদরও বাঁধিয়া দেওয়া দরকার। আর পাট শিল্প এখন জাতির এত বেশী প্রয়োজনীয় শিল্প তখন প্রজাতন্ত্র সরকারের জাতীয় কল্যাণের জন্য এই শিল্পকে জাতীয় সম্পত্তিতে পরিণত করা দরকার। যেমন রেলওয়ে জাতির সম্পত্তি ঠিক তেমনি পাট শিল্পও প্রজাতন্ত্র সরকারের নিজস্ব হওয়া উচিৎ। সুনির্দ্দিষ্ট পরিকল্পনা নিয়ে আজ সমবায় প্রথার সাহায্যে কৃষক-প্রজা-মজুরের সাহায্যে যদি আমরা অগ্রসর হই তাহা হইলেই দেশের জনসাধারণ নিশ্চয়ই আমাদের পিছনে দাঁড়াইয়া দেশে যাহারা অরাজকতা সৃষ্টি করিতে চাহিতেছেন তাঁহাদের সকলকেই ধিক্কার দিবেন।

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the subject-matter of the motion demands that either you should criticise the Government for doing something or for not doing something. The speech should be confined to that object.

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: আমি আর একটু সময় নেব। আমি short করেই বলছি। আমাকে আরও পাঁচ মিনিট সময় দিতে হবে।

আজ কয়েক কোটি লোক ভারতীয় যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে Co-operative Commonwealth প্রতিষ্ঠানই তাদের লক্ষ্য এই কথা অঙ্গীকার করিয়া কংগ্রেস সদস্য হইয়াছেন। দেশের সর্ব্বত্র এই কংগ্রেস গভর্ণমেণ্টই বর্ত্তমান। তথাপি সমবায় প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলি বিমাতার স্নেহ পাইতেছেন। এবং এই সঙ্গে লাল ফিতা "Red tape"ও পূর্ব্বের ন্যায় কিরূপ বিদ্যমান তাহা আমার জেলায় যাহা ঘটিতেছে তাহা হইতেই বেশ বুঝিতেছি। আমার জেলায় দেখিতেছি যদি কোন সমবায় প্রতিষ্ঠান কোন কিছুর প্রার্থী হইয়া উপস্থিত হন তবে সেই প্রতিষ্ঠান সুযোগ লাভ করে না—সুযোগ লাভ করে কোন দলীয় ব্যক্তি। সমবায় অপেক্ষা প্রিয়জন যদি উর্দ্ধে স্থান পান তবে সমবায় গড়িবে কি করিয়া? যে সরকারের এ সম্বন্ধে কোন সুনির্দ্দিষ্ট নীতি নাই তাঁহারা Co-operative Commonwealthই বা গড়িবেন কি করিয়া? আমার জেলায় সরকার ঠিক করিলেন Customsএর আটক করা কাপড়গুলি সমবায় সমিতিগুলিকে দেবেন। কেন না সমবায় সমিতিগুলি যখন Ration Cardএর উপর কাপড় বিলি করেন তখন কাপড়গুলি অন্ততঃ পাকিস্থানে পুনরায় চলিয়া যাইবে না। বিভিন্ন প্রতিষ্ঠানকে এই জন্য ট্রেজারীতে টাকা জমা দিতে বলা হইল এবং তাঁহারাও দিলেন। এ হইল ১৯৪৮ সালের অক্টোবর মাসের কথা। অনেক সমিতিই প্রথম দফায় ৫,০০০৲ টাকা করে জমা দিলেন। তারপর সকল সমিতিই কাপড়ের জন্য রাণাঘাটে গমন করিলেন। সেখানেই Customsএর গুদাম। আজ নয় কাল, কাল নয় পরশু, এই রকম সকলকে মাসাধিককাল হয়রাণি করিয়া বলা হল কাপড় দেওয়া হবে না। যখন তারা টাকা ফেরৎ চাহিল তখন আর এক হয়রাণি আরম্ভ হল। জেলা ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেটের কাছে গেলাম। তিনি বললেন "Treasury should be treated as Banks"। টাকা জমা দেওয়া ও তোলার সেখানে কোন হাঙ্গামা হওয়া উচিত নয়। কিন্তু Customs কাউকে পরোয়া করে না। টাকা তোলার কোন সুরাহাই হইল না। মন্ত্রীকে বলিলাম। Provincial Civil Supply Advisory Boardএ কয়েকবার একথা উত্থাপন করিলাম। সকলেই হার মানিলেন। Customs India Governmentএর। কাউকে পরোয়া করে না। অবশেষে পণ্ডিত জহরলাল নেহেরু যখন বাঙ্গলায় এলেন, তখন তাহাকে সব নিবেদন করিয়া ৮৬ হাজার টাকা যা আমাদের জেলার সকলের প্রাপ্য তার একটা list তাঁর হাতে দিলাম। কিন্তু ধন্য Customs। আজ এক বৎসর চার মাসের উপর হইল, আজও এই সকল টাকার সুরাহা হইল না। এখন ভাবুন একটা গ্রাম্য

সমবায় সমিতি ৫,০০০৲ টাকা জমা দিয়া কাপড়ও পেল না। আর এমনি Red tape যে এক বৎসর চার মাসে সে টাকা উঠাইতে পারিল না। একটা সমবায় সমিতির শক্তি কতটুকু! এতগুলি টাকা তাদের এতদিন অকারণ সরকারের কাছে আবদ্ধ থাকিলে কাজ চলে কি করিয়া? তাঁরা কি এই প্রজাতন্ত্র সরকারকে আশীর্বাদ করিবে—না ইহার কথা ও কাজে ফাঁকি ধরিয়া ধিক্কার দিবে। আমাদের জেলায় ১০৪টী সমবায় সমিতি আছে। যাহাকে জিজ্ঞাসা করিবেন সেই বলিবে "Co-operative Commonwealth" প্রতিষ্ঠা সম্বন্ধে মুখে ও কাজে সরকার এক নহে। কাজেই দেশের জনসাধারণ আমাদের শ্রেণীহীন সমাজ প্রতিষ্ঠার কথায়, কৃষক-প্রজা-মজুর-রাজ প্রতিষ্ঠার কথায় তেমন বিশ্বাস করিতেছে না। অরাজকতা কেবল দমন করিয়া বন্ধ করা যাবে না—লোকের অন্তর জয় করিয়াই সম্ভব হইবে এবং এই জন্যই আত্ম বিশ্লেষন করা প্রয়োজন মনে করিয়া, সরকারী বেঞ্চে বসিয়াও কথাগুলি বলিলাম।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I express my grateful thanks to His Excellency the Governor of West Bengal for affording us an opportunity to discuss the activities in various spheres of his Government. But I must express my unqualified regret that, while he has mentioned that through powers beyond his control grants and subventions from the Centre have decreased, he has certainly not given us any outline of policy that his Government is pursuing to have those grants increased. Sir, this province has suffered by partition. Various problems have cropped up solely due to it. This province has attenuated considerably in size, but the administration remains the same. Therefore the expenditure on that head remains the same. I might say, Sir, that the expenditure has had to be increased on various heads due to developments in modern administration. But, Sir, we find that when our province demanded special consideration from the Centre, the Centre has chosen to treat this province in a step-motherly way. A friend of mine had occasion to refer to the Deshmukh Award. Sir, he has only told you and the House that in accordance with the new award, Bengal has been given only about Rs. 50 lakhs more than last year on the basis of last year's receipts. Sir, it would be interesting to point out to the House how it works out provincewise on the basis of the contributions made by the provinces. Under Mr. Deshmukh's award the position would be as follows: For every hundred rupees contributed on the 1948-49 basis Bombay would get Rs. 25, West Bengal Rs. 20, Madras Rs. 107, U. P. Rs. 173, East Punjab Rs. 81, Bihar Rs. 368. Why this preferential treatment to that province which has no importance in India? Is it because she was fortunate in supplying the first President of the Republic of India? Here we have our problems. I am casting no aspersions on the President of the Republic of India. I am only making a reference to the province.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: I rise on a point of order. The way in which it has been suggested that the President might have perhaps a hand in it, we take strong objection to this sort of insinuation.

Mr. SPEAKER: The President has got nothing to do with it.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, I am aware that the President has certainly nothing to do with it. The award came out before the President became Mr. President.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Then why do you use his name at all?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Because that province can influence the counsels of the Centre more effectively than this province can. I certainly mourn, I certainly deplore, that in this province of ours there is not a single one who can represent the case of this province a little better than Bihar can represent her case in the Centre. Shall we take all this iniquitous allocation lying down? I want an assurance from the Hon'ble Leader of the House that his Government shall not take this iniquitous

allocation lying down. We know that this Provincial Government has been agitating in the matter, took it up with the Centre; even the Finance Minister in his last budget speech made a reference to it that he was trying to have the award modified, but to what purpose? The Centre has thought it fit to throw the suggestion of this Government overboard, but why? This shows that you who adorn or disgrace the treasury benches cannot send somebody who can represent your case a little better, a wee bit better, than Bihar and other provinces have done. Why is it that we give the Centre the bulk of the jute export duty? Why should we be treated in this step-motherly fashion when we need more money, when we have the frontier, we have the smugglers, we have problems galore, we have the refugees, we have to rehabilitate them and we want money? That is why I am telling. It is no use getting rattled.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: It is no use speaking nonsense.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I am not speaking nonsense. I do not know if I am speaking nonsense. It is for the Hon'ble Speaker to say whether it is nonsense or not. He will certainly call me to order if I speak nonsense. It is no use getting rattled. I do not want to disparage the President. I say it is absolutely unfair when Bihar which has no importance in comparison to West Bengal should be given Rs. 368 for every 100 rupees. It is utterly disproportionate to the contribution that this province has made. Therefore when the Hon'ble the Leader of the House rises to reply to this he will tell us in unequivocal terms that his Government will take up the matter with the Centre strongly and send some stronger representative than he has hitherto been able to do to represent this province.

Then, Sir, I come to the policy or the lack of it or the absence of it. I do not know what is being pursued by this Government in rehabilitating the refugees. Sir, every day we hear the refugees band together and take possession of some private individual's land or, if possible, Government's land. I saw a Press-Note issued by the Government deprecating such action by the refugees and telling the persons who are affected by such encroachment to go and take recourse to the ordinary law. All that is very well, but you must also tell us what you are going to do with the refugees. You cannot ask the refugees to shift for themselves. Why not enunciate a well-drawn-out policy and requisition the land? You have got ample powers to requisition. Again this is a case for stressing it before the Centre seeking their co-operation. We must have vision. We cannot have a huge multitude of refugees derelict with nothing to do and shifting for themselves and creating mischief. Most of these troubles that are now originating, there is some refugee behind the back of it.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: On a point of information. Will Mr. Khuda Bukhsh explain to us what steps he has taken up till now to stop the influx of refugees from East Bengal?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I do not know if this question is pertinent. As a citizen of West Bengal I do not know what I can do to stop the influx of refugees from East Bengal.

Mr. SPEAKER: You need not answer that question.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I should think Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji being an East Bengal man himself should be in a better position than myself to see what steps can be taken.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Therefore I am asking this question to you.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: *And, Sir, I might also tell Dr. Suresh* Chandra Banerji through you that we are trying to help him by taking a few more refugees in order that he might retain his leadership in West Bengal.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: My leadership does not depend on them but on the labourers of West Bengal.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I would request the Hon'ble the Leader of the House to tell us what steps his Government proposes to take in respect of resettling and rehabilitating the refugees.

Then I come to the Government policy, if there is any, to maximise jute production. This is very important owing to sudden deterioration of relationship with our neighbouring State or Dominion. There has been a stoppage of jute from that country. All the jute mills are situated in India and they employ a vast multitude of labourers. This has given rise to various problems not only to the Central Government, in that she is not earning as many dollars as she would like to but also to our Provincial Government because this means unemployment of vast multitude of labourers and unemployed labourers are a menace and that is recognised on all hands. Therefore, Sir, we must try and maximise the production of jute. We have held the monopoly of jute in the world. Monopoly also has its obligation but it is no use sitting tight and telling the world: we have the monopoly of jute and if anybody wants to buy jute then he will have to come to our doors. Also there is resistance in the overseas market on account of prices of jute. Sir, if we have a monopoly of jute, we want to retain it and we can only retain our monopoly by fulfilling our obligations to the rest of the world. When we can supply them jute of a quality and at the price that they want we shall enjoy our monopoly; otherwise not, and this has been brought home to our Government. Maximisation or trying to increase the acreage of jute in West Bengal raises a very fundamental and vital problem. We can raise jute in West Bengal but at the expense of *aus* paddy. *Aus* paddy is uneconomical. As a cultivator and farmer I know that it is uneconomical and the man knows that it is uneconomical. Jute is more economical as cash crop as also from the point of view of yield, but he cannot be persuaded to grow jute in place of *aus* until such time as he may be persuaded to believe that he shall have food supply in place of *aus* paddy in those lean days.

Sir, in my opinion the cultivation of *aus* paddy should be outlawed and banned not only because we want these lands for the cultivation of jute but also because we want to teach the cultivators that growing *aus* paddy crop is uneconomic. The cultivators in Bengal are so ignorant that they are not alive to the credit and debit side of their undertaking. That is why they cultivate *aus* paddy. If they could be taught by the Agriculture Department and statistics and facts and figures brought home to them perhaps they would give up cultivation of *aus* paddy themselves and take to jute. But at the moment in order that we may expedite the transference of the acreage under *aus* paddy to jute we must ban the cultivation of *aus* paddy. But how can we ban it? This again brings us to Centre's co-operation with the State of West Bengal. If the Centre wants to earn dollars by selling jute and if the Centre wants to fulfil its international obligations for supplying jute for which the Centre wants that this State should grow more jute, the Centre must give to this province more money and we can do that only when we have been able to lay by a sufficient stock in foodgrains and cereals with which we can replace the *aus* crop that is being normally grown. I can tell the House, Sir, that every inch of land that can grow

bus can grow jute and this has to be done in order that we may keep our own jute mills fed with jute. But where are the funds? So if the Central Government do not co-operate with us, if the Central Government will choose to treat us with the step-motherly love, then, Sir, we are helpless and if this province is helpless the Central Government will also be helpless. If our Minister for Agriculture can assure the *chashis*, the cultivators, that they will get food during the interim period, till we have attained self-sufficiency in food and in other cereals and foodgrains—this applies to our Food Minister also—we can then ask the cultivators to bring in the 3 lakhs of acres that we propose to bring under jute pointing out the imperative necessity for such change. We are between the horns of a dilemma, on the one hand self-sufficiency in food and on the other self-sufficiency in jute. So unless the Central Government helps us with money I do not know how we can achieve the objectives, self-sufficiency in food by 1951 and again the target in jute as soon as we can.

Sir, His Excellency the Governor has mentioned about the anti-social elements. Sir, this has been referred to by earlier speakers and the arguments advanced by them that the conditions obtaining in the country are conducive to their growth have to my mind very great validity. Sir, here we are asked to produce more. Here we are asked to behave. We are trying and co-operating with the Government as much as we can. A friend told us just now, Sir, that the Indian Jute Mills Association and the capitalists in general have not co-operated with the people of Bengal.

Sir, if we perpetuate or create conditions or connive at conditions that perpetuate a system that has sapped the very vitals of the Bengali race, we cannot expect that the public generally will feel enthused over any calls that the Government may make. The public have become callous. Have we not deplored many a time that a tram-load of passengers sheepishly walk out of tram-car at the command of a band of two or three *badmashes* who wanted to throw acid and petrol and to set the tram-car on fire? The passengers do not protest. This is a symptom, and if we want to treat the disease we must go deeper and try and find out why is it that the public of Bengal are so callous and why do they not offer resistance to these law-breaking and anti-social elements. (Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: They are all with them.) It is not possible that the entire Bengali race is with them. If it is for a moment suggested that they are with them, I do not know where we are. At least I am not with them. If we try and go along the line that we should, we will be able to prevent the methods that are being employed by a section of our own flesh and blood.

Sir, an honourable member—who is a doctor and therefore ought to be able to tell us with some authority—said that what we want is Communism as also the Democracy of the Anglo-American group. What he quarrelled with us about was the method. Sir, if he knew his own mind, probably he would not tell the country in these confusing sentences. Sir, either we want Communism or we do not want it. It cannot be that we want Communism and also we want this or that. If we want Communism at all, tell the world so and let us work for it. If we do not want Communism, let us proceed in a way that will halt it in India. It is possible that we shall be able to check Communism on Indian soil. Indian genius is not suitable and is antagonistic to the spread of Communism, but still to our utter dismay it is spreading and we are not able to check it. We must devise all ways and means. This kind of talking to the gallery and pleasing everybody will not do. Make up your mind and tell us what you want. If you want Communism, please say so and work for it. If you do not want Communism, tell us so and do not pamper to the Communists and tell them that methods they are employing has the tacit support of a section of the responsible members of the Legislature.

This brings in the last item of my amendment, the Governor's failure to indicate any Government action towards the abolition of the zemindary system. *It has been told to us from house-tops and from every platform that we want a classless society. He is the zemindar class and also the peasant class. Let us do something about it. It is no use talking over it to the world. Bring in a Bill and demonstrate to the world that we want a classless society. Nothing has been done here.* Other provinces have gone ahead with it and this province is lagging behind. How can we enthuse the public and rally them if we do not implement a single promise that we have made to them? Let us make a beginning. It has to be made some time. The Republic has been ushered in. The old chapter is closed. We are now speaking in the Assembly of a State. Let us make a beginning and bring in legislation to remove this longstanding social evil.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, যে বক্তৃতা সম্বন্ধে আমরা আলোচনা করছি তা শুনবার সৌভাগ্য আমার হয়নি। গভর্ণরের বক্তৃতা শুনবার সৌভাগ্য--যদিও আমি এই Houseএ ১৯৩৩ সালে এসেছি--কম হয়েছে। কোন কোন বার "বয়কট" করা হয়েছিল। আর "বয়কট" না করলেও কোন কারণে এটা ঘটে ওঠেনি।

কিন্তু একটা কথা--কয়েকজন বক্তা মাননীয় প্রদেশপাল মহাশয়কে ধন্যবাদ জানিয়েছেন আজকে তাঁর বক্তৃতা আলোচনা করবার সুযোগ দেওয়া হয়েছে বলে। তাঁকে ধন্যবাদ দেবার কোন দরকার নাই। এটা একটা নিয়মতান্ত্রিক পদ্ধতি—যে Procedure British Constitutionএও আছে। সেজন্য তাঁকে ধন্যবাদ দেবার যেমন দরকার নেই, তেমন তাঁকে নিন্দা করবারও কোন কারণ নাই। আমি তাঁকে কোন অসম্মান করতে চাই না। কিন্তু এটা হচ্ছে ঠিক যেন His Master's Voice. গভর্ণর যা করবার জন্য বলছেন Government তাই করবে। কাজেই যদি কিছু বলতে হয় তাহ'লে Governmentকেই বলতে হবে।

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of information, Sir. Who is the master—His Excellency the Governor or his Ministers?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Constitutional Governor is not the master. It is the Government, the Premier and Ministers of the Cabinet who are the masters. অন্যান্য দেশে রাজার speech copy করে দেন এবং লিখে দেন তাঁর Prime Minister এবং সেইজন্য যে বক্তৃতাকে বন্ধু হেমন্ত বাবু বলেছেন most excellent speech সেটাকে most excellent speech বলার কিছু নাই। এটা অত্যন্ত skeleton—এতে রক্ত, মাংস, চামড়া কিছু নাই। এটা করতে হবে, ওটা করতে হবে, কিন্তু কেন করতে হবে তা বলা হয়নি। এটা ডাক্তার-like speech হয়েছে। কাটজু like speech হয়নি।

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of order, Sir. When a reference was made to the President of the Indian Republic, the Congress took objection and said that Mr. Khuda Bukhsh was showing disrespect to him. Here my honourable friend has on more than one occasion uttered "Katju". Is it not showing disrespect to him?

Mr. SPEAKER: The speech of the Governor is subject to criticism of this House, i.e., the policy of Government which is initiated through the mouth of the Governor. Governor as such has got nothing to do in the matter.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: What my honourable friend said is that Mr. Banerjee said "Governor Katju". That is not right.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I immediately corrected.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable members should show respect to the Governor. At the same time however we must give them certain allowances.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: তাঁর বক্তৃতার ছাপা যেটা পেয়েছি তাতে তিনি বলেছেন—The Indian Republic forms a symbol of Asian Unity বলে থাকবেন কেন, জানি না। আর

একটু বললেই হ'ত,—Workers' Unity Indian Unity, যদি এইসব দেখতে পেতাম তাহ'লে অনেকখানি খুসী হ'তে পারতাম। পূর্ববর্তী বক্তা বলেছেন—Indian Unity নিয়ে টানাটানি চলছে, পশ্চিম বাংলার মধ্যেও Unity নিয়ে টানাটানি দেখতে পাচ্ছি। এদিকেও কংগ্রেস, ওদিকেও কংগ্রেস। (Laughter.)

দুদিন আগে United Provinceএর Assembly দেখতে গিয়েছিলাম, সেখানেও দুজনকে বের করে দেবার সময় এরকম দৃশ্য দেখেছিলাম, তবে সেখানে gap একটু বেশী। Asian Unityর আগে আমাদের প্রদেশপাল মহাশয় যদি বাংলার unityর কথা বলতেন, তবে বোধ হয় সেটা relevant হ'ত এবং সে সম্বন্ধে কিছুটা সাহায্য করতে পারতেন। তিনি আর একটা ভুল করেছেন। এই বক্তৃতা ২৬শে জানুয়ারীর পর, স্বাধীনতার পর, এটা বাংলায় হ'লে বোধ হয় বেশী স্বষ্ঠু হ'ত। শুধু বক্তৃতাই নয়, যত amendment এসেছে, যত সংশোধনী প্রস্তাব এসেছে সবই ইংরেজীতে। শুধু তাই নয়, যাঁরা অন্তত: সেই ইংরেজের আমলে জোর ক'রে বাংলা বলতেন, তাদের মধ্যে অন্তত: একজন ইংরেজীতে বক্তৃতা পাঠ করেছেন।

আর একটু পরে তিনি যা বলেছেন সে সম্বন্ধে দু-চারটি কথা বলছি এবং যা তিনি বলেন নাই তা একটু পরে বলবো। তিনি বলেছেন—Calcutta Corporationএর Electoral Procedure Rule, Administrative Machinery ইত্যাদি বদল হওয়া দরকার, এ সম্বন্ধে নতুন বিল হওয়া দরকার। শুধু কলিকাতা কর্পোরেসন ব'লে তিনি কেন থামলেন জানি না। যত মিউনিসিপ্যালিটি যেখানে আছে, তার সকলের অবস্থা ঐ একই রকম। কলিকাতা কর্পোরেসনকে গভর্ণমেণ্ট যেমন supersede ক'রে নিয়ে নিয়েছেন, সেই রকম অন্যগুলিকেও করা উচিৎ। প্রদেশপাল যদি জানতেন কলিকাতা কর্পোরেসনের মত হাওড়া ও আরও বহু মিউনিসিপ্যালিটি আছে যেগুলো তাঁদের supersede করে নিয়ে নেওয়া উচিৎ।

তারপর Public Service সম্বন্ধে financial yearএ যে খরচ হবে, তা আমাদের সামনে রাখা হবে। এটা সম্বন্ধে আরও অনেকে বলেছেন। Public Service অনেক ব্যাপারে দেখা যাচ্ছে Public disservice, কিভাবে সেখানে উন্নতি করা যায়, সে সম্বন্ধে যদি কোন নির্দেশ বা অন্তত: একটু ইঙ্গিত থাকতো, তাহ'লে খুব খুসী হওয়া যেত।

তারপর supplementary financial measure. তার জন্য Government of India Act, 1935এ চলে যেতে হবে, এর কারণ কিছু বুঝতে পারি না। স্বাধীনতা কি হ'ল? তার জন্য যদি 1935এর Actএ চলে যেতে হয়, তাহ'লে এর চেয়ে দু:খের কথা ও লজ্জার কথা আর কি হ'তে পারে? হাতে ত Ordinance করার ক্ষমতা রয়েছে। একটা Ordinance করেও তো তা করতে পারতেন। পুরাতন পচা মরা ধসে যাওয়া Actএর আশ্রয় নেওয়ার দরকার ছিল না। এখন আবার তাঁরা নতুন করে শপথ নিয়ে নতুন হয়েছেন। তিনি দু:খের সঙ্গে জানিয়েছেন অনেক scheme ছিল, তা টাকার অভাবে করতে পারছেন না। কিন্তু টাকা পাওয়ার চেষ্টা তাঁরা কতদূর কি করেছেন জানি না—সে Central থেকেই হো'ক, বা এদেশ থেকেই হো'ক।

দেশমুখ Award সম্বন্ধে যথেষ্ট বলা হয়েছে। সে সম্বন্ধে আর বেশী বলতে চাই না। যথেষ্ট টাকা দেশেই পাওয়া যেতে পারে। Sales Taxহিসাবে টাকায় এক পয়সা, আর এখানে তিন পয়সা। বাংলাদেশে যে পরিমাণ transaction হয়, হিসাব করলে Sales Tax বাবদ প্রায় তিন কোটি টাকা পাওয়া যেতে পারে। এই রকম করে আরও অনেক জিনিষ saving ও নতুন আয় হতে পারে। গরীবদের কাছ থেকে দরকার নাই, Sales Tax তুলে দিয়ে যদি অন্য রকম ভাবে Tax করা যায়, তাহ'লে টাকার অভাব দূর হতে পারে। যে সমস্ত scheme পরিত্যক্ত হয়েছে বা slow down করা হয়েছে, তার আর দরকার হ'ত না।

তারপর তিনি বলেছেন—My Government have been engaged for a considerable period in curbing the activities of anti-social elements. এই anti-social element বলতে কমুনিষ্টদের বোঝায়। তারা chaos সৃষ্টি করছে। (A VOICE: আপনারা?) কিন্তু anti-social তারাই, যারা কথায় কথায় lock-out করে দিচ্ছে। তারা কি anti-social নয়? বাংলাদেশে কাপড়ের কল খুব কম, আর বেলুড়ের কাপড়ের কলটি lock-out করে দিলে। মাননীয় শ্রম-মন্ত্রী মহাশয় তাদের বিরুদ্ধে case করে দিলেন। সেই caseএ কিছুই হ'ল না। হাওড়া কোর্টে বহু টাকা খরচ করলেন গভর্ণমেণ্ট, তাতে শেষ পর্য্যন্ত কিছুই হ'ল না, তারা বেকসুর খালাস হ'ল। Anti-social element শুধু কমুনিষ্টরাই নয়, যারা কথায় কথায় retrench করছে, lock-out করছে তারাও equally anti-social বা

more anti-social. কমুনিষ্টরা হয়ত অনেক কিছু অন্যায় করতে পারে, সেই অন্যায় প্রতিবিধা জন্য লোকে ক্ষেপে ওঠে। তাদের উপর শুধু দোষ দিলে হবে না, তার শিকড় কোথায়, সেটা দেখতে হ Anti-social element দূরীকরণ সম্পর্কে আমি প্রদেশপাল মহাশয়ের সঙ্গে একমত। সেটা করতে গে এক জায়গায় তিনি ইঙ্গিত করেছেন—দেশের লোকের সহযোগিতা (co-operation) না হ'লে তা বন্ধ হবে এ এমন একটা জিনিষ যা জনসাধারণের সহযোগিতার দ্বারাই বন্ধ করতে পারা যায়। শুধু পুলিসের সাহায্য বন্ধ করা যায় না। সে কথা শ্রদ্ধেয় হরিপদ চাটার্জী মহাশয়ও বল্লেন, জনসাধারণ আমাদের কথায় ও ক কোন ঐক্য নাই ব'লে আমাদের কথায় বিশ্বাস করছে না, এটা ষোল আনা সত্যি।

তারপরে একটু পরে আবার বলছেন যে আরও বিল তাঁরা আনবেন, যাতে এই anti-social activit বন্ধ করা যায়। এর ইঙ্গিত হচ্ছে বিরাট পুলিস ষ্টেট্। আজকে যে আইনগুলো রয়েছে, ইংরেজ সবচেয়ে বেশী অত্যাচার করেছে তখন দেশে এর চেয়ে বেশী আইন ছিল না। ছ'হাজার মাইল দূরের বিদেশ থে এসেও তারা এই দেশ শাসন করতে পেরেছে। কিন্তু এরা আরও আইন চায়।

হাওড়ায় গত এক বছরের মধ্যে কোন মিটিং করা সম্ভবপর হয় নাই। কালও ১৪৪ ধারা ছিল। অন সংঘাতের পরে তা মাঝে মাঝে উঠে যায়। হাওড়ায় যেখানে অনেক কম communal riot হয়ে যেখানে ১৪৪ ধারার দরকার নাই, সেখানেও তারা ১৪৪ ধারা দিয়ে বসে আছে, যাতে সেখানে কোন মিটিং-টী কিছু না হতে পারে, জনসাধারণ তাদের মতামত ব্যক্ত করতে পারছে না। তাঁরা যদি মনে করে থাকেন কে stringent measure প্রয়োগ করেই anti-social activities বন্ধ করে দিতে পারেন, তাহ' ভুল করবেন। সেটা হয় না, কখনও হ'তে পারে না। এদেশে ইংরেজও চেষ্টা করেছিল, তা তারা পা নাই। আমাদের প্রদেশপাল ও তাঁর মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীও তা পারবেন না। জনসাধারণের সাথে সহযোগিতার কথা যেখা আছে, সেটা যদি তারা underlined করেন, তাহ'লে পারবেন। সেটা যদি তাঁরা করেন তাহলে civ libertyর কথা ওঠে।

তারপর Relief and Rehabilitationএর কথা—Relief and Rehabilitation of displace persons—এ ব্যাপার সম্বন্ধে আমাদের সবচেয়ে বেশী আপত্তি জানাচ্ছি। প্রদেশপাল মহাশয় বা এই বক্তৃত যিনি রচয়িতা তিনিও সেদিকে দৃষ্টি দেননি—যেটা আজকাল burning problem হোয়ে এসে দাঁড়িয়েছে। হাজ হাজার লোক আজও আসছে Eastern Pakistan থেকে এদেশে, সেই problem সম্বন্ধে। আ প্রধান যে সমস্ত সমস্যা রয়েছে, যেমন dearness allowance, unemployment and abolitio of zemindari system—বর্তমানে acute হয়ে যেটা দেখা দিয়েছে। তার প্রতি sufficie দৃষ্টি দেওয়া হয় নাই।

(At this stage the blue light was lit.)

আমাকে আরও একটু সময় দিতে হবে। তিনি কি বলেছেন সে সম্বন্ধে বলেছি এবং তিনি কি বলেন সে সম্বন্ধে বলবো। (A VOICE: কাল বলবেন।) হাঁ, তাই হবে। যে কথা আমি বলছিলা আজ বাংলা দেশের সবচেয়ে বড় সমস্যা হচ্ছে এই Refugee Problem, যার জন্য এই unemployme problem বেড়ে গিয়েছে। এই devaluation ও unemploymentএর জন্য সবচে যদি কোন দেশ ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হয়ে থাকে, সেটা হচ্ছে এই বাংলা দেশ। এই problemএর দিকে প্রদেশপাল মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর যথেষ্ট দৃষ্টি নাই। (A VOICE: ডাঃ ব্যানার্জীর আছে দৃষ্টি?)

উনি যখন Premier হবেন তখন হয়ত করবেন। এ সম্বন্ধে আরও দুটি কথা বলা প্রয়োজন। যা ওদেশ থেকে এদেশে এসেছেন তাদের থাকবার জায়গা এঁরা ক'রে দিতে পারছেন না। বুঝতে পারছি গভর্ণমেণ্টের টাকা নাই, Central Governmentও যথেষ্ট পরিমাণ টাকা দিচ্ছেন না। এইসব আশ্রয়প্রার্থী নিজেদের চেষ্টায় যতটুকু যা মাথাগুজবার সংস্থান করছে তাও তারা ভেঙ্গে দিচ্ছে। কালকে কাটজু কলো নেতাজী কলোনী, বিধানরায় কলোনী এই সমস্ত জায়গায় গিয়ে পুলিশ লাঠিচার্জ করে সব ভেঙ্গে তাদের তাড়ি দিচ্ছে। তাদের property sacrosanct. তারা নিজেরা কোন রকমে একটু চা করে কাটাচ্ছে। তাদের rightএর উপর হস্তক্ষেপ করা হয়েছে। দু-একটা statement প্রধানমন্ত্রী আমি পেয়েছি যে চিত্তরঞ্জনের ওখানে ও আরও কয়েক স্থানে জমি নেওয়া হয়েছে, তারা যদি সেখানে জ নিয়ে ঘর তৈরী করে থাকবার ব্যবস্থা করে, তাদের বলেন যে তোমাদের ওখানে থাকবার ব্যবস্থা করা হয়ে তখন যদি তারা সেখানে না যায়, তবে তাঁরা যে কোন step নিতে পারেন, তাহ'লে সেটা justifie করা যেতে পারে। কিন্তু এখন তারা যাবে কোথায়? ঐ খুলনা, বাগেরহাট থেকে ছ'সাত হাজার লোক যা

সর্ব্বহারা হয়ে এসেছে, তারা জোর করে মিলিটারী ক্যাম্পে ঢুকেছে। গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাদের তাড়িয়ে দিতে পারেন। কিন্তু property sacrosanct, তাঁরা করতে পারেন না, law and order maintain করবো তাঁরা বলতে পারেন। কিন্তু মানুষ মারা যাবে; আর এরা law and order maintain করবেন। এ জিনিষটা আমাদের মাথার মধ্যে ঢোকে না। আজকে যে বড় সমস্যা সামনে দাঁড়িয়েছে, সেটা হচ্ছে তাদের rehabilitate করার। কিন্তু একটা black-ship আছে বলেই যে সবাইকে শাস্তি দিতে হবে বা তাদের উপর লাঠি চার্জ করা হবে, এটা খুবই অন্যায় হবে। আমি স্বীকার করি এরকম লোক বিরল নয়। তাদের ধরে ধরে জেলে পুরে দিন—তাতে খুব অন্যায় হবে না। কত পতিত জমি পড়ে রয়েছে, বাগান বাড়ী পড়ে রয়েছে, সেখানে গিয়ে আজ তারা মাথাগুঁজবার ব্যবস্থা করছে। কিন্তু সেটা যদি আজ এমনি করে ভেঙ্গে দেওয়া হয় তাহ'লে আমি মনে করি এটা ভয়ানক অন্যায়। একদিকে প্রদেশপাল বক্তৃতা করছেন, আর ওদিকে তাদের উপর পুলিশের লাঠি চার্জ চলছে। এই যে দুটো জিনিষ, এটাকে একটা accident বলা যায় না। এটা consciouslyই হচ্ছে—unconsciously নয়। এই House যদি এতে বাধা না দেয়, তাহ'লে এই রকমই চলতে থাকবে। আজকে আমাদের এ বিষয় সতর্ক হওয়া প্রয়োজন, শুধু প্রদেশপাল ও প্রধানমন্ত্রীকে সতর্ক করে লাভ নাই। The car of Juggernath will march crushing everything.

(The Hon'ble Dr. B. C. Roy : আবার ইংরেজী কেন?) ইংরেজী না হ'লে যে আপনারা বুঝবেন না। এখানে classless societyর কথা বলা হয়েছে। সে সম্বন্ধে আমি এখন কিছু বলবো না। সেটা দূরের কথা। আজকে অন্ততঃপক্ষে দেশের জনসাধারণের কিছুটা ব্যবস্থা তো করা যায়। সে সম্বন্ধে ব্যবস্থা নাই, landlordism abolition করার কথা বাদ দিয়ে তেভাগা। যেখানে কৃষক তেভাগার আন্দোলন করে তাদের বাধা দেওয়া হয়, সেখানে তাদের ধরা হয়। একটা জায়গার কথা জানি, সেখানের ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেট ব'লেছিলেন—আজ যখন তেভাগার অর্ডিন্যান্স হয়ে গেছে, তখন তেভাগা চলবে। জানি না এটা accident কিনা। দেখা গেল কিছুদিন বাদে তিনি সেখান থেকে অন্যত্র transfer হ'য়ে গেলেন। এখন জনসাধারণের যেটা আশু প্রয়োজন, সেইদিকে আপনারা দৃষ্টি দেন।

একটা কথা এখানে না ব'লে পারছিনা। আমি সম্প্রতি পাকিস্তানে গিয়েছিলাম। তুলনামূলকভাবে বলতে চাই যে সেখানে পাকিস্তানের জনসাধারণ এখানকার চেয়ে অনেকাংশে ভাল আছে। রেলের শ্রমিকরা এখানকার চেয়ে ৩।৭৲ টাকা বেতন কম পেলেও তারা দুধ, মাছ, ঘি, কাপড় ইত্যাদি এখান থেকে অনেক কম দামে পায়। তারা সমস্ত জিনিষ এত সস্তায় পাচ্ছে যে তা কল্পনা করা যায় না। কাজেই চেষ্টা করলে তাঁরা black-market বন্ধ করতে পারেন। আমরা ত দেখছি—Produce more and more you perish—উৎপাদন যত বাড়াবে, ততই perish করবে। Culturally, linguistically, geographically, enthologically এবং সব cally...... ..

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

Mr. SPEAKER : Your time is up. I have given you 25 minutes.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE : আর একটু time চাই—অথচ সেখানে তারা বেশ খেয়ে পরে বেঁচে আছে, আর এখানে আমরা খেতে পাচ্ছিনে। (A VOICE FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCH : তারাও যেমন খাচ্ছে আমরাও তেমনি খাচ্ছি।) (হাস্য।) এটা একটা হাসবার কথা নয়—গভীরভাবে চিন্তা করবার জিনিষ। তুলনামূলকভাবে তারা অনেক বেশী কাজ করেছে। সকল গভর্ণমেণ্ট চালনার দিক থেকেই তাদের নিজেদের establish করতে হয়েছে, আর এখানে আমরা establishment সব তৈরী পেয়ে গেছি। তাদের ওখানে গভর্ণমেণ্টের সব অফিসের house পর্য্যন্ত ছিল না, ময়মনসিং থেকে চট্টগ্রাম পর্য্যন্ত তাদের organise করতে হয়েছে অনেক কিছু। তাদের অসুবিধা ছিল আমাদের চেয়ে ঢের বেশী।

তার পরে আর একটা কথা বলছি——

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, you must conclude your speech, you had ample opportunity to speak.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: অনেক বক্তৃতা শোনা গেল। দেখা যাচ্ছে আমাদের গরীবদের সঙ্গে কেউ নাই কেবল হরি আছে। তাজন্য আমি প্রার্থনা করে আমার বক্তৃতা আরম্ভ করবো ইংরেজীতে। আমার প্রার্থনা হচ্ছে গীতার প্রার্থনা।

সর্ব্বধর্ম্মান্ পরিত্যজ্য মামেকং শরণং ব্রজ।
অহং ত্বাং সর্ব্বপাপেভ্যো মোক্ষয়িষ্যামি মা শুচ॥

Mr. Speaker, Sir, that is Gita. Zikralla Motakabbas. This is Koran. It is the same thing. Now, I begin my speech.

Sir, I congratulate most sincerely our well-beloved idol His Excellency Dr. Kailash Nath for the excellent speech which he has delivered. (*Interruptions.*) Do not interrupt me. I shall take you to task. (*Laughter.*) It is a wonderful speech full of human pathos and spiritual in character inasmuch as it brings vividly before our mental eye the inherent weakness of human beings and always invokes the blessings of the Almighty God—the Rabbel Alemin of our Koran—Brahma, Vishnu, Maheswar of our Vedas—and our father in Heaven of our Bible—for our success in our endeavours to work out the noble and great Constitution of our well-beloved Bharat which has been ushered in amidst great rejoicings of the poor, simple common men of India who expect and hope that this Constitution will bring in the millenium and will be the panacea for all their ills.

Sir, I have taken this speech as a solemn prayer for our success in working out the Constitution and as an appeal to the persons who are in charge of the administration to give effect to the policy and plan of the Constitution. It is therefore that I have taken upon myself the task of amending the address of thanks by drawing attention of the persons in charge of administration as to what they should do or should not do in order to work the Constitution and advance and strengthen the country and nation physically, morally and spiritually. This is my apology for inserting in the address the omission and commission of the party in power. It has not been done in a spirit of malice, हिंसा and grudge. It has been done with the best of intentions to draw their attention to the crying need of the hour.

Sir, I make no apology for calling our Governor as our idol. I regard him as a spiritual man like the Rishis of Vedas and Mokarabins of Koran inasmuch as the name of the loving Almighty is always in his lips and tongues. Sri Chakravarty Rajagopalachari who at one time was the constitutional Governor of Bengal said in a speech at Suri, the headquarters of my native district of Birbhum, when Sri Prafulla Chandra Ghosh was the Premier of Bengal that the constitutional Governor is a *Bigraha* or idol and the Cabinet are the high priests at the alter of the *Bigraha* who invoke God and do everything and carry on the administration in the name of the *Bigraha*. I consider this exposition as sound and truly represents the real state of things. Idol is always loved and venerated though it is nothing but a mere symbol of God or State.

Therefore, Sir, our Governor has no other alternative but to pray to the Almighty which he did in the concluding portion of his address: "I pray that Almighty God may give His blessing to your counsels."

So far as the Muslim members of the Assembly are concerned, they are entirely powerless and mere pawns in the game of power politics. Their advice and recommendations carry no weight and as a matter of principle they are overruled. Their position reminds me of the speech which the late Kiran Sankar Roy, Leader of the Opposition of the undivided Bengal Assembly, delivered. He said: "Our cause may be right, our cause may be just, we may have logic, reason, justice and fairness on our side, but these are of no avail if we have no effective vote on our side." To this I add: "Our cry becomes a cry in the wilderness like an abandoned child in a forest."

Therefore, their presence or cry in the Assembly is of no avail unless the party in power takes pity in their helpless and weak condition and protect them and do everything for advancing them under Article 46 of the Constitution of India as a directive principle of State policy. The feeling that they are mere pawns in the chess-board of power politics make some of them

liable to temptation for securing unworthy favours by any means at the expense of the Muslims. This has been amply proved by the foolish and absurd statements which have been issued by some M.L.A.s and so-called ***leaders of majority Muslim districts of Murshidabad and Nadia.*** In our Constitution of the Indian Union there are not major or minor communities. All are the same and equal. There are weak and undeveloped communities for whose protection and advancement the Constitution has amply provided and if the State or Government fails to protect and advance such citizens it has no right to exist. The minority of each country is the trust and responsibility of that country whose citizens they are and it is no business of one country to interfere in the administration of another. If one country or another does so this will be regarded as encroaching upon the sovereignty of the other and will give rise to friction and bad blood and is bound to end in disaster. The statement issued by the East Bengal Government and the counter-statement of West Bengal Government with regard to the incidents there and here are foolish and undignified, provocative and unworthy of persons who hold the reins of State. I totally disapprove of both. East Bengal has its own problem of maintaining law and order and of dealing with their own subversive elements as at Khulna district and in the same way West Bengal has its own problem of maintaining law and order and of dealing with their subversive elements as at the various places of the districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, 24-Parganas such as Batanagar, Manicktola, Chitpore and other places where untold oppression has been perpetrated on the Mussalmans and some of them have been murdered, killed, their belongings have been looted, their houses have been set on fire and other dastardly mischief has been committed These are all harrowing tales of oppression by the so-called Hindus on the poor and weak Mussalmans. I am sorry to say that these dastardly acts have been perpetrated by the unruly mob of the so-called refugees (who were invited by West Bengal) aided and abetted by subversive elements. The mob rule does not end here. In the district of Midnapur, in Chandrakona thana, the so-called Hindus have committed oppression on Hindus of that place. In this place some have been murdered, their belongings have been looted, their houses have been set on fire and police have let loose hell and the villages have been deserted (vide লোক সেবক, 5th January, 1950), the exact parallel of Khulna. What has the Government got to say to this? It is useless to give communal colour to these happenings. It is the acts of subversive elements of both East and West Bengal. It is part of the same plan to put both Governments in difficulty That is my reading of the situation. We cannot allow this state of things to go on and allow anarchy and mob rule to prevail. These must be checked and the rule of law established. If the party in power cannot govern let them go out and abdicate and hand over powers to persons who are in a position to do so. As matters stand at present the Government is conniving at the lawless acts and have failed wilfully to end lawlessness and bring the culprits to book for reasons best known to them I denounce the present Government as inefficient, incompetent and currupt. They are suffering from moral and spiritual bankruptcy. Their Supply and Procurement Department is terrorising the country-side and reaping a rich harvest and filling the jail while criminals and hooligans are roaming merrily and are at large all over the country and striking terror in the hearts of poor and innocent Muslims and others murdering, killing, raping, looting and setting fire. This state of things cannot continue. It will not do to say that damned East Bengal is responsible for it. It is a parrot-like false cry and mere pretext to cover their incapacity and wickedness. Then if we look to the long list of legislation it will appear that most of them are of formal or routine character. Some are reactionary and will further curtail civil liberties while Animal Slaughter Control Bill is uneconomic, foolish and unreal which panders to the superstitution of bigoted and insensate and communal Hindu Mahasabha. There is nothing in them which advances the cause of the objectives or

directives of the Constitution. Therefore, I join with His Excellenc Sri Kailash Nath in praying to God to bring good senses and sanity to the party in power and apply themselves to bring to fruition the Constitution for the good of the people and the country instead of shelving the same and engaging themselves in useless and mean quarrels and petty disputes. Bhagabat Gita says,

"তেন ব্রহ্ম হৃদা য আদি কবয়ে
মুহ্যন্তি যৎ সূরয়ঃ।
ধাম্না স্বেন সদা নিরস্তকুহকং
সত্যং পরং ধীমহি" ॥

which means—I contemplate and worship that eternal truth, that supreme soul who created consciousness in the heart of the original poet Brahma and who by the manifestation of His own light drives away the darkness of ignorance. Therefore, I pray "O eternal truth, O Supreme soul, drive away the darkness of ignorance from the hearts of our friends over there who are intoxicated with possession of power and abusing the same."

Koran says,

الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم مالك يوم الدين اياك نعبد
و اياك نستعين اهدنا الصراة المستقيم صراة الذين انعمت عليهم *

which means—Glory and praise to Allah and Allah alone who is the creator, sustainer and developer of the worlds, who is full of love and compassion, who is the sole Judge of the day of reckoning. I serve and adore such a one only. I seek assistance from such a one only. O Lord! show me the right path to serve you—the same path which you showed to persons upon whom you bestowed your favour. Therefore, I pray O! Rabbil Alemin, in your mercy and love show my benighted friends over there the true path of success!

Amen, Amen, Alla-Ho-Akbar—Jai Hind.
Mahatma Gandhi ki jai.
Rajendra Prasad ki jai.
West Bengal Assembly ki jai

(Sj. Kanai Lal De rose to speak.)

Janab ABUL HASHEM: If we are going to continue this subject tomorrow, I think, Sir, we may adjourn now and Sj. Kanai Lal Dey may speak tomorrow.

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: আমি আজ বলবো না কাল বলবো।

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, we continue tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 4 p.m tomorrow.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 6-55 p.m. till 4 p.m., on Tuesday, the 7th February, 1950, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 7th February, 1950, at 4 p.m.

PRESENT:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 57 members.

Oath.

Mr. SPEAKER: Any member who has not taken the oath may come and take the oath.

Sj. Bankubehari Mandal then took the oath.

Amendments to the Motion of address in reply to Governor's Speech.

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: পরিষৎপাল মহাশয়,—মাননীয় রাজ্যপাল এই Assemblyর উদ্বোধনে যে বক্তৃতা দিয়েছেন তা আমরা শুনেছি। আগামী বৎসর পশ্চিম বঙ্গ রাজ্যশাসনের কার্য্য কিভাবে পরিচালিত হবে, রাজ্যপালের বক্তৃতায় তার একটা আভাস পাওয়া যায়। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় শাসনযন্ত্র কিরকম ভাবে চল্‌বে তার সর্ব্বাঙ্গীন রূপ তাঁর বক্তৃতায় ফুটে ওঠেনি. দেশের যে সমস্ত গুরুতর সমস্যা পশ্চিমবঙ্গকে কণ্টকিত করছে, পশ্চিম বঙ্গের নিম্ন মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণী, পশ্চিম বঙ্গের কৃষক, পশ্চিম বঙ্গের শ্রমিকেরা যে সমস্ত সমস্যায় অত্যন্ত পীড়িত ও জর্জ্জরিত হয়ে পড়েছে রাজ্যপালের বক্তৃতায় সেই সমস্ত সমস্যা সমাধানের কোন ইঙ্গিত পাওয়া যাচ্ছে না। দেশের জনসাধারণকে বর্ত্তমান দুরবস্থায় কতকটা আশ্বাস দিতে পারে রাজ্যপালের বক্তৃতাতে সেরূপ কোন পরিকল্পনার উল্লেখ থাকলে ভাল হত। কিন্তু আমি অত্যন্ত নিরুৎসাহের সঙ্গে লক্ষ্য করছি, রাজ্যপালের বক্তৃতায় সেই সমস্ত বিষয়ের আভাষ বেশী কিছু নাই। কতকগুলি বিল উত্থাপিত হবে এর পূর্ব্বেই তার খবর আমরা পেয়েছি। প্রায় অর্দ্ধ শতাধিক বিল যেগুলি Assemblyর এই sessionএই উত্থাপিত হবে তিনি তার বক্তৃতায় কয়েকটা মাত্র উল্লেখ করেছেন। কেবলমাত্র বিলগুলির উল্লেখ করাটাই যদি তার বক্তৃতার উদ্দেশ্য হ'ত তাহলে আমাদের বলবার কিছু ছিল না। তিনি মোটামুটি কয়েকটি বিষয়মাত্র উল্লেখ করেছেন। কিন্তু অনেক বিষয় উল্লেখ করেননি। জাতিগঠনমূলক পরিকল্পনা, পল্লীর পুনর্গঠন সম্বন্ধে কি ব্যবস্থা হবে, তাঁর বক্তৃতায় তার কোন আভাস নাই। কংগ্রেসের বহু-ঘোষিত এবং নির্ব্বাচনী ইস্তাহারে স্বীকৃত, কৃষক-মজুর-প্রজা-রাজপ্রতিষ্ঠা, সে বিষয়ে আমাদের সরকার কতদূর অগ্রসর হবেন তাঁর বক্তৃতায় এ বিষয়ে কিছুমাত্র আভাস পাই না। আজ বাংলা দেশ সমাজ-বিরোধীদের নাশকতামূলক কার্য্যকলাপে অত্যন্ত উৎপীড়িত হচ্ছে, এবং দেশের নিরীহ জনসাধারণ পর্য্যন্ত এই সমস্ত সমাজ-বিরোধীদের কতকটা অনুসরণ করছে। এর কারণ আমাদের অনুসন্ধান করতে হবে। তার কারণ জনসাধারণ জীবনে বিতৃষ্ণ হয়ে পড়েছে, মুদ্রাস্ফীতিজনিত ক্রমবর্দ্ধমান দ্রব্যমূল্য বৃদ্ধি ও সাংসারিক নানা দুঃখকষ্টের জন্য জীবনে তারা নিরাশ হয়ে তাদের কতকটা সমর্থন করছে। যাতে এই সমাজ-বিরোধী কার্য্যকলাপ সত্বর দমিত হয়, এবং সঙ্গে সঙ্গে যাতে দেশের জনসাধারণ এই Governmentএর অনুরাগী হয় এবং Governmentএর উপর শ্রদ্ধাশীল ও আস্থাশীল হয়, এমন কর্ম্মপন্থা গ্রহণ করবার কোন ইঙ্গিত রাজ্যপালের বক্তৃতায় নাই। যে সমস্ত সমাজ বিরোধী শক্তি আজ রাষ্ট্রকে বিপন্ন করবার চেষ্টা করছে, সেই সমাজ-বিরোধীদের দমন করা বিশেষ প্রয়োজন, এই সম্বন্ধে কারও মতভেদ নেই। কিন্তু শুধু আইন করে সেই সমাজ-বিরোধী শক্তিকে সম্পূর্ণভাবে দমন করা যায় না। তা কার্য্যতঃ দেখা যাচ্ছে। সেইজন্য এমন কর্ম্মপন্থা অবলম্বন করতে হবে, যাতে দেশের সমস্ত পীড়িত এবং দরিদ্র কৃষক, শ্রমিক ও মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণী অনুভব করতে পারে যে সরকার তাদের দুঃখ-দৈন্য দূর করতে সত্যই সচেষ্ট হয়েছেন। তাদের অন্তঃকরণ সরকারের কার্য্যের দ্বারা জয় করতে হবে, তাদের মন সরকারের দিকে আকর্ষণ করতে হবে। তারা যেন এই কথা বিশ্বাস করতে পারে যে, সম্প্রতি যে প্রজাতন্ত্র ঘোষণা করা হয়েছে, তা শুধু কাগজ কলমে নয়, সত্যকারের বস্তু। জনসাধারণের মনে সরকারের উপর আস্থা যাতে দৃঢ় হয়, তার চেষ্টা করতে হবে। মহাত্মা গান্ধীর পরিকল্পিত রামরাজ্য স্থাপনের সূচনা করতে হবে। মন্ত্রিগণ যে জনসাধারণেরই প্রতিনিধি, এবং শাসকবর্গ ও সরকারী কর্ম্মচারিগণ যে জনসেবক, এই

বোধ তাদের মনে জাগ্রত করতে হবে। এই বোধ জাগ্রত করতে না পারলে এই সমাজ-বিরোধী শক্তিকে দমন করা সহজ হবে না। আমাদের দেশে দমননীতিমূলক আইনের বিশেষ অভাব নাই। কিন্তু আইন প্রয়োগকারীরা সঠিকভাবে আইন প্রয়োগ করেছে কিনা তা দেখা দরকার। এমন ঘটনা বিরল নয় যে, সমাজ-বিরোধী কোন ব্যক্তিকে গ্রেপ্তার করে জেলে নিয়ে যাবার সময় প্রকাশ্য দিবালোকে stationএর মাঝখানে সশস্ত্র পুলিসের হাত থেকে তাকে ছিনিয়ে নেওয়া হয়েছে, এবং আজ দুই বৎসরের মধ্যেও তাকে ধরা যায় নি। এখন চিন্তা করতে হবে, যে সমস্ত পুলিশের উপর এই সমস্ত সমাজ-বিরোধী অপরাধীদের দমন করবার ভার দেওয়া হয়েছে তারা ঠিক ঠিক ভাবে সেই কর্ত্তব্য পালন করছে কিনা? আমি যে কথা বলছি, সেটা বাঁকুড়া জেলার ঘটনা। একজন বন্দীকে যখন মেদিনীপুর জেলে নিয়ে যাওয়া হচ্ছিল, তখন পুলিসের হাত থেকে তাকে ছিনিয়ে নেওয়া হয়। তাই বলছি পুলিশ কর্ম্মচারিগণ যাহাতে যথাযথভাবে কর্ত্তব্য পালন করে সে সম্বন্ধে আমাদের সরকারকে বিশেষভাবে অবহিত হতে হবে। আমি কংগ্রেসের কাজে গ্রামে প্রায়ই ভ্রমণ করে থাকি। সেখানে দেখি গ্রামে গ্রামে বহু নিম্নপদস্থ সরকারী কর্ম্মচারী প্রায় বেকার অবস্থায় ঘুরে বেড়াচেছ এবং তাদের অধিকাংশের কাজই হচেছ, সরকারের বিরুদ্ধে সমালোচনা করা। নিম্নপদস্থ বহু সরকারী কর্ম্মচারী, তাদের যে বেতন ও মাগ্‌গীভাতা দেওয়া হয়, (dearness allowance) তাতে তাঁরা সন্তুষ্ট ন'ন। এবং জনসেবার কাজেও তাদের ইচছা কম, এবং তারা সময়ে সময়ে গ্রামে গিয়ে অসন্তোষ সৃষ্টি করে এমনও দেখা যায়; এই সমস্ত কর্ম্মচারীদের যথাযথভাবে নিয়ন্ত্রণ করা দরকার। এবং যাতে তারা জনসাধারণকে বিভ্রান্ত করতে না পারে সে দিকে দৃষ্টি রাখা দরকার। অধুনা বহু সংখ্যক নূতন নূতন বিভাগ খোলা হয়েছে, এবং বহু প্রয়োজনীয় ও অপ্রয়োজনীয় কর্ম্মচারী নিযুক্ত করা হয়েছে। কিন্তু এত সব বিভাগ ও এত কর্ম্মচারী থাকা সত্বেও দেশের উন্নতি করা যাচেছ না। এই সব বিভাগ ও কর্ম্মচারী প্রকৃত কাজ করছেন কিনা, যে কাজে তাঁদের নিযুক্ত করা হয়েছে, সেই কাজের যোগ্যতা, ও শিক্ষা তাঁদের আছে কিনা, সেটা দেখা দরকার, তারপর দেশে ক্রমবর্দ্ধমান জীবনযাত্রার ব্যয় কিরূপে কমান যায়, সে বিষয় মাননীয় রাজ্যপালের বক্তৃতার মধ্যে কোন উল্লেখ নাই। জনসাধারণ যে সমাজ-বিরোধী দলের প্রতি কতকটা সহানুভূতি দেখাচেছ, তার প্রধান কারণ হচেছ জীবনযাত্রার ক্রমবর্দ্ধমান ব্যয়জনিত নিদারুণ দুর্ভোগ ও নিরাশার ভাব (sense of frustration)। আজ যে মূল্যে যে জিনিষ পাওয়া যাচেছ, এক সপ্তাহ পরেই তার মূল্য বেড়ে চলেছে। নিয়ন্ত্রণের ফলে যে দেশব্যাপী মুনাফাখোরী ও চোরাকারবারের রাজত্ব চলেছে তাহা দমন করবার কোন effective, কার্য্যকরী উপায় তাঁর বক্তৃতার মধ্যে নাই। এই চোরাকারবার ও মুনাফাখোরী যদি শীঘ্র বন্ধ করা না যায়, এই দুর্নীতি যদি সমূলে দূর করা না যায়, তাহলে আমাদের দেশকে বহু কিছু অসন্তোষের সম্মুখীন হতে হবে। এবং সেই অসন্তোষ দেশের মধ্যে যাতে বাড়তে না পারে আমাদের সরকারের সে বিষয় সজাগ হওয়া বিশেষ দরকার। তারপর কেন্দ্র হতে টাকা দেওয়া বন্ধ হওয়াতে বাংলা দেশের যে সমস্ত উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনা বন্ধ হয়ে গিয়েছে, মাননীয় রাজ্যপালের বক্তৃতায় তার উল্লেখ আছে। কিন্তু যে সমস্ত উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনা দেশকে সমৃদ্ধ করবার জন্য, খাদ্য ও বস্ত্রে দেশকে স্বাবলম্বী করবার জন্য একান্ত প্রয়োজন, কেন্দ্রের টাকা না পেলেও, ব্যয় সংক্ষেপ করে অথবা অন্য কি প্রকারে টাকা তুলে এই সব পরিকল্পনা কার্য্যকরী করা যায়, রাজ্য-পালের বক্তৃতায় তার কিছুমাত্র আভাস নাই। প্রজাতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠিত হবার পরও যে শাসন ব্যবস্থা চলেছে এটা প্রায় ইংরাজের কাছ থেকে পাওয়া শাসন পদ্ধতি। ইহা সর্বাংশে আমাদের দেশের উপযোগী নয়। আমাদের মত দরিদ্র দেশে এই মাথা-ভারী শাসন ব্যবস্থাকে পরিবর্ত্তন করবার বিশেষ কোন চেষ্টা করা হয়নি। এই ব্যবস্থায় ঊর্দ্ধতন কর্মচারীদের বেতন ঠিকই আছে। বরং বহুস্থলে বর্দ্ধিত হয়েছে এবং বহু অনাবশ্যক পদ সৃষ্টি হয়েছে। আমাদের গরীব দেশের সঙ্গে তার কোন সামঞ্জস্য নাই। গরীব দেশের অবস্থা উপযোগী ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত। আমাদের সরকারের এই বিষয়ে দৃষ্টি দেওয়া দরকার। আমি পল্লীগ্রামে নানা স্থানে ঘুরি। সেখানে দেখেছি, উচ্চপদস্থ কর্মচারীর সংখ্যা ও বেতন বৃদ্ধি হওয়ায় এবং বহু অনাবশ্যক নূতন কর্মচারী নিযুক্ত হওয়ায় জনসাধারণের মাঝে বেশ অসন্তোষের সৃষ্টি হচেছ। অপচয় নিবারণ ও ব্যয় সংক্ষেপের কার্য্যকরী কোন ব্যবস্থা না করে যদি জনসাধারণকে দুঃখকষ্ট বরণ করবার আহ্বান জানান হয়, তবে তাহাতে জনসাধারণের সাড়া পাওয়া যায় না। এ বিষয়ে জনসাধারণ যে সমস্ত প্রশ্ন করেছে আমরা তার কোন সদুত্তর দিতে পারি না। আমরা যদি কথায় এবং কার্য্যে সামঞ্জস্য দেখাতে না পারি এবং দেশের অগ্রগতির সাহায্য না করি, তবে শুধু আইনের পর আইন করে দেশের মধ্যে বর্ত্তমান অসন্তোষ দূর করতে পারবো না।

রাজ্যপাল মহাশয় কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় সংস্কার সম্বন্ধে কোন কথার উল্লেখ করেননি। কলিকাতা বিশ্ব-বিদ্যালয়ের যে সমস্ত কেলেঙ্কারীর কথা খবরের কাগজে প্রকাশিত হয়েছে এবং যে সকল দুর্নীতির কথা সমগ্র দেশে ছড়িয়ে পড়েছে, অচিরাৎ তার প্রতিকার করা কর্ত্তব্য। বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের উচ্চপদস্থ ব্যক্তিগণ যে সকল দুর্নীতির

পোষকতা করেছেন, তাতে দেশের লোকের নিকট আমাদের অত্যন্ত লজ্জা বোধ করতে হচ্ছে। যাহাতে কলিকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের এই সমস্ত কেলেঙ্কারি অতি শীঘ্র বন্ধ হয়, সে সম্পর্কে আমাদের সরকারের অবহিত হওয়া উচিত বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের প্রকাশিত পাঠ্যপুস্তক সম্বন্ধে আমি এ কথা বলতে চাই--

Mr. SPEAKER : *Your time is up.*

Sj KANAI LAL DE : Two minutes more, Sir: আমাদের সরকার কয়েকা শিত পাঠ্যপুস্তক প্রণয়ন করে বাস্তবিক দেশের কল্যাণ করেছেন। এই সম্পর্কে বলতে চা যে, কতকগুলি পাঠ্যপুস্তক প্রকাশ করে কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় অত্যন্ত লাভ করছেন, সে বিষয় দৃষ্টি দেওয়া কর্তব্য। দৃষ্টান্তস্বরূপ বলতে পারি ১৯৫২ সালের Matriculation Poetical selection এর বই, যার পৃষ্ঠা সংখ্যা মাত্র ৪৬, তার মূল্য দেড় টাকা করা হয়েছে, যেগুলি Publishe ছয় আনায় দিতে পারে, এবং আমার মনে হয় সরকার যদি নিজে এই বই ছাপাতেন তাহলে আর করে মাত্র চার আনায় দিতে পারতেন। বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের প্রকাশিত আরও অনেক পাঠ্যপুস্তকের মূল্য ও এইরূপ অত্যধিক। কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের মত শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠানের এই প্রকার অন্যায় ব্যবসা বুদ্ধির দ্বারা চালিত হওয়া অনুচিত। আমার সময় হয়ে গিয়েছে--আর বেশী কিছু বলব না, শেষ কথা বলে আসন গ্রহণ করছি আশা করেছিলাম যে রাজ্যশাসনের একটা আশাময় উৎসাহময় পূর্ণাঙ্গ ছবি দেখতে পাব, শাসকবর্গের নিকট আমার বিশেষ অনুরোধ তাঁরা যেন দেশের বর্তমান অবস্থা বিবেচনা করে দেশের সর্বাঙ্গীন উন্নতি করবার জন্য সচেষ্ট হন

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this procedure of the Address by His Excellency the Governor is a new one under the new Constitution, and no convention has yet developed. In the British Parliament there is only one Parliament, and there is no State in that. Therefore the analogy of the British House of Commons does not exactly hold good here. Therefore the convention has to be developed by the Cabinet here, and what I expected was a broad declaration of policy on behalf of the Cabinet because after all the Governor is a constitutional Governor. I must say that I have been rather disappointed. But I am glad that His Excellency in underlining certain information given to us, has given a broad hint or an implied hint about certain policies. The first thing that he has said is that the anti-social elements have got to be curbed. I think everyone in this House, not merely everyone in this House but every sensible man, will agree with him that these anti-social elements must be curbed and the cult of acid bulb and bomb has no place in a free India. At the same time I must say that there are other anti-social elements about whom there is no mention. This blackmarketing and corruption is as much anti-social as the other one. A man who does not kill a snake may be a worse man because he may even take the last morsel of food from the mouth of a poor man. Just as our revered Congress leader Lala Lajpat Rai once wrote in 1916 that his grandfather would not kill a snake because that would be *himsa* but he would not mind taking the last morsel of food from the mouth of a poor man. This is perverted *ahimsa*. I am sure we shall not encourage this violence, naked violence in another form. I do appeal to the Government of which I am also a part—though I may not be a Minister—to declare this blackmarketing as a subversive activity and to bring forward a Bill—as I am sure it will be coming—for declaring blackmarketing as a subversive activity. Unless we can stop this blackmarketing and corruption I do not know what is going to come upon our head.

One other thing that His Excellency the Governor has said is that we have to curtail many development schemes because there is no money. The Centre is not in a position to get us money. Yes, that is true, but I have not seen any mention of economy in the administrative expenditure. I do feel that there is sufficient room for economy in the expenditure. I do not agree with my labour leaders when they said that there should be no retrenchment. I do say Government is not a charitable institution; and if there is an unwanted man in the Government he should not be kept. If five men can do the work, the sixth man should not be there. As soon as there is retrenchment, if you begin

to shout, there would be no reason behind that shouting and you will have to face that shouting. *I do say that there should be retrenchment and economy in expenditure and I do appeal to the Chief Minister that there should be a Committee set up which will go into the whole thing* and reduce the administrative expenditure and spend that money for development work. If the Central Government cannot give money mere abuses will not bring it. We may abuse the Central Government as much as we can from this House but that would be of no effect. Therefore I say in all humility that we should try our level best to economise in expenditure and save money for national development. That national development will help us in even curbing the anti-social elements. They are exploiting the present situation, the present economic situation and the present miseries of the people just as much as blackmarketers during the famine time exploited the people and the dead—I know that even in the burning ghat exploitation goes on. So I know that there are these unsocial elements.

In view of the prevailing tension that we see all round more or less, there should be a re-adumbration of policy about the communal minorities. I know Pandit Jawarharlalji, our Prime Minister, has said in clear terms that we do not believe in the policy of retaliation. Whatever may happen in Pakistan, Muslims in India are as much citizens of Indian Union as we are. I know that it is the broad policy of the Congress and I do say without fear of contradiction that this is the policy of our Government too. But what I do feel at this juncture is that it requires re-adumbration. It would do good; it would do no harm. Therefore, I do appeal to our Chief Minister especially to re-adumbrate the policy.

Then about Relief and Rehabilitation His Excellency said, "Yes, we should rehabilitate those people who have come here and will continue to rehabilitate them" but I must say during the period of two years it has not proceeded satisfactorily. Merely saying that it has not worked satisfactorily is no good and so I do suggest—what I once told our Chief Minister—that the waste lands and the fallow lands that are here in Western Bengal should be acquired by the Government as soon as possible at the price of 1946, *i.e.*, the pre-partition price so that these moneyed men or the men who hold the lands may not exploit even these poor refugees and the lands may be given to them and if the refugees get room for putting their heads then a good deal of trouble on that account will be over. Otherwise what is happening now is to-day they are trying to occupy this place and to-morrow they are trying to occupy that place. Of course, no Government can tolerate unlawful occupation of any place and if you go and eject them with police help, immediately the sympathy of the public goes to those people—and that is true—and therefore Government becomes unpopular. Therefore an alternative solution must be found out, that is, land must be found out for them where they can build their houses and somehow accommodate themselves. I do believe this policy will be accepted instead of continually saying that we have 850 people per square mile. I know that and that is made up of the urban people. In Western Bengal the urban people form about 30 to 33 per cent of the entire population and I know that itself is a great handicap just as in Austria where on account of the high population of Vienna they were in difficulty and ultimately succumbed to the union with Germany. Once our Chief Minister said there is awful congestion in Calcutta. No doubt there is and the congestion in Calcutta should be removed. I entirely agree with him there and sometimes I do even feel that Calcutta should be declared as a closed city and nobody should be allowed to come to Calcutta unless he holds a permit from the Government about what he is going to do here, to prove whether he is required here in Calcutta or not and we can enforce that only if we can make available alternative accommodation or alternative places somewhere else; otherwise we shall be in great difficulty. That is what I have got to say in this connection.

There has been mention of food production. We want to be self-sufficient in food; everyone wants to be self-sufficient in food and unless there is a great attempt made we are not going to attain self-sufficiency in food. My friend Mr. Sen has given us statistics to show that we may or may not be barely sufficient in rice or paddy but that in every other thing we are deficient, that we have not got sufficient milk, sufficient vegetables, sufficient fish, sufficient oil and as a matter of fact anything else which can be called protective food. I know that. We have got to make great strides in that direction; otherwise man cannot depend on rice alone and out of a man's total family budget probably the rice budget is not more than 16 to 20 per cent. The price of everything has gone up, even the price of sugar, and if a man consumes one seer of sugar a month the price that was 10½ annas in 1947 is now one rupee according to the controlled price and if purchased from blackmarket 3 rupees or 4 rupees sometimes. (Shaikh Mohammad Rafique: Rs. 2-8). I do not know the correct blackmarket price. Of course I see one visitor here who is the Chairman of a District Board and he told me one day that at one time when he was ill he had to buy sugar paying one rupee for a quarter seer. That much I know and I am reminded of it by seeing his face. And so that is what is happening. The price of oil has gone up; the price of other things that is coming from outside this State is going up. Oil partly is coming from outside West Bengal and sugar is practically coming from outside Western Bengal. The prices have gone up and therefore I do say there should be equity in the prices of food commodities.

I do appeal to the Government to have a special board called the Agricultural Commodities Prices Board just on the model more or less of the Tariff Board. Just as the Tariff Board decides the prices of industrial commodities, this Board may fix the prices of agricultural commodities and then there will be no question that the Government is not serious. Unless the tiller of the soil becomes the owner of the land, there is no hope for this country and the agricultural improvement will not be there but there must be progressive land reform through and through. I do hope reform Bills in that direction will be moved and whatever Bills have been moved may be amended in that direction so that we may give proper encouragement to the agriculturists. After all, even if I grow vegetables in one cottah of land, it will not help very much—of course, it will help to a certain extent—but ultimately we shall have to depend on the cultivators and we have got to encourage the cultivators. At the same time, we have—if I am wrong Srijut Sen will correct me—7·86 lakh acres of land under cultivation with vegetables and if one acre of land can produce at least 100 maunds, then there can be no dearth of vegetables, but we have awful dearth of vegetables in this country now. In some Bengali paper—I do not see that paper now, "Bashundhara" or some paper that is published by the Government of Bengal—in that paper I saw 93 acres of land under potato cultivation. If these two things are taken up together—100 maunds can be produced per acre—then there will be no dearth of vegetables. We have awful dearth now. Therefore, I do appeal to the Agriculture Minister—the Food Minister is also the Agriculture Minister now—to take up this thing and educate the agriculturist's son in the art of production so that they can produce at least 150 maunds per acre and it is not very difficult to produce 150 maunds per acre in the soil of Western Bengal. Then there will be no dearth of vegetables.

As for fisheries, I do say, as I suggested to him privately one year before, during the budget session, that if these derelict tanks or silted up tanks which their owners think as their own property cannot be improved by them—these tanks are debit balance of the nation—if their owners cannot improve them, they should be given the first chance, if they do not do so, then anybody who can re-excavate the tank will be the owner of the tank and the land. Then, I think, thousands of old tanks will be re-excavated and we shall get more fish and we shall get more vegetables and it will not

cost anything to the Government because I know on account of the financial stringency Government may not be able to do that, and whatever little past experience we have about the re-excavation of tanks, I think, Government will not feel enthused to do that either. Therefore, I do appeal that such a law may be passed.

Then the Congress is wedded to the abolition of the zemindary. I think there should be thorough land reform including the abolition of the zemindary.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: That wedding now stands dissolved

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: You said the Congress was wedded to that abolition but that marriage has been dissolved.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Were you the priest in the dissolution of that marriage? I know if Janab Khuda Bukhsh is appointed the priest of marriages, there will be divorces all round! (Laughter.)

Now, a Bill is coming about the Calcutta Corporation, but I do appeal to our Chief Minister that there should be an early election of the Calcutta Corporation Not merely that, but there should be early election of the other district boards also which are more or less nominated and which have been functioning as nominated bodies after the partition Recently I went to a place where the Chairman of the District Board himself said: "Well, Sir, what is this? I was nominated while you were the Premier but then I am still nominated Why is no election held?" This election should be held. Even the Chairman of the District Board says that election should be held because a Congressman does not want to shirk election but circumstances may compel otherwise. But I do say that we must be able to get over the circumstances. After all, excuses are excuses and are no justification. Therefore, I do say in all humility that the election of the Calcutta Corporation should be held by July next because otherwise there is a possibility—and I do think it should be done—that the election of the Assembly would be held in the next winter. Then there will be a clash—either one will be held or another will not be held and some excuse or other will come. That will make both the Government and the Congress organisation unpopular because, after all, we want the co-operation of the people Now, in order to get the co-operation of the people, we must see the temper of the people also, otherwise we cannot get the co-operation of the people I will tell you about the recent experience that I had I was going through a place in West Dinajpur and the coolies from Bihar were constructing the road. Big pieces of earth were on the road and my car could not proceed Then the driver in his usual way said "মাটি হটাও"। The coolies did not listen to him at all. They were standing where they were. I realised it and I said بھائی ذرا مہربانی کیجئے Then immediately they began to remove it. This is the temper of the country. We must take note of that and we cannot ignore this temper of the country.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: You spoke in Urdu and therefore they did it.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: I spoke in Hindusthani because they could understand Hindusthani as they were Biharis. My friend may be enamoured of Urdu but I am enamoured of all the languages That is my lot.

So, I say that this election should be held as early as possible and that will help us in getting the public co-operation.

Another thing which has been said in the Governor's address is that the Secondary Education Bill which we thought would come last year is going to come this session, but I hope my friend Sri Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri will realise that the reform of the Calcutta University is overdue. There are only 400 registered graduates or about that. So, it has

become a sort of pocket borough—a pocket borough of registered graduates with nominated members. It is a misfit in a democratic country under a democratic constitution. So, I appeal to him to have a Bill so that the Calcutta University may be democratised and all the registered graduates, just on the model of the London University or other universities, may by paying Rs. 5 become registered graduates for life and give their votes. Then you will get thousands of rupees and the total money will be more. Naturally this will not be a pocket borough. 80 per cent of the members of the Senate will consist of these registered graduates and 20 per cent. will be nominated—officials and experts and others. Then the Calcutta University will be a really democratic body. It is not a democratic body today and under a democratic Government all these institutions should be democratised. That is how I feel.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I am sure you initiated the move during your regime.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: When you are saying this I may say that I was thinking of doing this during the Budget, but before I could do that, during the latter part of December I came to know that I would have to go, and, therefore, I did not do that. Now the University Commission Report has also come out and everything is before us. Now we cannot say that we shall not do it, and I know in Calcutta on account of so *many things* there is a sort of disturbance of the balance in the student world. If we remove a good number of them from Calcutta and give them third-class colleges, third rate institutions, they will not go; they will simply refuse to go.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: You can set up a college in Andamans and send them there.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: If you want to go to Andamans, I would request Dr Roy to send you there. (Laughter.)

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I am no longer a student.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Why request others to go when you yourself do not like to go?

So in all humility I do tell you that unless you can do this, merely saying that the students are bad will not help us, because after all the State has to see that the students become good, and we must have such a system of education by which the students will become not merely good but at least better than us. I do hope that in this spirit we shall work and we shall make this Province happy and prosperous. I know this Province has many difficulties, but to overcome those difficulties is man's business. Simply to say that "I have difficulties and difficulties" is not man's business. I hope that with the help and co-operation of the public we shall be able to do it if we take all the steps that I have envisaged. I have said all these things in all humility and not with the idea that I have the monopoly of wisdom and that others are not as wise as myself—my friend Janab Khuda Bukhsh is certainly wiser than myself. I repeat that I have suggested this not with the idea that I have the monoply of wisdom but in all humility and I hope that it will be accepted in that spirit and Government will give effect to these things, so that West Bengal will be happy and prosperous.

Sj. BINA BHOWMICK: মাননীয় সভাপাল মহোদয়, সেসনের প্রারম্ভেই আমাদের নুতন শাসনতন্ত্রে প্রদেশপালের অভিভাষণের যে ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে আমার মনে হয় তার উদ্দেশ্য হচ্ছে প্রদেশের গুরুতর সমস্যাগুলির আলোচনা এবং তার সমাধানের জন্য প্রাদেশিক সরকারের নীতি ও প্রোগ্রাম দেশবাসীর সামনে উপস্থিত করা। সরকার এই সব সমস্যা সমাধানের জন্য কি ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করবেন সেই নীতির একটা সুস্পষ্ট ও সমগ্ররূপ

দেশের সামনে উপস্থাপিত করার যে সুবিধা ও সুযোগ ছিল, এবং যা করা খুব বাঞ্ছনীয় ছিল, আমাদের প্রদেশপালের ভাষণে সে উদ্দেশ্য যে সাধিত হয় নি একথা অনেকেরই মনে হবে। কাজেই আমাদের আলোচনার scope অনেকটা কমে গেছে। যা হোক প্রদেশপালের অতি সংক্ষিপ্ত ভাষণে সরকারী নীতি সম্বন্ধে যা বলা হয়েছে ও যা বলা হয় নি কিন্তু বলা উচিত ছিল, সে সম্বন্ধে সামান্য কিছু আলোচনা করতে চাই।

প্রদেশপালের ভাষণে এক জায়গায় বলা হয়েছে, আইন প্রয়োগের ব্যাপারে সরকার যদি জনসাধারণের সহযোগিতা না পায়, তবে শুধু আইন পাশ করেই আইন ও শৃঙ্খলা বজায় রাখা যায় না। এই অভিমতের সঙ্গে সবাই একমত হবে। কিন্তু জনসাধারণের সক্রিয় সহযোগিতা লাভ করতে হলে জনসাধারণ ও কংগ্রেস প্রভৃতি জনপ্রতিষ্ঠানের সঙ্গে যেরূপ যোগাযোগ থাকা প্রয়োজন, জনসাধারণ সহযোগিতা করতে এগিয়ে এলে সরকার ও পুলিস কর্ত্তৃপক্ষের কাছ থেকে যেরূপ সাড়া আসা প্রয়োজন, অনেক ক্ষেত্রেই তা দেখ্‌তে পাওয়া যাচ্ছে না, এ কথা মনে করার যথেষ্ট কারণ আছে। উদাহরণ স্বরূপ এখানে একটা ঘটনার উল্লেখ করা যেতে পারে। আশা করি, সরকার এর সত্যাসত্য অনুসন্ধান করে প্রয়োজনীয় ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করবেন। গত ২৬শে জানুয়ারী দক্ষিণ কলিকাতায় একজন হাঙ্গামাকারী যুবককে বহু জায়গা থেকে জাতীয় পতাকা অপসারণ ও ছিঁড়ে ফেল্‌তে দেখে একজন ভদ্রলোক তাকে আট্‌কে রেখে স্থানীয় থানায় খবর দেয় তাকে গ্রেপ্তার করে নিয়ে যাবার জন্য। উত্তরে থানা থেকে নাকি বলা হয় "আপনিই তাকে থানায় পৌঁছে দিয়ে যান"। জনসাধারণের সহযোগিতার উত্তরে পুলিস কর্ত্তৃপক্ষের কাছ থেকে যদি এ জাতীয় "সাড়া" আসে, তবে সেই সহযোগিতা বিশেষ পাবার আশা বৃথা।

তারপর প্রদেশপালের ভাষণে উল্লিখিত anti-social elementsদের দমন করার প্রয়োজনীয়তা সম্বন্ধে কারো দ্বিমত হবার কথা নয়। কিন্তু মনে রাখতে হবে, যারা দাঙ্গা হাঙ্গামা করে, পট্‌কা ছোড়ে বা ট্রাম বাস পোড়ায়, তারাই শুধু anti-social elements নয়। শুধু তাদের দমন করবার চেষ্টাই পর্য্যাপ্ত নয়। যারা চোরা-কারবারী, মুনাফাখোর ও ঘুষ-খোর, যারা খাদ্যে ভেজাল মেশায়, রাতারাতি নুন, তেল বা চিনির দাম বাড়িয়ে দিয়ে সঙ্কটের সৃষ্টি করে—এক কথায়, যারা আইনকে ফাঁকি দিয়ে বা আইনের অভাবের সুযোগ নিয়ে জনসাধারণ ও শ্রমিকদের শোষণ করে তারাও কম anti-social নয়। এ জাতীয় anti-social elements যা দেশে ছড়িয়ে রয়েছে, তাদের কথা গা-সওয়া হয়ে গেছে বলেই বোধ হয় আমরা ভুলে থাকি অথচ ভুলবার বা ক্ষমার যোগ্য তারা মোটেই নয়। অনেক সময় সরকারপক্ষ বা পুলিস কর্ত্তৃপক্ষ থেকে বলা হয়, মুনাফাখোর বা চোরা-কারবারীদের দমন করার জন্য যথেষ্ট আইন তাদের হাতে নেই। গত বৎসর পণ্ডিত জওহর লাল যখন কলকাতা আসেন, তখন তার সেই "nearest lamp-post"এ চোরা-কারবারীদের ফাঁসি দেবার কথা স্মরণ করিয়ে দেওয়া হলে তিনি স্বীকার করেন এদের উপযুক্ত শাস্তির জন্য প্রয়োজনীয় আইন করা দরকার। সরকার যদি আইন করা দরকার মনে করেন এবং আইন করার ক্ষমতা যখন রয়েছে, তখন কেন এজন্য প্রয়োজনীয় আইন করা হয় না, এ প্রশ্নের সদুত্তর জনসাধারণ চায়। তা ছাড়া আমি যে শেষোক্ত anti-social elementsএর কথা উল্লেখ করেছি, তাদের দমন করার জন্য যেসব আইন সরকারের আছে, তারও পুরোপুরি প্রয়োগ হচ্ছে বলে মনে হয় না। কাজেই এ সম্বন্ধেও আমাদের কর্ত্তৃপক্ষকে আরও বিশেষ অবহিত হতে হবে।

তারপর আর একটা জিনিষ—শ্রমিকদের কথা। শ্রমিক সমস্যা বাংলা দেশের অন্যতম প্রধান সমস্যা। অত্যন্ত আশ্চর্য্য ও দুঃখের বিষয় প্রদেশপালের ভাষণে তার উল্লেখ পর্য্যন্ত নেই। মালিক-শ্রমিক বিরোধ, ধর্ম্মঘট, ছাঁটাই, কারখানা বন্ধ—এসব বেড়েই চলেছে। অথচ এসব সম্বন্ধে আমাদের প্রাদেশিক সরকারের কোন সুচিন্তিত ও সুস্পষ্ট নীতি বিশেষ কিছু দেখ্‌তে পাওয়া যাচ্ছে না। শুধু শাস্তিমূলক আইন, আর পুলিসের সাহায্যে এসব সমস্যার সমাধান খোঁজা অদূরদর্শীতার পরিচয়। বল প্রয়োগ বা দাঙ্গাহাঙ্গামা বন্ধ করার জন্য পুলিসের প্রয়োগে কেউ আপত্তি করবে না। কিন্তু এমন দৃষ্টান্ত বিরল নয় যখন শান্তিপূর্ণ ধর্ম্মঘট ও পিকেটিংএর ক্ষেত্রেও ১৪৪ ধারা, সিকিউরিটি অ্যাক্ট, ও পুলিসের অপপ্রয়োগ দেখা যায়। মালিক-শ্রমিক বিরোধ মীমাংসার জন্য ট্রাইবুনাল আছে। কিন্তু কার্য্যতঃ দেখা যায় বহুক্ষেত্রে শ্রমিকদের আবেদন ট্রাইবুনালে পেশ করতে সরকার অযথা বিলম্ব করেন এবং কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে তা মোটেই পেশ করা হয় না। ট্রাইবুনালের রায় অমান্য করার জন্য মালিকদের বিরুদ্ধে বিশেষ কোন ব্যবস্থাই অবলম্বন করা হয় না। এসব কারণে সরকারের নিরপেক্ষতা সম্বন্ধে শ্রমিকদের মনে স্বভাবতঃই সন্দেহ আসে।

আর একটা বিষয় এখানে বলা উচিত মনে করি। বাংলা সরকারের শ্রমবিভাগের দক্ষতা অত্যন্ত হতাশাজনক। শিল্প, বাণিজ্য ও শ্রমিক সমস্যার দিক দিয়ে বোম্বাই ও বাংলার গুরুত্ব সর্ব্বাধিক এবং এ ব্যাপারে এ দুটা প্রদেশ প্রায় সমান পর্য্যায়েই পড়ে। অথচ কি উপযুক্ত কর্ম্মচারীর সংখ্যায়, কি মালিক-শ্রমিক বিরোধের মীমাংসার চেষ্টায়, কি ফ্যাক্টরী অ্যাক্ট ও অন্যান্য শ্রমিক আইন কার্য্যকরীভাবে প্রয়োগ করার ব্যাপারে, কি শিল্প ও শ্রমিকদের

...ীয় প্রয়োজনীয় ষ্টাটিষ্টিক্স ও অন্যান্য তথ্য সংগ্রহের ব্যাপারে এসব বিষয়ে বাংলা সরকারের শ্রমবিভাগ বোম্বায়ের পেছনে পড়ে আছে। বাংলা সরকারের শ্রমনীতি যেভাবে চলেছে তাতে শ্রমিক সমস্যা বেড়েই চল্‌বে, যার ...ল শুধু শ্রমিক, মালিক, ব্যবসায়ী ও জনসাধারণই ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হবে না, সরকারকেও আর্থিক ও রাজনীতিক ভাবে ...তিগ্রস্ত হতে হবে। কংগ্রেস সরকারের ত্রুটি-বিচ্যুতির ফলে কংগ্রেস প্রতিষ্ঠানকেও ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হতে হবে, একথা ...লে চলবে না।

তারপর বাস্তুত্যাগীদের সমস্যা—বাস্তুত্যাগীদের পুনর্বসতি ব্যাপারে বাংলা সরকারের শৈথিল্য সর্ব্বভারতবিদিত।

তারপর স্বাস্থ্য ও শিক্ষা—এক্ষেত্রেও সরকারী প্রচেষ্টা অত্যন্ত অপ্রতুল। যক্ষ্মা, ম্যালেরিয়া, বেরি বেরি ও ভেজাল খাদ্য ব্যবহারজনিত নানাবিধ রোগে দেশ ছেয়ে যাচ্ছে। এসব প্রতিকারের জন্য বিশেষ কোন সুকল্পিত চেষ্টা দেখা যাচেছ না। শিক্ষা ক্ষেত্রেও তাই। আমাদের বড় রকম একটা স্বপ্ন ছিল যে দেশ স্বাধীন হওয়ার সঙ্গে সমস্ত দেশ জুড়ে নিরক্ষরতা দূরীকরণের আন্দোলন সুরু হবে; প্রাইমারী ও বয়স্কদের শিক্ষার জন্য জাতীয় সরকার আরও উৎসাহী ও সচেষ্ট হবে। আমরাও তাতে প্রেরণা পাব এবং সেই জাতি-উন্নয়ন প্রচেষ্টায় যোগ দেব। কিন্তু এখানেও আমরা হতাশ হয়েছি।

স্বাধীন হবার পর কংগ্রেস সরকার দেশটাকে রাতারাতি স্বর্গ বানিয়ে তুলবে, এটা অবশ্য কেউ আশা করে না কিন্তু দেশের লোক অন্ততঃ এটুকু দেখ্‌তে চেয়েছিল, সরকার অন্নবস্ত্র, শিক্ষা, স্বাস্থ্য প্রভৃতির ব্যবস্থার জন্য, অরাজকতা ও দুর্নীতি দমনের জন্য একটা সুকল্পিত কর্ম্মপন্থা নিয়ে আন্তরিকভাবে চেষ্টা কর্‌ছে। তারা আরও দেখ্‌তে চায়, এসব সমস্যার সমাধানের জন্য সরকার জনসাধারণের সহযোগিতা সম্ভব করে তুলছে।

আর একটা জিনিষ—আমাদের সব কিছুই যেন ঢিমেতেতালা। অন্য অনেক প্রদেশ থেকে আমরা নানা ব্যাপারে পিছিয়ে আছি। জমিদারী প্রথা বিলোপের ব্যাপারে অনেক প্রদেশ অনেক খানি এগিয়ে গেছে—আমাদের বাংলা সরকারের পক্ষ থেকে বিশেষ কোন উচ্চবাচ্যই শুন্‌তে পাওয়া যাচেছ না। সব কিছুই এত দেরীতে হয় কেন তার কোন সদুত্তর পাই না। অথচ এই ধরণের দেরী দেশের লোকের পক্ষে মর্ম্মান্তিক হয়ে উঠেছে। গল্প শুনেছি কেন্দ্রীয় শাসন ভার কংগ্রেস দলের হাতে আসার কিছুদিন পরে বাপুজি এক সময় জওহরলালজীকে বলেছিলেন "জেরা জোরসে তো কদম্‌ বাড়াও"। অত্যন্ত আস্তে আস্তে তোমাদের কাজ চলে। মহাত্মাজীর পুণ্য নাম নিয়ে, দুর্গত দেশবাসীর পক্ষ থেকে বাংলা সরকারকেও আজ সেই অনুরোধ জানাব—তারা যেন আর একটু জোরে কদম বাড়ান।

Janab ABDUL WAHID SARKAR: Sir, at the very outset I desire to give expression to the feeling of universal rejoicing at the inauguration of Sovereign Democratic Republican Constitution of this Dominion which His Excellency the Governor of West Bengal has in his opening address so fittingly described as a historic occasion. The people of all creeds and colours of this vast union, having obtained their long and cherished Freedom and Constitution, participated in the celebrations with a spontaneity and in a manner never witnessed in the annals of history. We are thankful to the Almighty for the realisation of our ambitions. But we should by no means be unmindful of the glorious record of the unparalleled devotion to motherland and heroic sacrifices of the noble band of patriots and martyrs who have contributed to this happy termination of the long drawn struggle for freedom. Now that we have gained our objective, a heavy responsibility lies on each of us. It is the bounden duty of every citizen of this union to do everything in his power to make this Republic an ideal state by promoting peace, goodwill and prosperity, so that it may occupy a leading place in the comity of nations and may exert a sobering influence in preventing conflicts which, unfortunately appear to darken the political horizon at the present moment. Let "Construction" and not "Destruction" be our watchword as it is only in that way that we can achieve peace and public tranquillity in the country. His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to foreshadow in his speech the introduction in the Assembly of several Bills. The consideration of these measures will no doubt constitute a fairly heavy agenda. The financial stringency referred to by His Excellency in his speech has led to a curtailment of several useful measures calculated to benefit the masses. The people of this province have been

obsessed with a feeling of frustration at this. The Damodar Valley Project, so full of potentialities, has been delayed in its execution, nobody knows for what indefinite period. The abandonment of other useful projects, calculated to promote the well-being of the people is highly deplorable. Particularly so are the measures relating to irrigation for West Bengal, as we are all aware, it is a dry land and needs copious water for its crops. While on this subject, I deem it my duty to point out that financial stringency should on no account be allowed to stand in the way of "Grow More Food" campaign. Bearing in mind the fact that we have resolved to be self-sufficient in the matter of Food production within the year 1951, the extreme urgency of adopting all possible measures for the development of our land resources, will be quite apparent.

Rehabilitation of displaced persons is one of the burning questions of the day and a satisfactory solution of the problem has been long overdue. Rightly or wrongly, people feel that the failure of the Government to tackle this vexed problem and the allied problem of unemployment has led to a substantial swelling of the ranks of the anti-social elements who constitute a menace to the healthy and orderly progress of the nation. Unfortunately we do not find any reference to these matters in His Excellency's speech, nor is there any indication in the speech of the introduction of any legislative measure aiming at the solution of these urgent problems. There is, however, a reference that approval of the Assembly will be sought for special powers with which the Government will be invested to curb the activities of the anti-social elements. His Excellency has expressed the confidence that these powers will be used only to the extent consistent with the security of the state. I feel distressed, however to state that our past experience belies that confidence and that misuse of these special powers has not been too infrequent.

His Excellency the Governor has concluded his speech with the hope that measures for the amelioration of the condition of the people will be undertaken by the Ministers It would be fitting and proper that these measures should follow the lines laid down by the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, to whose beloved name we find no reference in His Excellency's speech.

Sir, the Muslims are passing their days in a sense of frustration. Their lives are always in danger. Their shops and properties are looted. Attacks on them have become too frequent. It is true that police comes to control the situation. But when? When everything is over, when Muslims have been injured, stabbed, killed, properties and shops of Muslims have been looted, houses and quarters have been burnt, police reaches the spot and finds the miscreants have left. If this state of things be allowed to continue, I am afraid there will not be any sign of Muslims here. I think, if the Government has the earnest intention to control the situation, they can do it in a day. In many places Muslims are unnecessarily harassed, their houses are searched, and externment orders are issued on them, even when failing to prove the allegation of anti-social activities against them. Registration for sale or any kind of deed of Muslim properties has been totally stopped. Even orders for the sale of properties of persons who are in death-bed are not allowed. All these acts show how the Muslims are oppressed. We do not want to put forward any special demands. We want safeguards for our lives and properties and for living peacefully. We only ask for justice and fairplay. I earnestly appeal to the Government of West Bengal to take drastic steps to maintain law and order and to sternly deal with any attempt of miscreants so that the lives and properties of the Muslims are secured; only press-notes and statements will not serve the purpose.

With these few observations, Sir, I beg to resume my seat.

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: Mr. Speaker, the address was given by the Governor of the State of West Bengal because the Constitution Act requires that

he has got to tell this House the causes for which this House has been summoned. Formerly when the House used to be summoned there was no such procedure for laying before the House, at the commencement, the purpose for which the House was summoned and only as the work proceeded the members became aware of the causes for the summoning of the House. The New Constitution has introduced this system and this system is useful and will prove useful and beneficial because as we find now the Head of the State—of course not on his own initiative (being a constitutional Governor)—on behalf of his Ministers will in the course of his address indicate the points and the purposes of the session. We find that in the address His Excellency has indicated the measures which will come for our approval. As has already been stated, we miss in this speech a comprehensive statement of the policy which the Ministry is going to follow and to put into execution. The address should have specifically indicated that the object of the legislation was to ensure such and such end. However, as this is the very first address under the New Constitution, we hope and trust that in future addresses our Government will see to it that the members of this House are well-informed regarding the business they will be called upon to undertake during the session. Every session henceforth will commence by an address from the head of the State and we are sure what we miss in the present address will be found in future addresses of the head of the State when other sessions are held.

I have listened to the speakers and particularly the points which struck me have been dealt with by Dr. Ghosh very elaborately. I do not think I ought to repeat what others have emphasized.

With regard to the Corporation I feel I ought to make it clear to the Government that the citizens of Calcutta certainly expected that an election will be held by March next at the latest. Even now if the Government desires to hold an election by March, to my mind it can be done, because of the fact that a preliminary electoral roll on the basis of adult franchise has been prepared, and unless there is any insurmountable obstacle in the way of the Government we ought to have the next election of the Calcutta Corporation on the basis of adult franchise and on the basis of the preliminary roll that has been prepared. Sir, you are aware that the Calcutta Corporation has got to provide for the facilities and amenities to the people residing within this great city. Therefore, the previous basis of franchise based on payment of rent or owning of property need not be adhered to and since we have adopted a Constitution in which the people have been given the supreme voice, it is meet and proper in my humble opinion that in the administration of the Calcutta Corporation the voice of the people ought to be enforced and instead of extending the temporary period of supersession of the Corporation of Calcutta further, we ought to hold the election as early as possible, if not by March at least by the middle of July as Dr. Ghosh has suggested.

We find next that the estimate of the public services has been referred to in the speech. I should like the Government to examine very closely the expenditure under the head of Public Services and make sure that there is not any unnecessary expenditure incurred under the head of public services before they think of reducing expenditure on a number of useful schemes designed to promote the well-being of the people. It is stated that these had to be abandoned. I hope during the reply the Chief Minister will be able to indicate to us that the minimum expenditure regarding the public services is provided and no scheme which is conducive to the well-being of the people has been abandoned where it was avoidable. I should particularly like the Chief Minister to tell us what was the expenditure on account of the Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries and other persons at the top in 1947, what has it been in 1948 and what is going to be the expenditure under that head in 1949-50, because there is an impression abroad—and I hope that impression is not well grounded—that

there is heavy expenditure at the top, there is multiplication of departments and officers requiring possibly more officers to co-ordinate the activities of the different departments that have been set up.

Today the problem which is difficult and almost baffling to this State of West Bengal is the problem of refugee rehabilitation. Every right thinking man would admit that it is not possible for the small province of West Bengal to make room for all the refugees that are coming into West Bengal. It is not possible to find employment, to find housing accommodation for all the people that have been coming, but at the same time these people who are coming here really expect that the Government should do all that is possible to help them. I think the West Bengal Government should at once take charge of all the waste unproductive lands available in this province and acquire them at their proper prices and make an allotment of these lands to the refugees who require some accommodation. That will at least show that we are willing to help them in accommodating themselves, but I am afraid in that respect we have not done all that was possible. This is a very easy thing to do and it is necessary that that should be done. Unless we can tackle to some extent the question of accommodation we find that those who are ill-disposed towards the State, they are taking advantage of the desperation in which these refugees find themselves and creating further troubles for the Government. Law and Order has got to be maintained but if more people than those who are employed in maintaining law and order take it into their head not to obey, it is not possible for any Government to maintain law and order. We shall therefore have to examine what are the things, what are the causes which lend support to the mischief-makers to create trouble and to embarrass the Government, and we all know by now that the unfortunate lot of the refugees is being exploited for the purpose of embarrassing this Government. It is therefore necessary in my opinion that we should apply wholeheartedly in this matter and whatever practical things lie in our power we should not spare a moment to undertake those measures.

With these few words I welcome the new procedure for the Head of the State to inform the House as to the causes of the summons and I hope in future we shall get a fuller picture than what has been vouchsafed to us this time.

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a matter of profound regret that there is no reference in His Excellency the Governor's speech to the utter failure of Government to solve the country's food problem during the last two long years of administration, to abolish the control and to check and crush the anti-social blackmarketers. Sir, I believe there will be no end of prevailing corruption and blackmarketing unless the existing control system is abolished. The various kinds of daily increasing anti-social elements are at present reigning supreme in the city, towns and mofussils and have destroyed the peace and tranquillity which are vitally necessary for the progress and prosperity of a nation. It seems that our Government has become totally helpless in the hands of these anti-social elements and that is why unchecked blackmarketing and corruption are causing endless suffering to the people. The big blackmarketing capitalists and industrialists have so monopolised the whole field of production and distribution that just like the All-powerful God who said "Let there be light and there was light" these capitalists can make cloth, sugar and other necessaries of life appear in or disappear from the market to suit their will and satisfy their insatiable thirst for their huge accumulation of wealth and capital.

Another sort of anti-social elements, *i.e.*, a communal-minded section of the people of our country has nowadays become a constant source of danger to the safety of life and property of the Muslim minority. In almost all the districts of West Bengal they are carrying on organised

movement to harass and oppress the innocent members of the said community under the various pleas of being refugees from East Bengal. Many cases of loot, arson and murder have occurred during the last few days. Has not the Government sufficient power and police force to stop this reign of terror and lawlessness and save the life and property of the loyal and peaceful citizens of the country? The Muslims of West Bengal have in clear and unequivocal terms declared their unstinted loyalty and allegiance to the Indian Dominion and they are ready to sacrifice their all and shed their last drop of blood for the cause of this Dominion. Why are they then allowed to be thrown to the frenzy of those anti-social elements to deal with their life and property, honour and prestige as they like? I want to conclude here by saying to our Government in the words of the Persian poet—

اے دوست گردن طلبی، جان بة نجشم

از جان چه عریز است بگو بتو نجشم

"Oh! friend, if you want my life, I am ready to present it to you; please let me know what is dearer than the life that I can offer to you as a present to prove my love for you."

With these words, Sir, I resume my seat.

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the course of his address and at the very outset His Excellency has drawn our attention to two phenomena of supreme importance. The first one is that this is the first session of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly after India has been declared a Sovereign Democratic Republic. It is not therefore an ordinary occasion and it is not therefore an ordinary speech which His Excellency has to deliver in a normal course. It is an exceptional circumstance and an exceptional occasion having supreme significance; and therefore we here in this Assembly, and not only we but the people and masses outside expected to hear something from him which would be commensurate with this supreme moment. Let me also bring to your notice, Sir, that this important moment symbolises the fulfilment of India's political aspirations after so many years of struggle. She has come very near to the completion of this struggle for the attainment of political freedom in its completest sense, and therefore the expectations of the people and the masses were still greater. It is also to be remembered, Sir, that although political freedom is precious to the masses and is valued by them, but to them freedom in the economic sphere, freedom in the social sphere is more precious, more valuable, is considered more essential and is considered the most essential necessity. Therefore they wanted, they expected that in this speech delivered at this supreme moment there will be an enunciation of a policy on behalf of the Government which would go to reflect the aspirations and feelings of the masses in the economic and social spheres. To be more direct, people had expected that the first revolution, *i.e.*, revolution in the political domain having been achieved and the second revolution, *i.e.*, revolution in the economic and social spheres has got to be achieved, in this speech of His Excellency there will be some indication of that. I would also like to inform this House through you, Sir, that that revolution, I mean the second revolution, is coming. It is in the offing, and the problem before us is whether it is to come through parliamentary policies or whether it is to come through direct action. The people expect that it should and it would come through parliamentary policy. I am afraid that save and except the first paragraph the remainder of His Excellency's speech which is supposed to reveal the policy of the Government under this set-up is disappointing. There is no indication in the remainder of the speech as to how this second revolution is coming. We have been told of many Bills already brought before the House. I do not know how many more are coming, but they are nothing

in comparison with the fundamental aspect. The fundamental aspect regarding which people were expecting an announcement is with regard to property relationship of the masses. They want to hear from us from this platform as to what is going to happen with the existing property relationship with regard to tenants and landlords. There is no indication of that in the speech. The speech was careful to avoid this question, and a special provision has been introduced in the *Bargadar* Bill to the effect that the rights of *bargadars*, the rights of the landlord will not be affected by this Bill or, in other words, the *bargadars* are not going to secure any right of the tenants as a result of this *Bargadars* Bill. Great care has been taken not to do anything which will go to change the present property relationship between landlords and tenants. Yet that is the only thing that can rouse enthusiasm in the minds of the people. It is also true, Sir, that the British Government tried to do many things which otherwise would have been considered very good. They started hospitals, they started colleges, they started railways and many other things, but that could not rouse any enthusiasm amongst the masses because of the one basic factor of political domination. Today also that is the condition. Whatever Government might think of doing, whatever little things they might bring in the Bills before us, however they may cry about shortage of food-supply, however they may cry about people non-co-operating in the matter of procurement, in the matter of production, in the matter of dealing with the anti-social elements, nothing can be achieved.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: They are helping in procurement. You do not know.

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: As far as my information goes it is otherwise.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr Sen, please resume your speech after adjournment.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(*After adjournment.*)

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Sir, I was saying that unless this great obstacle in the way of our having this second revolution or in the way of our having our freedom in the social sphere is removed, and that too immediately, no attempt on the part of the Government in bringing about small results here or there would be of any avail. The masses will take no interest whatsoever in the actions of the Government, in the actions of the State. They will remain absolutely indifferent towards affairs concerning the State. That is a great danger to the State. That is a great danger to the Indian Dominion because Bengal is a border province. I know it will be said in reply that we have got no funds. It seems that Bihar and the U.P. have abolished landlordism. In the Indian Dominion the U.P. has done it. Madras has done it. And this has been done not only in other States within the Indian Dominion, in today's papers we see that such a Bill, after having gone through the Select Committee, is before the Parliament of Eastern Pakistan. I know, Sir, that in Japan, although it is even now under the rule of the Allied Command, land has been nationalised and parcelled out on an equitable basis amongst the peasants. I know, Sir, that immediately following the revolution in Eastern Europe the whole land belonging to that region has been nationalised. No question of money, no question of finances could stop them. And I feel that here also if we have got the heart, the mind and the will it can be done. But let us not for a moment assume that financial difficulties are here. Those financial difficulties arise because we impose on ourselves the responsibility of paying compensation to the owners for the land. Whose responsibility is this? I want to know what it is that stands in the way of making this reform? I do not know if financial difficulties stand in the way. I do not know whether our new constitution

stands in the way; if it does, then those clauses of the constitution have got to be scrapped. Sir, I remember the speech, the great speech made by Mahatma Gandhi at the Round Table Conference. There he said that if there is any interest in India which clashes with the interest of the masses, then that interest has got to be dispossessed. Here is a case—this landlordism. Having so long sat idle and enjoyed the land as a favour from the foreign rulers, should they continue to enjoy an income which is not earned by them, and should they continue to enjoy a property which goes against the interest of the masses? Here is a case where the question of dispossessing them comes in.

There is another thing also, Sir, to which I would like to draw the attention of this House through you, Sir. In the Speech there is complete silence with regard to labour and labour problems. There is no mention, there is no reference to this problem as though in West Bengal the labouring class does not exist. Yet, in this province there is the greatest concentration of working classes compared with other provinces. In no other province in India are so many workers concentrated as in this province. According to official figures, out of industrial workers in India, 28 to 30 *per cent* live in West Bengal. They are intensely patriotic, they are well organised, they are determined, they have got a vision, they love this country, and they are giving proof of these every day. They have reacted as no other section of our Indian community has done to the exigencies of the situation. They have, by their combined effort, without the assistance of the Government and the Police, brought under control the anti-social elements in the labour force. And yet, there is no mention of them here in this great Speech. I should not say that it is only disappointing, I should not say that it is only unfortunate, I should say that it is disastrous. Nobody in Calcutta, nobody in West Bengal can ever forget this working class; none can ever ignore them, none can ignore their interests. Days are coming when this working class backed by industrial labour will go out of the control of the Government. It is a great mistake to have ignored them. The second revolution is coming and the masses will be well prepared for that. No one can prevent it.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: This innovation, Sir, of a debate on His Excellency's Speech which is to be a regular feature of every opening session of the Assembly provides us with an opportunity of examining the legislation that is coming before the House this session, and also to review and examine the work and achievement of the Government during the intervening period against the background of what it had set out to do.

Sir, I would refer you first to the very large number of legislative measures which the House will be asked to approve this session. The number is so large that I need hardly emphasize that you, we and the Assembly Secretariat will perforce have to work at a very high pressure, particularly when it is borne in mind that this is also the Budget session. Further, I have no doubt that you will be compelled to suspend the usual Assembly procedural rules, particularly in regard to submission of amendments which would be very inconvenient to members. Further, the passing of laws at such a high pressure is good neither for us nor for the country. For, we are passing laws which on experience are found to be faulty on various grounds requiring, as has been actually happening, amendments from time to time. The reason for this state of affairs is probably that the Government is so busy with administrative and other work that they have not found it possible to call this Assembly at more frequent intervals. We are meeting today, Sir, if you will remember, after about a year and it is no wonder that legislation should have accumulated inordinately. Of the many things that we are grateful to the New Constitution for, one, which may appear small but is nevertheless significant, is that henceforth the Assembly will have to meet at least twice a year. I hope we shall be able to discharge our duties in future more efficiently and conscientiously.

The gracious speech of His Excellency has referred—and many honourable members have also referred naturally—to anti-social activities and Government measures to curb them. Manifestations of these activities throughout the Province, and particularly in this city, cannot be too strongly condemned. It has also to be conceded that the strain that has been put upon the police force has sometimes been very heavy. Yet I am sorry to say that there have been occasions, and very serious ones too, when the inactivity of the police has been very surprising, if not puzzling. And the victims have been not merely members of the minority community but also members of the majority community. I do not have to refer only to the incidents which occurred during and after the South Calcutta by-election. Then the houses of the Congress candidate and of the President and a Vice-President of the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee were wantonly attacked and despoiled almost before the eyes of the police. I believe the question that naturally arose in the mind of many an ordinary man was this: "If public men of such standing do not or cannot get police protection, what of ordinary men?" There is an instance of even recent occurrence to which, Sir, I would like to draw your attention; and it happened on the day the Republic was inaugurated. On that day in the afternoon when an esteemed friend of ours the President of the South Calcutta District Congress Committee, was leading a procession from the Hazra Park to Wellington Square and attending a public meeting there, his shop was attacked by rowdy elements, his furniture was taken out forcibly, burnt, and a large quantity of cloth was looted. I am told there were mobile police vans in the vicinity which soon had made themselves scarce. There are two police-stations almost within a stone's throw of those premises; yet while looting and burning was going on extending over a period of nearly half an hour, no police help arrived. The matter, I believe, Sir, is very serious and I hope His Excellency may be pleased to enquire into it through an independent committee so as to restore public confidence.

The gracious speech of His Excellency had also rightly referred to the fact and to which also naturally many honourable members had made reference that legislation alone will be of little avail unless the people by appreciating the nature of the problems before the country co-operate with the government in the administration of the laws. I believe, Sir, as a popular government elected and sustained by the will of the people we deserve and I believe we are entitled to expect and demand that co-operation from the people, unless it were going to be suggested that we have been in the meanwhile losing their confidence. But I do not think there is any valid reason whatsoever for supporting the hypothesis that this Government has been losing the confidence of the people. Nevertheless, if there should be any truth in the proposition that the people, while not losing their confidence in the Government, have of late been somewhat apathetic, it behoves us, Sir, to examine the causes therefor and remedy and remove them. For unless we are able to do so—the Chief Minister, I believe, also appreciates that the active co-operation of the people will not be forthcoming; nor will he be able to fully maintain law and order with the help only of measures like the Public Safety Act. This observation of mine is not to be construed as an argument against the passing of measures like the Public Safety Act. For they are necessary and very necessary to cope with people who would not propagate their ideas and opinions by means of persuasion and reason but would aim at subverting society by violent methods. But what I am trying to suggest is this that measures like the Public Safety Acts will become a sufficient weapon in the hands of the Government to cope with such anti-social activities only when it is able at the same time to actively canvass and actually harness the active co-operation of the people. I do not think I need dilate on this point because the Chief Minister must have been fully apprised of the situation.

Honourable members on the other side had referred to the problem of the minority and quite naturally because the question affects them most vitally. But I am sorry, Sir, some honourable members, it appears, have drawn a picture of the conditions of the minority community in this State which appears to me at least rather exaggerated. I do not say that there have not been unfortunate incidents, which we all deplore. But what I say is this that one might as well also recount some incidents in the neighbouring country with a view to show that life and property there is absolutely insecure and to live with honour and dignity there almost impossible. But that would not help us. I believe, Sir, a measure of balance and proportion is necessary in the discussion of such delicate matters, as was so pleasantly evident in the impassioned speech delivered by my honourable friend, the Member for Jangipur. He also graciously acknowledged the prompt and effective steps that the Government had taken to quell communal disturbances in certain localities and I have not the least doubt that the Government will continue to act in the same fashion, although we have to recognise that the conditions today as they are developing are becoming rather difficult in both the neighbouring States.

Finally, Sir, I come to a rather depressing portion of His Excellency's gracious speech. Even His Excellency is constrained to say this: "I am distressed to observe that owing to the financial stringency and the consequent curtailment of the development grants receivable from the Government of India, a number of useful schemes designed to promote the well-being of the people have had to be abandoned or their execution slowed down." I have given some time and thought, Sir, to the study of the finances of this province and I am sorry to say again what I have often said in this chamber that the finances of this province have been handled most unsatisfactorily. This was true in pre-partition days and it remains true even today, although comparatively speaking we should have started off financially very much better since after the partition. Yet we find ourselves in a financial quandary.

Sir, I fully endorse the demands that have been made by many honourable members that we must have justice from the Government of India but it will not help us merely to say that for all our ills the Niemeyer Award, the Deshmukh Award or the Government of India have been responsible. We shall have also to set our own house in order. I believe we shall probably soon be starting to say that our hope lies in the Finance Commission which will soon be appointed by the President, but I am afraid we may again be disappointed unless in the meantime we can set our own house in order. For, the Finance Commission will surely want to be satisfied that whatever our resources are, they are being utilised wisely and carefully before any financial assistance will be made available to us. Sir, I do not want to dilate on this point any further today as we will have very much more time to discuss this topic during the budget session.

It appears to me, Sir, that we are slowly developing an attitude of mind which is verging on complacency, and is therefore rather dangerous. In a sense, there is a tendency to find scape-goats for anything that may go wrong with us. As I have said, the villain may be either singly or in combination the Niemeyer Award, the Deshmukh Award, the Government of India, anti-social forces, etc. I do not deny for a moment that they are formidable difficulties, very formidable difficulties. But what I do want to say is that the public will not be satisfied merely with a recapitulation of the list of our difficulties. Whatever may be the difficulties and in spite of them, they want something positive and constructive from us—food, clothing, housing and reasonable amenities of life. And they look up to the Government for the formulation of such a policy as will give them these things in the shortest possible time. Sir, when the time

comes, *we shall be judged by the people, not by the difficulties* that we may have had to encounter, but by the extent of our ability to provide for these things. (Applause.)

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me begin with a few lines from our great poet Rabindranath:

"হেথা যে বৃথা কাঁদা

সেখানে পেয়ে বাধা

কাঁদা যে ফিরে আসে আপন কাছে"

Sir, we have seen this ceremony of His Excellency addressing us and we have heard his speech. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal addressed us and you, Sir, have distributed to us a printed copy of that speech and an honourable friend has placed before us a resolution expressing thanks to His Excellency for his excellent address. This procedure from beginning to end was followed under a provision of the Constitution of India now in force. I am inclined to think that the framers of Article 176 of the Constitution of India and the framers of the rules thereunder faithfully imitated the practice and convention of the Mother of Parliaments from which we still derive our political, economic, moral and even spiritual inspiration. In the resolution that has been placed before us offering thanks to His Excellency for his excellent speech, there also I find a very close imitation of the same. Only in place of "His Majesty" here we have "His Excellency" and in place of "His Majesty's gracious speech" we have here "His Excellency's excellent speech". This is the only difference. There is nothing to be surprised in this imperial method of transacting business.

We have seen only the other day that our Hon'ble Prime Minister, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, after his return from his historic tour of the United States selected as the forum of one of his speeches the ancient citadel of Imperialism—the Red Fort of Delhi. I do not know if the judgment seat of Vikramaditya was unearthed and brought there or he stood on the pedestal of the great and famous Imperial Peacock Throne of the great Moghuls. In any case, in that atmosphere one can hardly be a democrat or a Republican. Sir, His Excellency the Governor of West Bengal being a constitutional Governor of the Province and being a proud resident of the Imperial Government House of Clive, Hastings, O'Dwyer and Anderson, sees nothing, hears nothing and feels nothing except through the eyes, ears and hearts of his advisers—in this case the Ministry of West Bengal.

Sir, I am very much tempted to know if I could from His Excellency the Governor of West Bengal if while he prepared his address for us, his advisers informed him of the great misfortune of the people of India. The New Constitution of India has been ushered in an atmosphere of grim disappointment. The new Republic of India came into being equally in an atmosphere of grim disappointment created by inefficient, dishonest and corrupt administration of the Congress Party. The *krishaks* and *mazdoors* of India associated themselves actively in India's struggle for independence in the hope of, and I should add relying upon the well-pronounced policy of the then Congress, of having a *Krishak Mazdoor Raj*. They have been thoroughly disillusioned. There is nowhere in the Constitution any trace of any kind of *Krishak Mazdoor Raj*. On the contrary, we find therein a tendency to create a *Raj* of the Exploiters of these poor *krishaks* and *mazdoors*. Those who are the exploiters of the *krishaks* and the *mazdoors* are now the guardians and patrons of the Congress Party. The middle class intelligentsia which made the greatest sacrifice for independence have now been practically brought face to face with starvation, disease and death due to high price of commodities necessary for everyone for his bare existence and due to acute unemployment created

by complete surrender of the leaders of the Congress Party to the capitalists of India, blackmarketers and profiteers giving them total control of the economic life of India, sometimes through control and sometimes through decontrol of the price and supplies of the necessaries of life. Chaos and confusion consequent upon the insecurity of existence have been created by the omission of progressive measures conducive to the well-being of our people, and by committing India to a policy of suppression and repression by force and violence, and also by thoroughly destroying the integrity and efficiency of administration and efficiency and integrity of the gentlemen of the permanent service in order to create unrestricted opportunity for the unscrupulous supporters of the Ministry for the enjoyment of their life to the entire exclusion of the rest of the people of India. The Hindus of our country who feel and care for their ancient philosophy of life, for their ancient culture, and heritage are disappointed finding no indication in the Constitution of India of any opportunity to create for themselves their own social order founded on the fundamentals of their ancient culture set in the modern context. The Muslims, as such, do not feel secure due to bungling of the minority problems, particularly the problem of the refugees by the leaders of both the Dominions—India and Pakistan. Sir, added to this I am definitely of the opinion that the leaders of both the communities are pursuing a policy which is resulting in untold miseries for the minorities of both the States as a clever design to smokescreen their black deeds in the political and economic spheres of existence by indirectly rousing communal frenzy through press and platform. The disappointment is, therefore, as intensive as it is extensive. Being myself a member of the minority community here I fully appreciate the sufferings and the difficulties that the refugees from East Bengal have to undergo. But what surprised me most is that instead of looking at the Muslims here as their fellow sufferers, they are developing antipathy for them and animus for them. In the like manner the Muslim refugees from here to East Bengal are developing the same attitude. I would ask them in all seriousness to ponder if the spirit of retaliation would in any way help the minorities here or there. Just now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, in this very Chamber I received a telegram from a friend of mine Srijut Satin Sen of Barisal. I do not know why of all persons he chose to send the telegram to me. In the telegram which is in my pocket he has requested me to invite the leading Hindus and Muslims in the next Chief Secretaries' Conference in order that the situation there may be brought under control. I convey the message through you, Sir, to the Hon'ble the Prime Minister here straightway for his consideration. If he wants I can pass on the telegram to him. Therefore, Sir, there is hardly anything to rejoice in the inauguration of the so-called Sovereign Democratic Republic of India.

I feel and I feel very strongly that in this grim context invoking the name and the blessings of God would be something like citing Scriptures by the Fallen Angel—the arch-enemy of man. His Excellency the Governor in his historic Address has sought the co-operation of the people in his Government's endeavours to suppress anti-social elements. Sir, instead of mincing matters I am coming straight to the point. Here His Excellency obviously means suppression of communism and the activities of the Communist party. If he had meant, as Dr. Ghosh had suggested, blackmarketeers, profiteers, etc., and those who were killing the people by poisoning the foodstuff there would have been a clear mention of it and amongst the large number of Bills something would have been found to suppress them also.

So, Sir, instead of mincing matters, as I said, I come straight to the point. Perhaps His Excellency means suppression of communism and of the Communist party. I am of the opinion that the people of India, whatever may be their vocation in life, whatever may be their status in society,

whatever may be their way of thinking, they are not prepared to accept communism as a philosophy of their future life. My young friend Janab Khuda Bukhsh yesterday could not understand the implication of the utterances of our esteemed friend Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee when he said that he wanted both Communism and Anglo-Americanism. He should have had no difficulty to understand what Dr. Banerjee actually meant. What he means is something like this: he wants to talk of Communism and thereby create confusion in the mind of everybody and at the same time to do things as Anglo-Americans would do; and if I may be permitted to translate the Bengali saying into English, his way of thinking is something like kissing both the snake and the frog.

Sir, I am extremely sorry to say that brutal efforts for suppression of communism adopted by this Ministry have created a vicious circle. Violence breeds violence, and violence on both sides has disintegrated the social, economic and political structure of our life. This has again created a fear complex in the minds of the people for the Communist party and a deep-seated contempt for the Congress party. Sir, this has resulted in suppression of free expression of opinion uncensored through the press, of ventilating the views of the people by their representatives in the Assembly, and of opportunities to have a Government of their own choice through peaceful constitutional means. And these things, I am afraid, Sir, are driving the people towards reckless action and in their sufferings driving them to take recourse to revolutionary methods. Sir, even during the bureaucratic rule of the British the Assembly Session used to be summoned at least three times a year. But I wonder that we have been confronted with so many Ordinances and Acts to be passed in a few days, to consider which a complete session of the Assembly was needed. Sir, the Congress party here has a clear majority and there is practically absence of effective opposition. We are meeting here after a clear year. It shows a tendency not even to allow the people to express their views through their representatives in this Assembly, and people are gradually being driven to revolution. Sir, when His Excellency the Governor of West Bengal entertains hopes that his Ministers would do all that lies in their power for the amelioration of the condition of the suffering millions, I wonder if His Excellency is informed that his Ministers by supporting a wrong policy of suppression of communism have instead of isolating the Communists from the people isolated themselves, and they are, to be very candid and straight, untouchables to all sections of the people in this country except their unscrupulous supporters.

Sir, in this connection my attention is drawn to that part of His Excellency's speech where he has given us an assurance that measures for curbing the activities of the anti-social elements will be increased only to the extent of and consistent with the security of the State. Sir, while I am referring to that part of His Excellency's speech I would ask the Hon'ble Chief Minister of West Bengal if His Excellency was informed that on the 5th of January a member of this Assembly Mr. Ratan Lal Brahmin who was in the Alipore Central Jail was assaulted by *lathis* and iron bars and he was taken to hospital and that due to high pressure from jail authorities his treatment was abandoned because that would expose the truth. Has His Excellency been informed that on the 15th of December, 1949, of the Christian era, within the prison walls of the Alipore Presidency Jail nearly 150 hooligan warders under the leadership of the Superintendent of the Jail himself, who has now been transferred to the Burdwan Jail, being completely drunk scaled the wall of the Female Ward and ruthlessly assaulted unprotected women there and beat them mercilessly with *lathis* in their attempt to commit violent outrage on the modesty of these unprotected women. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Shame, shame!) I would ask His Excellency if he has been informed that in Burdwan Jail a communist party worker was *lathi*-charged and he succumbed

to his injuries in a few days. One Aziz in the Presidency Jail died in consequence of similar brutality. Of course the Government came forward, I should say, with an untrue statement saying that both of these two gentlemen died of malignant malaria. Has His Excellency been informed by his Ministers that Srimati Durga, a young woman still in her teens, was delivered of a child and was in her confinement and that before the period of her confinement was over, the new-born babe and the mother and the mother's mother were all taken into custody and they are still within the prison-walls? Has His Excellency been yet informed that as many as 600 are now on hunger-strike in the various jails of West Bengal as a protest against their transfer to an out-of-the-way camp, namely, the Buxa Camp in the jungles of Jalpaiguri, as a protest against Government's breach of agreement regarding the classification of prisoners and the amenities that the inmates of a jail of a civilised country can reasonably expect? Sir, the Ministers themselves—I do not know if His Excellency is fully aware of this fact—are thoroughly powerless and they have no independence of action. They have sold their conscience for a very small price to the Central Leaders of the Congress Party. Only yesterday, Sir, when merely the mention of the name of the President of the Indian Republic was made by my young friend, Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, the Ministers got extremely irritated and at once caught that opportunity to show their loyalty and subservience to the Central Leaders of the Congress. Sir, this betrays a psychology which is dangerous for West Bengal.

Sir, some of my friends made a grievance that under the Deshmukh Award, West Bengal did not get her legitimate share. How can West Bengal get her legitimate share unless there is someone in Bengal who has the courage to stand on his backbone with his head high and boldly represent the case of West Bengal? Unfortunately the present Ministers of Bengal are abject slaves of the Central Authorities and here in this Assembly they are merely the agents of the Central Leaders dancing as the apes dance in the ring of a circus. In the address of His Excellency I found a very clear thing. His Excellency the Governor of West Bengal perhaps under the advice of his Ministers has been pleased to characteristise the New Republic as the symbol of Asian unity. Sir, by the International Policy and the Foreign Policy of our leaders it has now been made absolutely clear to the people of India that they have no sympathy for the struggling millions of Asia, nor have they any respect or regard for the people of Asia. Whatever they may be by their birth, they are, as is evident from their utterances, neither Hindus, nor Muslims—neither Indians, nor Asians. For all practical purposes they are the followers, admirers, devotees and worshippers of the eighteenth century philosophers of Europe and their creation Messrs. Churchill, Attlee and Truman. The Republic is a symbol of Asian Union where Union means union of all the reactionary forces of Asia in support of the Anglo-American axis in their preparation for future monopoly of the exploitation of the people of the world to the exclusion of others under the leadership of reactionaries of Great Britain and America. The struggle for real independence of India has yet to begin and the real revolution has not yet come. I find the people of India are coming forward to lay the foundation of that revolution which will bring India real freedom. May God in his infinite mercy and benevolence bestow His choicest blessings upon the forces of progress and revolution of India and Asia, give them patience, make them steady and help them in their struggles against the united forces of reaction and thereby create an opportunity for India and for Asia to rise up to the highest level of their genius and to show to the world a path which would lead people of the world towards salvation both here and hereafter.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of clarification, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: What is that point of clarification? Is it a point of order? Does it arise out of this speech?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: No, Sir. It arises out of my speech of yesterday.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: You were perfectly clear. We have understood you.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, refugees have given this present (showing a torn national flag), and I want to give it to the Home Minister. The present is from a refugee camp to him, and, Sir, this is the work of the Police——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Janab Husan Ara Begum.

Janab HUSAN ARA BEGUM: Mr. Speaker, Sir. It was indeed very kind of His Excellency the Governor of West Bengal to have addressed this Assembly, and, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving opportunity to the members to give their opinion on His Excellency's speech. The inauguration of the Indian Republic is a blessing to the people of India. Sir, I shall be very brief, and as many honourable members have given their opinions I should only mention one part of His Excellency's speech: "It will be the constant aim of my Ministers to devise and carry out all possible measures for the amelioration of the condition of the people of the State."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is a very burning question at the present moment regarding the minorities of West Bengal. By the "minorities" I mean the Muslims of this province. They are undergoing, as you have heard, great difficulties living under a perpetual fear and looking up to the Government for protection. I am sorry to find that His Excellency has not been clear upon this subject of the minorities though it has been given in the constitution of India that they will have a claim as citizens of India to free worship and other things we have had relating to the Muslims. At the present moment, the Muslims of Calcutta are living under a pressure I should say, of fear, specially in Manicktalla and Narkeldanga which I have visited personally. I have seen the plight of those who are there and still I congratulate the people who are there that they have not fled away from their homes though even last night they were harassed. Many of the Muslims of Paikpara have left their hearths and homes—I am speaking on authority—and which I have personally seen. I do not like nor am I fond of harassing the Government, but at the present moment I am appealing to the Hon'ble Chief Minister to protect the lives and properties of those citizens who are looking up to him for help. Specially in the Narkeldanga area there is a *bustee* which has a large tank in its midst on four sides of which there are huts and houses. May I request the Hon'ble Chief Minister as the head of the Government to take the trouble of seeing the plight of those people, specially to have an idea as he is one who has given a great part of his life for the relief of humanity and in that capacity I appeal to him in the name of humanity to find out things personally for himself and see the condition of those people who are living there—specially he can imagine what is the plight of the women and children who are there and if they flee from their homes, where are they to go? They are not looking up to Pakistan, they are looking up to you and I think it is useless to bring up the name of Pakistan. We have our own Government and the Government in these matters are passing Ordinances and are doing everything that is in their power. I appeal to them and I appeal to you just to take a turn and see the condition of those people and find out ways.

It will not be out of place to mention that on the night of the State Banquet people went to the Government House and, after all, they were sent away, but I congratulate His Excellency the Governor for his consideration in opening the gates of the Government House next day and

allowing the public to have a view and see things for themselves. I, ther fore, appeal in all humility to the Hon'ble Chief Minister and oth Ministers to take consideration of the minorities who are in these areas a ease the situation.

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHYAYA: মাননীয় সভাপতি মহাশয়, আমি এ শেষকালে কিছু বলবার জন্য উঠেছি। যৌবনের প্রারম্ভ থেকে যে স্বপ্নটা দেখে এসেছি তা সফল হলেও এখন আবার অবস্থাটা এসে পড়েছে তা দেখে মনে হয় দেশে আবার বুঝি অন্ধকার ঘনিয়ে আসছে। এ দেশকে বড় করা হলে এখন সকলের সমবেতভাবে চেষ্টা করা উচিত কিন্তু আমরা দেখতে পাচ্ছি যে সে চেষ্টা না হয়ে আজ আবা বিভিন্ন দলে বিভিন্ন সম্প্রদায়ে বিভক্ত এবং এখানে আবার সাম্প্রদায়িকতার যে মনোবৃত্তি তারই তিক্ততা যেন জে উঠছে বলে মনে হয়। আমার মুসলমান বন্ধুবর্গ ওদিক থেকে যে সমস্ত বক্তৃতা করলেন তাতে আমি দেখতে পেয়ে এই যে সেই সকল বক্তৃতার ভিতর সকলে মিলে একত্রে কাজ কোরে আমাদের এই জন্মভূমিকে যে বড় কো সে সম্বন্ধে কোন কথা নাই। কোথায় কিভাবে এই গভর্ণমেণ্টের খুঁত আছে এবং আমাদের দেশের যাঁরা নে স্থানীয় লোক তাঁদের কিসে দোষ ধরিয়ে লোক চক্ষুতে হেয় প্রতিপন্ন করতে পারা যায়, তাঁরা শুধু সেই দি দিয়ে বলেছেন। (A MEMBER FROM THE OPPOSITION BENCHES: সেটা ঠিক নয়।) তা নইলে আমাদের নেতারা সারকাসের বাঁদরের মত নাচেন এ রকম আপত্তিকর উক্তি সম্ভব হয় কি কোরে এ রকম কথা যখন বলেন তখন তাঁরা ভুলে যান যে কথাটা বলছেন সেটা বলা সঙ্গত কিনা। একজন শিক্ষি লোক যখন বক্তৃতা কোরবেন তখন যার সম্বন্ধে বক্তৃতা কোরবেন তার প্রতি ওজন রেখে বলা উচিত। কাল বক্তৃতা হলো ওদিককার বন্ধুদের এবং আজও যে বক্তৃতা হচ্ছে তাতে ঐ একই কথা: এখানকার যাঁরা নিজেদে সংখ্যালঘু লোক বলে মনে করেন তাঁদের যেন আর কিছু বলবার নাই, তাঁরা যেন একটা বিপদে পড়েছেন এ সেই বিপদ থেকে গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাঁদের রক্ষা করতে পারেন নি। তাঁরা এই জন্য এতটা ব্যস্ত হয়ে পড়েছেন (তাঁরা প্রত্যেকেই অল্প বিস্তর ঐ একই অভিযোগ কোরেছেন। আমি তাঁদের জিজ্ঞাসা করি আমাদের পাশেরই (ষ্টেট সেখানে সংখ্যালঘুদের প্রতি যে অত্যাচার চলেছে এবং যার ফলে সেখান থেকে ২০ লক্ষ লোক চলে এ সে সম্বন্ধে কৈ তাদের একজনকে ত কিছু বলতে শুনিনি। (Janab ABUL HASHEM: সঠি বিবরণের অপেক্ষা করছি) অপরের প্রতি অত্যাচারের বেলায় ওঁরা কিছু মনে করেন না। আজ এই বাগেরহাট ও বরিশালে যে অত্যাচারের কথা শুনছি এ রকমের অত্যাচার যে কোন মনুষ্য দেহধারী জীবের দ্বারা সম্ভব আমরা মনেও করতে পারি না,--স্বামীকে বেঁধে রেখে তারই সম্মুখে (shame, shame) স্ত্রীর উপ পাশবিক অত্যাচার যে অত্যাচার বীভৎসতায় পশুর চেয়েও অধম তার প্রতিবাদে যদি একটা কথাও না বলা হ তাহলে আমার মনে হয় যে আমরা অনেক নিম্নস্তরে নেমে গিয়েছি। আজ যা হচ্ছে আমাদের পাশের ষ্টে তার সংবাদ যে এখানে পৌঁছিবে না এবং তার একটা reaction এখানে হবে না একথা বলা যায় না তাই দুই-এক জায়গায় দুই-একটা ঘটনা ঘটেছে, কিন্তু কোন মহিলার উপর অত্যাচার হয় নাই। জনাব হাশে সাহেব যে বলেছেন মানুষ মাত্রেরই psycology আছে, আমিও বলছি psycology আছে বৈ কি! কিন্তু যখন দেখা যায় যারা নাকি অত্যন্ত অসহায় তাদের উপর বাস্তবিকই অত্যাচার হলো তখন হি হিন্দু কি মুসলমান কি বৌদ্ধ কি খৃষ্টান এক সঙ্গে তার প্রতিবাদ করা উচিত। কিন্তু যখন দেখা যায় একদল প্রতিবাদ করছে না তখন মনে হয় ঐ দলের ভিতরে ভিতরে অত্যাচারীর প্রতি সহানুভূতি আছে। আমি বরাব দেখে এসেছি যখন লীগ গভর্ণমেণ্ট ছিল তখন ওপারের যে সমস্ত বন্ধু আজ এখানে বসে রয়েছেন তাঁরা তখ যেমন কংগ্রেসকে হেয় করবার জন্য চেষ্টা করতেন আজও কংগ্রেসকে হেয় করবার জন্য তাঁরা তেমনি চেষ্ট করেন। পূর্ব্বে তাঁরা ইংরেজের সঙ্গে এক হয়ে কংগ্রেসকে নষ্ট করবার জন্য চেষ্টা করেছেন; আজকে তাঁর Communist এর সঙ্গে এক যোগে কংগ্রেসের অনিষ্ট করার চেষ্টায় আছেন। কংগ্রেস যাতে হেয় হ সে চেষ্টা তাঁরা সর্ব্বদাই কোরে থাকেন। (Janab ABUL HASHEM: কংগ্রেসকে আবার হেয় করবার প্রয়োজন কি; সে তো আপনা থেকে হেয় হয়েই আছে।)

Communistদের সঙ্গে ওঁরা যে মিলেছেন এর প্রমাণ আমরা মফঃস্বলে পেয়েছি। এই জন্য আমি অন্তত: মনে করি যে রাশিয়ার Agent Communistরা যেমন এদেশে আছে তেমনি পাকিস্থানের Agent অনেক শক্তিশালী মুসলমান এদেশে রয়েছে। (FROM THE OPPOSITION BENCHES: হো: হো:, বাহবা বাহবা।) আমার মনে হয় একথা পরিষ্কার কোরে আলোচনা করবার সময় এসেছে। আমি মনে করি ধর্ম্ম বিষয়ে আমরা অনেক উদার, দু:খের বিষয় আমাদের যে মহান নেতা জাতির জনক যিনি মারা গিয়েছেন অনেকের মতে তিনি মুসলমানদের প্রতি পক্ষপাতিত্ব করার দরুণই মরে গিয়েছেন। কিন্তু মুসলমানগণ তার জন্য শোক প্রকাশ করেন

নাই। এখানে দেখেছি কাল ঐ দিকের একজন বন্ধু কোরাণ এবং গীতার বচন উদ্ধৃত করে বলেছেন——(Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: On a point of order, Sir, Is it relevant?) তিনি কিম্বা ওদিকের অন্যান্য বন্ধুদের একজনও তো দাঁড়িয়ে পাকিস্থানে যে অত্যাচার হচ্ছে তার কোন প্রতিবাদ করলেন না।

আপনারা প্রতিবাদ করুন এবং তাদের জানিয়ে দিন যারা এই ভয়ানক অত্যাচার এবং অন্যায় করছে তাদের মুসলমান ধর্মে থাকা উচিত নয়। এবং মুসলমান সমাজ তাদের "বয়কট" করুন। এই কথা বলুন। শুধু তা নয় আমাদের যে border line সেই line এই হিন্দু-মুসলমান উভয় সম্প্রদায়ের সেচ্ছাসেবক নিয়ে চলুন, যখনি কোন গোলমাল হয় সেটা মিটিয়ে ফেলতে চেষ্টা করুন। আজ আমাদের উভয় সম্প্রদায় যে অবস্থায় আছে তারা মনে করছে, এক সম্প্রদায় অন্য সম্প্রদায়ের কাছ থেকে সুবিচার পাবে না—সংখ্যালঘু লোকেরা মনে করছে তারা সংখ্যাগুরু সম্প্রদায়ের নিকট সমান অধিকার পাবে না। এই যে মনোভাব তা দূর করতে হবে। আমি মনে করি আমাদের জন্মভূমির উন্নতি করতে হলে পরস্পরের মনে এই অবিশ্বাস থাকলে চলবে না। পরস্পর পরস্পরের সঙ্গে মিলে কাজ করতে হবে। এবং সেই কাজ Assembly Houseএ বসে বক্তৃতা করলে শেষ হবে না। (Janab ABUL HASEM: আপনারাই করুন।) কেন আপনারাও আসুন। চলুন এক সঙ্গে কাজ করা যাক্। আপনার পিতা দেশের এই সব অনেক কাজ করে গিয়েছেন এবং আমি আশা করি তাঁর পুত্র এই কাজে পিছিয়ে থাকবে না।

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE উনি বাপের সুপুত্র নন।

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Sir, I heard a remark from the honourable member, namely, that I should do something more than what my father did.

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHYAYA: This is my personal opinion.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Some other gentleman said that probably I was not the son of my father. If he has the courage to stand up let him say so again. Let him repeat.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I shall say that when I shall be asked by the Speaker. Who are you to ask me?

(Uproar.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, all these things would not have happened if the leader of the so-called Opposition had not interrupted the last speaker. He was not interrupted when he went on criticizing the Government for inefficiency and corruption. Nobody interrupted him then. Why did he interrupt the last speaker? Because he does not like his speech.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: I said that some gentleman has stated that I was not the son of my father.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: That is an absolute lie.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: He only said that he was not as good as his father.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Let him repeat what he had said.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I said that he was not a সুপুত্র।

Mr. SPEAKER: No remark against any member which smacks of a personal remark can be allowed, and I consider that to say that he is not as good as his father is also a personal remark, and this should not be allowed.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: What about the remark "dancing and aping as in the circus"? Is that parliamentary?

Mr. SPEAKER: You should have raised that point at that time, and I would have given my ruling then and there.

SJ. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHYAYA: আমি বলতে চাই আমরা যখন এই দেশে থাকবো, হিন্দু-মুসলমান উভয় সম্প্রদায় তখন তাদের মধ্যে পরস্পরের মধ্যে অবিশ্বাস থাকলে চলবে না——পরস্পরকে অবিশ্বাস করলে দেশের উন্নতি হবে না। আমি মফঃস্বলে কাজ করি। সেখানে কাজ করে আমার এই ধারণাই হয়েছে সেখানকার লোকেরা অনেকেই মনে করে যে রাশিয়া থেকে একদল চর এসে আমাদের দেশে শান্তি ব্যাহত করতে যেমন চেষ্টা করছে তেমনি তারা সন্দেহ করছে পাকিস্তান থেকেও একদল চর এসে এই দেশের শান্তি ব্যাহত করছে। (Laughter from the Opposition Benches.) এই সন্দেহ যাতে দূর হয় হিন্দু-মুসলমান যদি এক সঙ্গে মিলিত হয়ে কাজ করে এবং পরস্পরকে বিশ্বাস করে তবে দেশের শান্তি নষ্ট হবে না। আমার নিজের ধারণা--আমাকে মফঃস্বলে হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মধ্যে কাজ করতে হয়। আমার ব্যক্তিগত ধারণা যে গ্রামে মধ্যবিত্ত হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মধ্যে সৌহার্দ্যের অভাব নাই। অভাব হচ্ছে সহরের শিক্ষিত হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মধ্যে। তারা পরস্পরকে বিশ্বাস করতে পারছে না। এবং তারই প্রতিক্রিয়ায় যারা নিম্নস্তরের লোক তাদের ভিতর নানা রকম সন্দেহের ভাব জাগে।

আমি বলতে চাই হিন্দু-মুসলমানের সঙ্গে মিলনের চেষ্টা মহাত্মা গান্ধীর প্রদর্শিত পথে হিন্দুর দিক থেকে তারা করে যাচ্ছে--মুসলমানের সঙ্গে মিলনের যথাসাধ্য চেষ্টা তারা করছে। মহাত্মার বাণী--

রঘুপতি রাঘব রাজা রাম,
পতিতপাবন সীতারাম,
ঈশ্বর আল্লা--

এই যে ভাব সেই অনুসারে তারা আজ কাজ করছে। আজ পল্লীঅঞ্চলের পাঠশালায় বালকবালিকারা "ঈশ্বর আল্লা তেরে নাম" এই গান করে। হিন্দুরা যদি ঈশ্বর আল্লার নাম উচ্চারণ করতে পারে তাহলে মুসলমান বালকবালিকারা তাদের সঙ্গে আল্লা ঈশ্বরের নাম উচ্চারণ করতে পারবে না কেন? আল্লাবলতে যদি হিন্দু ছেলেদের মনে সঙ্কোচ না হয় তবে রাম নাম করতেই বা মুসলমান ছেলেদের মনে এই সংকোচ হবে কেন। এটা যেখানে হয় সেখানে বুঝতে হবে এদের মধ্যে পরস্পরের মনে যে বিরুদ্ধ ভাব আছে তাই কাজ করছে। এই মনোভাব দূর করতে হবে। (Janab ABUL HASHEM: আপনাদের মন বদলান।) প্রকৃত কারা বিষ ছড়াচ্ছে তা সকলেই ভালভাবে জানে। আমরা মুসলমানদের দূরে রাখতে চেষ্টা করছি না তারাই হিন্দুদের নিকট হতে মুসলমানদের দূরে ঠেলে রাখবার চেষ্টা করে দেশের ক্ষতি করছে তা যেন সকলে ভেবে দেখে কর্তব্য পালন করেন; তাহলে দেশের উন্নতি করা সম্ভব হবে।

Mr. SPEAKER: The debate will be continued tomorrow when Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen and Hon'ble Dr Roy will close the debate.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7-10 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Wednesday, the 8th February, 1950, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembl under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday the 8th February, 1950, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 10 Hon'bl Ministers and 59 members.

Point of Order.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir. I crave your indulgence and pray for your kind permission to say something on a point of order as also by way of personal explanation.

Mr. SPEAKER: Nothing has happened today to raise any point of order. You cannot be allowed to raise any point of order now.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Rule 42 of the Assembly Procedure Rule says "Any member may at any time submit a point of order for the decision of the Speaker".

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, what is your point of order?

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: As Speaker you are our guardian angel——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Please tell me your point of order

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Last evening the last speaker, Sri Pramatha Nath Banerji, a member of the Congress Assembly Party, while speaking in Bengali referred to my name——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Come to your point of order.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: My point of order is that he talked irrelevantly and secondly, Sir——

Mr. SPEAKER: Why did you not raise the point of order yesterday? Please take your seat

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: He made a personal attack on me, Sir——

Mr. SPEAKER: No, you cannot raise any point of order now; you should have raised it when he made the speech yesterday. You are not allowed to raise any objection today.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: I have to say something by way of personal explanation, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Even that you should have done yesterday immediately he finished his speech. I am sorry I cannot allow it now. Yes, the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen.

Amendments to the Motion of Address in reply to Governor's speech.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: স্পীকার মহোদয়, মাননীয় রাষ্ট্রপাল মহাশয় এই দেশ Sovereign Republic হবার পর এই Assemblyর অধিবেশনে যে উদ্বোধনী বক্তৃতা দিয়েছিলেন তার সম্বন্ধে অনেক কিছু amendment পেশ হয়েছে এবং বহু সদস্য এই সম্বন্ধে বক্তৃতা

দিয়েছেন। আজকে এই আলোচনার উপসংহার হবে। আমাদের মহামান্য প্রদেশপাল মহাশয় তাঁর বক্তৃতায় এই Governmentএর খাদ্যসমস্যা সমাধানের জন্য যে ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করেছে তার উল্লেখ করেছেন। তাঁর সে অভিমত খুবই সঙ্গত।

পশ্চিম বাংলা ভারতবর্ষের মতনই ঘাটতি প্রদেশ। শুধু তা নয় ভারতবর্ষে শতকরা ১০ ভাগ ঘাটতি, আমাদের ঘাটতির পরিমাণ শতকরা প্রায় ২০ ভাগ। আমাদের পশ্চিম বঙ্গের লোকসংখ্যা ৮৫২ জন প্রতি বর্গ মাইলে। কলিকাতা সহর, হাওড়া, হুগলি প্রভৃতি সমস্ত শিল্পাঞ্চল যদি বাদ দেওয়াও হয় তাহলেও পশ্চিম বাংলার অবস্থা বিশেষ পরিবর্ত্তন হবে না—প্রতি বর্গমাইলে তাহলে ৬৬০ জনের বাস, পক্ষান্তরে বোম্বাইতে ২৭৩ জন প্রতি বর্গমাইলে বাস করে, মাদ্রাজে ৩৯১ জন, উড়িষ্যায় ২২১ জন, আসামে মাত্র ১৪৭ জন, মধ্য প্রদেশে ১৭০ জন এবং পূর্ব্বপঞ্জাবে ৪০৮ জন। জনসংখ্যার মাথাপিছু যে চাষ জমির পরিমাণ তাও ভারতের অন্যান্য প্রদেশের চেয়ে কম। মধ্য প্রদেশে মাথা পিছু জমির পরিমাণ $৪\frac{১}{২}$ বিঘা, মাদ্রাজে ১·৯ বিঘা, উড়িষ্যায় ২ বিঘা এবং পূর্ব্বপঞ্জাবে ৩ বিঘা, বিহারে $১\frac{১}{২}$ বিঘা, আসামে ২ বিঘা—আমাদের পশ্চিম বাংলায় ১·২ বিঘা। কাজেই পশ্চিম বঙ্গের খাদ্যসমস্যা খুব তাড়াতাড়ি সমাধান করা যে সম্ভব হবে তা মনে হয় না। এই খাদ্য সমস্যা বর্ত্তমানে যে অবস্থায় আছে তাতে সমগ্রভাবে কি ক'রে সমাধান হবে তা জানি না।

আমাদের পশ্চিম বঙ্গের লোকেরা বেশী পরিমাণেই চাল খায়। খুব অল্প পরিমাণেই গম খায় এবং তাও বিদেশ হতে আসে। আমাদের মাছ নাই, দুধ নাই, আমাদের সরিষার তেল নাই, প্রয়োজনীয় আলু নাই, তরিতরকারীর অভাব। সরিষা বাংলা দেশের চাষীরা উৎপাদন করে না। আর বাঙ্গালীর একমাত্র খাদ্য মাছের বদলে ডাল, তারও অভাব। কাজে কাজেই আমাদের সমস্যা অতি সঙ্কটজনক। আমাদের জমি কম কিন্তু সমস্যা বেশ জটিল। তা সত্ত্বেও আমাদের পশ্চিম বাংলার বর্ত্তমান খাদ্যের অবস্থা অন্যান্য প্রদেশ অপেক্ষা ভাল। আমার বন্ধু শিবনাথ বাবু তার বক্তৃতায় অনেক কিছু বলেছেন—এবার তিনি লাল টুপি পরে সভায় এসেছেন—আজ যদিও তিনি আসেননি। তিনি নাকি সম্প্রতি পূর্ব্ব বাংলায় গিয়েছিলেন এবং সেখানে তিনি দেখে এসেছেন, দুধ গড়াগড়ি যাচ্ছে, ধান চাল অত্যন্ত সস্তা এবং সেখানে নাকি এখন প্রায় স্বর্গরাজ্য প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছে। অবশ্য এটা সত্য কথা পাটের দর কমে যাওয়ায় অন্যান্য সকল জিনিষের দাম পূব বাংলায় কমে গিয়েছে। এর মানে এ নয় যে সেখানে তাদের গরু এক সেরের জায়গায় ৫ সের করে দুধ দেওয়া আরম্ভ করেছে। মোটেই তা নয়। সেখানে লোকের ক্রয়-শক্তি কমে গিয়েছে। শিবনাথ বাবু একজন Labour Leader, কিন্তু তিনি হয়ত গিয়েছিলেন তাঁর ভদ্রলোক বন্ধুদের বাড়ীতে। তাঁরাই এইরূপ খবর তাঁকে দিয়েছেন। কারণ তাঁদের ক্রয়শক্তি আছে। তাঁরা বাজার থেকে মাছ কিনে এনেছেন, দুধ কিনে এনেছেন। কিন্তু সেখানকার গরীব জনসাধারণের অবস্থা ভাল নয়। তারা খেতে পায় না। এখন পর্য্যন্ত পশ্চিম বাংলার তুলনায় পূর্ব্ব বাংলায় চালের দাম বেশী। এখানে কয়েকটা অঙ্ক দিচ্ছি তাতেই বুঝতে পারবেন। বর্ত্তমান বৎসরে ১লা ফেব্রুয়ারী পূর্ব্ববঙ্গে প্রতি মণ চালের মূল্য ছিল গড়ে ১৮৷৵০ আনা। পশ্চিম বঙ্গে প্রাদেশিক গড় ছিল ১৭৸৵০ এবং নিয়ন্ত্রিত দর ১৬৸৵০ মণ। গত বৎসরের তুলনায় এ বৎসরে ১৲ টাকা কমে গিয়েছে। আর পূর্ব্ববঙ্গে গত বৎসর ছিল প্রতিমণ চালের দাম ২৬৵০ এখানে ১৮৸০। সুতরাং শিবনাথ বাবুর উক্তি হিসাবের দিক থেকে একেবারেই ভ্রান্ত। বিহার প্রদেশে এখনও চালের দর হচ্ছে গড়ে ২৫৲ টাকা মণ এবং বিহারের অধিকাংশ লোকই চাল খায়। যুক্তপ্রদেশেও চালের দর ২৫৲ টাকা মণ। আমাদের এখানে পূর্ব্বেই বলেছি এখনও প্রতি মণ ১৭৸৵০, Control rateএ ১৬৸৵০।

Control ও ration প্রথার ফলে আমাদের বিভিন্ন জেলায় চালের দর যে কি পরিমাণ কমে গিয়েছে তা শুনলে আশ্চর্য্য হয়ে যাবেন। বিষ্ণুপুর, হুগলী, বাঁকুড়া জেলায় গত বৎসর চালের বাজার দর ছিল ১৬।০ এবার নেমেছে ১৪।০। বারাকপুরে ২৫৲ টাকা মণ ছিল গত বৎসর, এই বৎসর হয়েছে ২১৲। লালবাগে গত বারে ছিল ১৯৷০ এই বার হয়েছে ১৮৲ টাকা। জলপাইগুড়ি জেলায় গত বৎসর ছিল ২০৷০ এই বার ১৯৲ টাকা। হুগলি জেলায় ২২৲ টাকা ছিল এখন সেখানে ১৯৷০। সদর হাওড়া গত বৎসর ছিল ২৭৲ টাকা এখন হচ্ছে ২১৸৵০। গত বৎসর September মাসে পূর্ব্ব পাকিস্থানে চালের গড় মূল্য ছিল ৩১৸৵০ এবং আমাদের এখানে তখন ছিল ১৯৸৵০। শিবনাথ বাবু যে বলেছেন চালের দর খুব সস্তা, দুধ উথলে পড়ছে, মাছ গড়াগড়ি যাচ্ছে সেটা একেবারে ভুল। সেখানকার গরীব লোকদের সঙ্গে যদি মিশতেন তাহলে অন্য রকম কথা বলতেন।

শুধু তা নয় আমাদের এখানে চাষী পাট ৩২৲ টাকায় বিক্রয় করে ১ মণ, সেখানে পাকিস্থানের অনেক জায়গায় ৫৲ টাকায় বিক্রি হচ্ছে ১ মণ। কিন্তু ১ মণ পাট তৈরি করতে ২৫৲ টাকা খরচ হয়। পশ্চিম বঙ্গের economy

ধান নিয়ে এবং পূর্ব পাকিস্থানের economy পাটের উপর এবং সেই পাট বিক্রয় করে চাষীরা কম দা পাচ্ছে--কোথাও ১০৲ টাকা কোথাও ১২৲ টাকা কোথাও বা ১৫৲ টাকা, সুতরাং পাকিস্থানের অবস্থা সম্বন্ধে যে বর্ণনা শিবনাথ বাবু দিয়েছেন তা তাঁর ভেবে চিন্তে দেওয়া উচিত ছিল।

আমাদের পশ্চিম বঙ্গের Governor আমাদের self-sufficient হবার কথা বলেছেন। বাংলা দেশে আমরা তণ্ডুল জাতীয় খাদ্যই বেশী খাই। সুতরাং আমাদের সমস্যা হচ্ছে এই cerealএ আমরা self-sufficient হতে পারি কিনা। আমরা অন্যান্য জিনিষ যে কি পরিমাণ কম খাই তা শুনলে আশ্চর্য্য হবেন। আলু আমাদের যেখানে দরকার ১২ লক্ষ টন সেখানে আমাদের দেশে ৩$\frac{১}{২}$ লক্ষ টন চাষ হয়। আর ১ লক্ষ টন অন্য প্রদেশ হতে আমদানী করা হয়। দুধ আমাদের আছে মাত্র ৩$\frac{১}{৩}$ লক্ষ টন কিন্তু দরকার হচ্ছে ২১ লক্ষ টন। মাছ আমাদের দরকার ৬ লক্ষ টন সেখানে আমাদের মাননীয় মৎস্য মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বহু চেষ্টা করে উৎপাদন করেন ৭৭ হাজার টন। আর পূর্ব স্থান থেকে আমদানী করা হয় ২৬ হাজার টন তাও বন্ধ হয়ে গেছে। তার পর সরিষার তেল। আমাদের পশ্চিমবঙ্গে উৎপন্ন হয় ২২ হাজার টন, বিহার ও অন্যান্য প্রদেশ থেকে আমদানী করতে হয় ৩৭ হাজার টন কিন্তু আমাদের দরকার ৪ লক্ষ টন। চিনি গুড়ের কথা না বললেই হয়। এদেশে চিনির কল মাত্র একটি আছে। চিনি প্রায় সবটাই বাইরে থেকে আসে। এই দেশে চিনির প্রয়োজন যেখানে ৪ লক্ষ টন সেখানে গুড় চিনি মিলিয়ে মাত্র ২ লক্ষ টন হয়। সুতরাং যখন বলা হয় খাদ্যে স্বাবলম্বী হতে হবে প্রধানতঃ তণ্ডুলজাতীয় পদার্থে স্বাবলম্বী হবার কথাই তখন বলা হয়।

ডাঃ ঘোষ বলেছেন যে তরিতরকারী আরও বেশী পরিমাণে উৎপন্ন করা উচিৎ। বাস্তবিক বেশী করেই তরি তরকারী উৎপন্ন করা হচ্ছে। আজ যদি তরিতরকারীর বাজার-দর দেখেন তাহলে দেখতে পাবেন কোন কো জায়গায় তরিতরকারীর দর যুদ্ধ-পূর্ব্বকালের সমান পর্য্যায়ে আসিয়া গিয়াছে। কপি, আলু খুব সস্তা হয়েছে। অবশ মাছ সস্তা হয়নি, কিন্তু আলু খুব সস্তা হয়েছে। ডালের দর গত বছরের তুলনায় বহু অংশে হ্রাস পেয়েছে। আমি কয়েকটা দ্রব্যের বাজার-দর আপনাদের নিকট নিবেদন করব। গত বছর এই সময় মুগ কলাইয়ের মূল্য ছিল মণ প্রতি ৫৫৲ টাকা এখন সেখানে ৪০৲ টাকা হয়েছে। তেমনি মুসুরি ডাল ছিল মণ প্রতি ২১৷৵ টাকা এখন সেখানে হয়েছে ১৭৷৷৵ টাকা, মটর ডাল ২০৲ টাকা হইতে ১৮৲ টাকা খেসারী ১৯৲ টাকা হইতে ১৭৲ টাকা ছোলা ২৬৲ টাকা হইতে ২২৲ টাকায় নামিয়াছে। আর যদি গোটা কলাই কেনেন তাহলে দেখতে পাবেন আর সস্তা হয়েছে। স্থানীয় আলুর দাম মণ প্রতি ৮৸৵ আনা হতে ৭৷৵ আনায় হ্রাস পাইয়াছে। বিহারী ও দে নৈনিতাল আলু ১২৲ টাকা হতে ৯৷৷৵ টাকায় হ্রাস পেয়েছে। কাজে কাজেই দেখা যাচ্ছে যে ডাল ও তরি তরকারীর মূল্য সর্ব্বত্র হ্রাস পেয়েছে, কেবল মাছ সস্তা হয়নি। তার কারণ রাতারাতি ২৭ হাজার টনকে এ লক্ষ টন করা যায় না, ছয় লক্ষ টন তো হতেই পারে না।

আজকে চেষ্টা করে আমরা অনেক পরিমাণ ফসল বাড়িয়েছি। তার একটা মোটামুটি হিসাব আপনাদে নিকট দিচ্ছি। কেবল সরকারের প্রচেষ্টায় ১৯৪৯ সালে পশ্চিম বঙ্গে ২০৷৷৵ লক্ষ মণ অতিরিক্ত ফসল হয়েছে তন্মধ্যে খরিফ শস্য ৮ লক্ষ মণ এবং রবি শস্য ১২৷৷ লক্ষ মণ। তরিতরকারীর যে কথা ডাঃ ঘোষ উল্লেখ করেছে তা ৪ হাজার টন আমাদের হিসাবে বেড়েছে। বিনা পয়সায় বহু বীজ বিতরণ করা হয়েছে এবং তাতে খুব ভা ফল পাওয়া গিয়েছে। আমি বহু গ্রামে গিয়ে দেখেছি এই দু-বছরের মধ্যে অভূতপূর্ব্ব ফল ফলেছে। আগে লোকে জমি ফেলে রাখত এখন সেখানে কিছু কিছু ফসল লাগাচ্ছে। আজ আমাদের প্রচেষ্টায় ছোট ছোট ব পরিকল্পনা কার্য্যকরী হয়েছে। যেমন ৬০০ পুকুর কাটার দরুণ, অনেক পরিমাণে ফসল বেড়েছে। আমাদে দামোদর ও ময়ূরাক্ষী পরিকল্পনা সমাপ্ত হলে পর যে রকম ফসল বাড়বে, আমাদের ছোট ছোট পরিকল্পনায় দ্বা সেই পরিমাণ ফসল বাড়াতে পারব না জানি, তবু আমরা কাজ করে যাচ্ছি। এই সমস্ত ছোট ছোট পরিকল্পনাকে কার্য্যকরী করতে জনসাধারণের সহযোগিতা চাই। ইহা সত্য যে, লোকে এখন কিছু কিছু সহযোগিতা করতে আরম্ভ করেছে। আমি সেদিন হাওড়া জেলার একটি গ্রামে গিয়াছিলাম। সেখানে Union Agricultur Assistantদের সাহায্যে ভাল বীজ বিতরণ করেছি তাতে ভাল কাজ হয়েছে। অনেকেই compo সার ব্যবহার করছে। আমি বহু গ্রামে দেখি, বাড়ীর দু-ধারে compost সার তৈরী হয়ে আছে। হয়ত আপনা বলতে পারেন যে আমাদের লোকেরাই সেখানে গিয়ে compost সার তৈরী করে রেখেছে মন্ত্রী মহাশয়কে দেখাবার জন্য। কিন্তু তা নয়, অনেক স্থানে গ্রামের লোকেরাই করেছে। জয়পুরের শ্রীযুক্ত কিশোরী মোহ হাজরা মহাশয় কচুরীপানা দিয়ে compost সার তৈরী করে, আপনারা শুনে অবাক হয়ে যাবেন, বিঘা প্র ১১ মণ ধান উৎপন্ন করেছেন। কাজে কাজেই আমাদের প্রচেষ্টা দেখেন সেই মহাশয় কালকে যে খুব কে

গলায় বিপ্লবের কথা বললেন, তার কোন প্রয়োজন নেই। আমাদের ডাঃ ঘোষও তাঁর লোকসেবকদের মারফতে এই সমস্ত কাজগুলি করে দেখতে পারেন। আমরা বিঘা প্রতি ৫।। মণের জায়গায় চীন দেশের মত যদি ১১ মণ ধান উৎপন্ন করতে পারি তাহলে আমাদের খাদ্যসমস্যা মিটে যাবে, এবং আরও আমরা বহু সমস্যার সমাধান করতে পারব। আমাদের বিপ্লব বা direct action করতে হবে না। যাতে আস্তে আস্তে আমাদের দেশ নূতন ভাবে নূতন অর্থনৈতিক ভিত্তির উপর দাঁড়াতে পারে তার জন্য চাই দেশবাসীর সহযোগিতা।

Co-operative বা সমবায় পদ্ধতিতে কাজ করা প্রয়োজন। উপর থেকে জোর করে সমবায় পদ্ধতিতে কিছু করা সম্ভবপর নয়। দেশের লোকের মধ্য থেকেই তার প্রেরণা আসা চাই। সেদিন হরিপদ বাবু অনেক বাধাবিঘ্নের কথা বলেছিলেন কিন্তু সেই সমস্ত বাধাবিঘ্নের কথা আসে এই জন্য যে সর্ব্বার্থসাধক সমবায় সমিতিগুলি, [illegible] বাইরে বিক্রয় করতে চান। তাদের দ্বারা অন্য কোন ভাল কাজ কি করা যায় না? সমিতির মেম্বরদের মধ্যে বিক্রয় আবদ্ধ রাখতে হবে, বাইরের লোকের কাছে বিক্রয় বন্ধ করতে হবে। Co-operative নাম নিয়ে যদি লিমিটেড কোম্পানির মত কাজ হয় এবং সেই সমস্ত সমিতি শুধু কাপড়, কেরোসিন, ইত্যাদি জিনিষপত্র বিক্রয় করে তাহলে সমবায় আন্দোলন ব্যর্থ হবে।

বর্দ্ধমানের এক গ্রামে গিয়ে দেখেছিলাম শ্রীযুত [illegible] একটা পুকুর থেকে গ্রামের লোকের আমাদের assistant দের সহযোগিতায় সমস্ত [illegible] তুলে নিয়ে পুকুরের চতুর্দিকে Compost সার তৈরী করেছে। এই রকম [illegible] হবে না। [illegible] শুধু বড় গলায় গালাগালি দিলে কাজ হবে না, বা [illegible] direct action এ হবে না। এটা হতে পারে, যদি আমরা [illegible] গঠনমূলক কাজে আত্মনিয়োগ করি। [illegible] চাষীদের। আমাদের পরিকল্পনা [illegible] কার্য্যে পরিণত হবে তার [illegible] হারিয়ে ফেলেছে। ছোট ছোট পরিকল্পনা নিয়ে যদি [illegible] শ্রীযুত কিশোরী মোহন চাকলা করেছেন চাউড়ার জয়পুরে, যদি [illegible] পারি তা হ'লে আমাদের খাদ্যাভাব—বিশেষ ক'রে তণ্ডুল জাতীয় খাদ্যসমস্যা—সমাধান হবে। আমরা [illegible] জিনিষ যত বেশী উৎপন্ন করতে পারবো, ততই আমাদের আমদানীর উপর নির্ভর কম হবে। [illegible] আমেরিকায় ও অষ্ট্রেলিয়ায় গম এত পর্য্যাপ্ত পরিমাণে [illegible] যে অনেক সময় তারা [illegible] fuel বা জ্বালানী হিসাবে ব্যবহার করে। তারা গম জাপানে, ইটালীতে পাঠাচ্ছে, জার্মানীতে পাঠাচ্ছে আর ও বহু দেশে তারা গম ও অন্যান্য তণ্ডুল জাতীয় শস্যও পাঠিয়ে দিচ্ছে। এত পর্য্যাপ্ত যে দেশে গম সেখানে আট আউন্স cereal তারা খায় মাথাপিছু, রুশ খায় ১৯ (উনিশ) আউন্স, আর মাথাপিছু আমরা খাই প্রায় [illegible] আউন্স। বর্দ্ধমানের গ্রামে যখন যাই তারা খেতে দেয় পর্ব্বত-প্রমাণ এক থালা ভাত। কেন্দ্রীয় গভর্ণমেন্ট survey করেছেন কে কত মাথাপিছু খায়। দিল্লীর চতুর্দিকে দেখা যাচ্ছে কুড়ি আউন্স মাথাপিছু দৈনিক খায়।

আমাদের পশ্চিম বাংলায় অনেক অসুবিধা আছে, নানারকম anti-social element এখানে কাজ করছে। কিন্তু চালের ব্যাপারে কোন বড় রকমের black marketing এখানে নাই। আপনারা বলতে পারেন অনেকে হয়ত মনে করেন যে মহাজনেরা চালের black-marketing করে। এটা সত্যি নয়। চাল সংগ্রহ ব্যাপারে বড়লোক কিম্বা বড় মহাজনের সঙ্গে আমাদের কোন সম্বন্ধ নাই। গ্রামের ভেতর আমাদের direct procurement agent আছে, তারা ছোট ছোট চাষী থেকে সংগ্রহ করে থাকে। কোথাও কোথাও বা co-operative society procurement আরম্ভ করেছে। তবে দুর্নীতি এখানে সেখানে আছে, তাও সকলের সহযোগিতা পেলে দূর হয়ে যাবে। মহাজন, লক্ষপতি, কোটিপতি যারা, তারা চালের চোরাকারবার করে না, কারণ তাদের হাতে ত চাল নাই। আজকে আমাদের দেশের anti-social কাজে আমরা শুধু কমুনিষ্টদের কথা বলছি না। আরও একদল লোক আছে যারা কমুনিষ্ট নয়, এমন হাজার হাজার লোক মাথায় করে পাকিস্তানে চাল নিয়ে যাচ্ছে। যখন কাপড়ের অভাব হয় তখন দেখি কাপড় চলে যাচ্ছে। মুর্শিদাবাদ জেলা থেকেও চাল চলে যাচ্ছে, দিনাজপুরে গিয়েছিলাম সেখান থেকেও চাল চলে যাচ্ছে। হরিপদ বাবু হয়ত নদীয়া জেলার কথা বলবেন। তবে তা সামান্য। সেজন্যই আজকে আমি বলবো এই সভাগৃহে আমরা যতই বিপ্লব আনবার চেষ্টা করি না কেন, বাইরে যদি আমরা জাতীয় চরিত্রের পরিবর্ত্তন করতে না পারি, অবশ্য আমাদের তা করতে হবে এবং তা যদি করতে পারি তাহ'লেই এই সমস্ত কাজ সম্পূর্ণ হবে, তা নাহ'লে কিছুই হবে না।

সেদিন ডাঃ ঘোষ আর একটী কথা বলেছেন—সেটা হচ্ছে কোন্ দ্রব্য কত পরিমাণ খাই। কলকাতা ও শিল্পাঞ্চলের মধ্যবিত্ত সম্প্রদায়ের লোক প্রায় ১২৲ টাকা ক'রে মাথা পিছু খান। তার মধ্যে কন্ট্রোল দরে চাল

যা কিনেন তার মূল্য হচ্ছে ৪।৵০। এই সমস্ত food budgetএর শতকরা ৪০ ভাগ হচ্ছে cereal। আর যেখানে ration নাই সেখানে শতকরা ৫০ ভাগ cerealএ খরচ ক'রতে হয়। হুগলী, জলপাইগুড়ি, নদীয়া প্রভৃতি স্থানে যদি যান এবং গরীব লোকদের food budget দেখেন, তাহ'লে দেখবেন, তাদের শতকরা ৪৮ ভাগই cereal আর বাকী তেল, নুন, মাছ। কাজে কাজেই আমরা চেষ্টা করছি—আজকে জিনিষপত্রের দর—লোহা বলুন, সিমেণ্ট বলুন, কাপড় বলুন, কয়লা বলুন, যে কোন জিনিষই বলুন না কেন, আমরা তার দর কমাতে চাই। সেটা কমাতে পারি, যদি খাদ্যের দাম কমে। ভারত গভর্ণমেণ্ট food conferenceএ তাই বলেছেন খাদ্যের দাম কমাতে হবে। আমরা অবশ্য কণ্ট্রোলের চালের দাম মণ প্রতি ।।৵০ আনা কমিয়ে দিয়েছি। আরও যদি আগামী বৎসর কমাতে পারি তাহলে মধ্যবিত্ত সম্প্রদায় যে অবস্থায় এসেছে, তারা যে দুর্দ্দশায় পড়েছে মুদ্রাস্ফীতির দরুণ, তাদের সে দুরবস্থাও ক'মবে।

যে সর্ষের তেল না হলে আমাদের বাঙ্গালীদের একেবারেই চলে না সেই অতি-প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিষ সর্ষের চাষও আমরা পর্য্যাপ্ত করি না। পুষ্টির দিক থেকে সর্ষের তেলের দরকার যেখানে আমাদের ৪ লক্ষ টনের, সেখানে হয় আমাদের এখানে মাত্র ১১ হাজার টন। এবং অন্যান্য প্রদেশ যথা বিহার ও যুক্তপ্রদেশ থেকে আসে আর মাত্র ৩৭ হাজার টন। সুতরাং আমাদের পশ্চিম বঙ্গে যদি আমরা সর্ষে উৎপন্ন করি তাহলে আমরা বেশ লাভবান হব। আজকে গভর্ণমেণ্টের নীতি ঠিক নয় বলে যারা সমালোচনা করেন তাঁরা ঠিক কথা বলেন না। গভর্ণমেণ্ট রেশন ব্যবস্থা করেছেন বলে গ্রামের লোকে কোন প্রকারে খেতে পাচ্ছে। যেখানকার লোকের ক্রয়শক্তি বেশী সেখানকার লোকেদের বাধ্য করা হয়েছে রেঙ্গুনের চা'ল খেতে। আগে কলকাতার লোক কখনো বাঁকুড়ার চালও খেতো না। কিন্তু এখন আপনি চারতলা বাড়ীতে বাস করলেও রেঙ্গুনের চাল আর বাঁকুড়ার চাল যাতে কাঁকর আছে আপনাকে নিতেই হবে। এর ফল কি হচ্চে? ২৪-পরগণার গ্রামে গ্রামে গরীব লোকগুলি খেতে পাচ্ছে। এই ব্যবস্থাটা না করলে আমাদের এখানে পূর্ব্ববঙ্গ থেকে প্রায় ১৪ লক্ষ আশ্রয়প্রার্থী আসা সত্ত্বেও কলকাতার পথে পথে গ্রামের অসংখ্য লোক ফ্যান দাও ফ্যান দাও বলে ঘুরে বেড়ায় নাই। ১৯৪০ সনের মত, যদিও গত বছর ঢাকায় বহু লোক ফেন দাও বলে রাস্তায় রাস্তায় ঘুরে বেড়িয়েছিল, কিন্তু আমাদের এখানে তা হয় নাই।

কাজে কাজেই খাদ্য উৎপাদন সম্বন্ধে আমরা আপনারা যদি দেশের লোকেদের দ্বারা কাজ করিয়ে নিতে পারি তাহলে এই সমস্যার সমাধান আমরা করে উঠ্তে পারবো আশা করি। আমাদের ধান সংগ্রহের কাজ বেশ ভাল ভাবে চলেছে। গত মাসে আমাদের যা target ছিল তার চেয়ে বেশী সংগ্রহ আমাদের হয়েছে। এ মাসের ৮০ হাজার টনের মধ্যে কাল পর্য্যন্ত ২১ হাজার টন সংগৃহীত হয়েছে। আরো আশার কথা এবার আমাদের প্রায় প্রত্যেক জায়গায় ফলন খুব ভাল হয়েছে। গ্রামে গ্রামে ঘুরলে দেখা যায় আমাদের procurementএর যা রেট তার চেয়েও কম দামে কোন কোন স্থানে ধান বিক্রী হচ্ছে। বাজারে যেখানে ৬।।০ টাকা মণ সেখানে আমাদের procurementএর রেট হচ্চে ৭।।০ টাকা। এ অবস্থায় procurement সম্বন্ধে এবার আমাদের বিশেষ ভাবনা নাই। ধান্যচাষী সম্মেলনে দু-বছরের খোরাক ধরে রাখার কথা হয়েছিল তা যদি হয় তা হ'লে বড় বড় চাষী এবং বিশেষ ক'রে যারা ভাগে চাষ করায়, চাষের জন্য বিশেষ কিছুই খরচ করে না, এই ধরণের বড় বড় চাষীরা যদি দু-বছরের খোরাক ধরে রাখার সুযোগ পেত তাহলে কলকাতা সহরে ও শিল্পাঞ্চলে দুর্ভিক্ষ অনিবার্য্য। সুতরাং আমরা খাদ্য সম্বন্ধে যে নীতি গ্রহণ করেছি সে সম্বন্ধে মহামান্য প্রদেশপাল যা বলেছেন, ঠিকই বলেছেন। মোটের উপর খাদ্যের ব্যাপারে আপনাদের সকলের সহযোগিতা পেলে খাদ্য সম্বন্ধে আমরা স্বাবলম্বী হতে পারব।

আমি আর একটা কথা বলেই বসব। সেটা হচ্ছে পাট সম্বন্ধে। আমাদের পশ্চিম বঙ্গের পাটকলগুলির জন্য প্রয়োজন ৬০ লক্ষ বেল পাট। কিন্তু আমরা উৎপাদন করি ১২ লক্ষ বেল। গত বৎসর আমরা উৎপন্ন করেছি ১৩ লক্ষ ৮৪ হাজার বেল। ১৯৪৮-৪৯ সালের চেয়ে ১ লক্ষ ৮৪ হাজার বেল বেশী। এ বছর আমরা ঠিক করেছি ২০ লক্ষ বেল উৎপন্ন করব। সেদিন মিঃ খোদাবক্স বলেছিলেন যে আউশ ধানের জমির আর দরকার নাই, ওতে পাট দেওয়া হোক। অবশ্য একথা আমি স্বীকার করছি যে আউশের জমিতেই পাট তৈরী করতে হবে। কিন্তু পশ্চিম বঙ্গে সাড়ে চৌদ্দ লক্ষ একর জমিতে আউশ ধান হয়। আর আমন হয় ৭৭ লক্ষ একরে। এই ১৪।। লক্ষ একর জমিতে ৪ থেকে ৫ লক্ষ টন চাল পাওয়া যায়। আমাদের মোট ধানের পরিমাণ ফলন ঠিক মত হচ্ছে ৩৬ লক্ষ টন, তার মধ্যে ৫ লক্ষ টন হচ্ছে আউশ। সুতরাং আউশের চাষ একেবারে বন্ধ করা চলবে না। তবে যদি শ্রীকিশোরী মোহন হাজরার মতন—এই ভদ্র লোক compost সার ব্যবহার করে প্রতি বিঘায় ১৮ মন ধান উৎপন্ন করেছেন—ফসল উৎপন্ন করা যায় তাহলে অবশ্য অল্প পরিমাণ জমিতেই যথেষ্ট ফলন হবে। কিন্তু বর্ত্তমানে সব আউশের জমিতেই পাট দেওয়া চলে না। তারপর কোন কোন জায়গায় শুধু আউশই হয় আমন

একেবারে হয় না। তবে এথাও ঠিক যে পরিকল্পনামতে ২০ লক্ষ বেল পাট চাষ করতে হলে ধানের ফলন অবশ্যই কমে যাবে। এ বিষয়ে ভারত গভর্ণমেণ্ট আমাদের আশ্বাস দিয়েছেন এবং বলেছেন যে পাট উৎপাদনের দরুণ যে পরিমাণ চালের ফলন কমবে সেই পরিমাণ চাল তাঁরা আমাদের দেবেন—যাতে করে তণ্ডুল জাতীয় খাদ্যের যে পরিমাণ ঘাটতি আছে তার চেয়ে বেশী ঘাটতি না হয়।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, the occasion of the delivery of the speech by His Excellency has given opportunity to many of our friends to travel over the whole region of the administration of West Bengal, pointing out to us what in their respective opinions is good and what may be bad in the administration. Sir, I hope and trust that, having had this opportunity of discussing the administration as a whole, it may not be necessary for my friends to talk again when the general discussion on the Budget comes on.

Sir, there are many points that have been raised by several speakers which require separate consideration. I will therefore take the speakers and their amendments and the speeches which they delivered first, as far as possible cover them with such answers as I can give, and then I shall deal with certain general problems. I first start with my friend Mr Jasimuddin Ahmed. He has raised the question of arranging for co-operation for the purpose of meeting the anti-social forces in West Bengal, and in the course of the discussion he talked about the Panchayat system. Let me tell him that there is already a department opened in the Government of West Bengal and a Special Officer is working at developing the Panchayat system, starting with one area where the statistics have been completed and then going on to the other areas. Such Panchayats will not merely aid the administration in the protection of life and property of the citizens but will also, I hope, work for other small amenities for village life, I mean village roads, excavation of tanks, plantation of trees, adult education, distribution of seeds and manure and implements for agricultural purposes, and I hope and trust that within a few months we shall be able to bring a Bill before the House, if necessary, for giving statutory power to such Panchayats. But apart from that, in order to meet this menace I have had two or three occasions to call in friends—of course, in the city of Calcutta—to discuss the problem and how to meet the anti-social activities. It is obvious, as His Excellency the Governor has said in his speech, that no administration can carry on and meet this difficulty simply by enactments and legislation. Therefore, it was suggested at these meetings that we should take the provisions of the West Bengal Volunteer Forces Act, which had been passed last year, as also the provisions of the Police Act in order to enrol individuals who are prepared to come into the scheme and help the administration as voluntary agencies in the protection of the poor and the afflicted. It often happens that before the police gets news of an incident in a particular place, events had happened and trouble had arisen; destruction had taken place; injury and assaults had taken place—probably starting from a small beginning and ending in a common fracas. Before the police come in it is essential that the people in the locality—at least some section of them—should possess statutory power to prevent progress of events in a particular area.

The next speaker was my friend Mr. Rafique. Throughout his rambling and discoursive speech—which was full of contradictions, misstatements and hyperbole—one could not understand exactly what he was aiming at. For instance, he says that the speech of His Excellency is a blind imitation of bureaucratic policy of administration. How can a speech be imitation of an administration? Then he goes on to say that if the Committee or Commission wants some Council-Managers for the Corporation, why do you not send men to America to learn the job? Either you look to the West or refuse to look at it. Then, again, he says, as everybody noticed, everybody has got a bomb in his pocket and yet he says, "I did not have a licence

for a gun" or somebody did not have a licence for his gun. Well, a man who has got a bomb in his pocket is certainly not the person who should be given a gun-licence.

Again, he said this, and he also said it last year, that the supersession of the Calcutta Corporation would not be taken off for many years because, he said, the authorities of the administration are committed to provide a certain individual. No such false statement—which I contradicted last time and I may repeat it—could have been uttered by any responsible member of the Assembly at any period. It is absolutely false. He has charged the administration that it was to provide a particular individual or individuals that the supersession has been brought about. Sir, it is common knowledge that there was something wrong in the Corporation, the Assembly therefore agreed to its supersession. It was essential therefore that the Corporation should not be allowed to go on in its own old corrupt ways but that sufficient care should be taken so that a better constitution could be provided for the Corporation which, humanely speaking would avoid some of the corrupt processes that were obtaining in the Corporation previously. Sir, this question of supersession of the Corporation had also been touched upon I think, by my friend Dr Ghosh as well as by my friend Mr. Gupta. They, I take it consider that any public organisation of this character should not be superseded without election and without there being representatives of the people, representatives of the rate-payers of Calcutta. But there are some other people who are anxious that the supersession should be taken off because the sooner it is taken off the quicker will they be able to go back to the old method of utilising the Corporation for their own purposes. Therefore, Sir, one has to be very cautious. One has to feel his way before one takes a step lest we get into a mirage. Then, Sir, he said we should remove unemployment, we should remove food shortage, we should remove the inefficient police and he said we should remove the communal-minded police. Sir, it is often said that a servant of the Government takes after the pattern of the Government to be served. Our police forces have been under the services of the Muslim League Government for ten years and it is no strange fact if some of them are still communal-minded. But I can assure every member on the floor of this House that, fortunately speaking, our police have stood the test. There is no other body of public servants who are less communal-minded than the police force, otherwise we will not have been able to achieve the results both in Calcutta and in the moffusil areas that we have been able to do within the last few months. (Janab Md. Khuda Bukhsh: Question!) Then again he says curtail the costs of administration. This matter again was touched upon by some other speakers. Before they said these things, I wonder whether they read the budget or read all the brochures that are circulated or not. What is the position in Calcutta today, in Bengal today? We have got a little over one lakh Government servants of whom not more than 325 get more than Rs 1,000 as salary and this amounts to 2 lakhs of rupees a month or 24 lakhs of rupees a year. Members must be aware that recently orders were issued by the Government of India that there should be voluntary cut and voluntary giving up of savings by the servants of the Government and that every Government servant who is in a receipt of a salary of more than Rs. 250 a month has to give up a certain portion of his salary to be credited to his account.

Secondly, I want to remind the members of the House that last year the Government of India thought fit to reduce the salary scale of the members of the services, particularly the superior services. For instance, an I.A.S. man is getting 15 to 18 per cent. less than what an I.C.S. man did previously. Similarly, an I.P.S. man gets less than what he used to get before. So, there has been a good deal of attempt at retrenchment. But when you say that this retrenchment is necessary in order to provide for development, I am afraid, members do not realise what they say. In

the first instance, even if all the members of the superior services were to cease to function and were turned out of service, we can get only 24 lakhs. My road scheme alone costs us Rs. 2 crores 50 lakhs a year. The "Mor" scheme alone costs us Rs. 1 crore 50 lakhs a year and so on. Development does not mean expenditure of Rs. 5 here and Rs. 5 there, but it means enormous expenditure. But, Sir, there is another aspect of that development programme which members ought to remember. Yesterday we got a message from the Government of India to say that they have increased their staff from 150 to 350—the staff of Deputy Secretaries and people above. The reason given is that with the onset of independence new work is being done and has to be done and if they are to be performed efficiently, men are necessary and, therefore, it is no use simply saying "let there be retrenchment, let there be more food, let there be honey and plenty in the land and everything would be all right".

Mr. Rafique went on to say: "the minority people are molested, tortured, we get no help from the Government, we suffer" and that is the most dangerous part of his statement. I do not know whether he really sticks to it "we suffer not because we cannot retaliate or take offensive but because we are loyal citizens of the State". I hope he will continue to be loyal. But he gives the reason. He suffers from frustration and frustration leads to fear. It is perfectly true that he and many others in the House consider black-marketing to be one of the anti-social evils. Dr. Ghosh has suggested and I welcome the suggestion that this should also be regarded on the same plane as any other anti-social activity. I believe Srijut Kanai Lal De also mentioned the same fact. Somebody suggested that communal activities also should be regarded as anti-social activities. I entirely agree with such a speaker.

Mr. Badruddoja and Mr. Khuda Bukhsh deplored the fact that the Government of India could not increase the proportion or allotment to the West Bengal Government out of the income-tax and jute duty and Mr. Khuda Bukhsh suggested that the development grant should be increased. Let me tell you the position. When the Niemeyer award was given, there was no principle laid down as to why a particular allocation was made by him whether it depended upon the population of a particular province, whether it depended upon the contribution of a particular province to the total amount of the income-tax pool, whether it depended also upon the necessity or need of development of a particular province. I can assure both my friends that we have done our level best as a result of which we have some amount of relief, although not as much as we wanted. We have some amount of relief and that relief was not forthcoming. The arrangement was that no relief would be given until the Commission had sat and given its opinion. The West Bengal Government produced a most valuable monograph on the subject putting forth our suggestions. Mr. Deshmukh felt that as the President was going to appoint the Commission shortly, it was unnecessary for him to go into details, but I am perfectly sure that the position we have taken, the logic, the basis of our argument is such that no financier who listens to reason can refuse to listen to our argument. Therefore, I still live in hope that it may be possible for us to get better treatment out of the Commission.

With regard to the development grant, the position is this. In 1946 it was announced in the Central Assembly by the then Finance Member that Rs. 1,000 crores would be available out of the surcharge, supercharge, etc., which they used to levy during the war period and as the war ended suddenly in 1945 and as the provinces had not developed for a certain period, Rs. 500 crores out of that Rs. 1,000 crores would be distributed to the different provinces. Bengal undivided received a quota of Rs. 69 crores. When Bengal was divided, the Central Government thought that Rs. 26 crores should be ample so far as West Bengal is concerned. It was done just at

the time of partition and as far as I have seen the papers, no record of it was sent to West Bengal or no opinion was sought but an *ad hoc* allotment was made and we received an allotment of Rs. 26 crores. We received some money in 1948-49. In the year 1949-50 we received Rs. 2 crores. The next year, on account of the financial difficulty mainly due to the fact that we had to import a large quantity of cereals and food products from outside and the Government of India did not possess the dollar equivalent, they had to cut down the grant next year with the assurance from the Finance Ministry that if and when the condition of the finances of India and trade balance grew better, we might still get some amount allotted to us in the course of 1950-51.

Then I come to my friend Mr. Mudassir Hossain. It is very difficult for me to say what he is—whether he is a follower of Gita or a follower of Koran or a follower of both (Janab Mudassir Hossain: Of both.) perhaps of both. He perhaps represents in himself or he thinks that he represents in himself the unity of Gita and Koran. He has begun by calling our Governor the idol and ended with "Rajendra Prasad ki Jai", but in between he was careful to say "You Congress Government, you are corrupt, you are inefficient, you are useless". I was waiting to hear some argument —at least some show of argument—as to why he suddenly called this Government corrupt because when he was talking in high language of religion, I thought he would have a little charity within him but he did not have charity. First of all, he repeated the fundamental rights that we see displayed in the new constitution that has just been circulated. Then he went on to say "I do not agree with Badrudduja, I do not agree with Khuda Buksh, I do not agree with the East Bengal Government, I do not agree with the West Bengal Government". What he agrees with I do not know. He may have an associate with whom he agrees. He may have his own ideals. But I leave him at that because I do not think it is worthwhile going further with his speech.

Mr. Kanai Lal De and Dr. Ghosh spoke about the Calcutta University. One point that has been raised is—is the Calcutta University going to be made better? Are there going to be any reforms in the Calcutta University? I hesitate to say anything at this stage because His Excellency the Chancellor has appointed a committee for this purpose and until that committee has reported and the matter has been considered by the Senate and the Syndicate, I do not think I as an outsider should say anything about this.

But there is one point which was mentioned by Dr. Ghosh—an impression that I want to correct—namely, that he says that the Calcutta University is a pocket borough, it should be corrected, a reform should take place and he says that we should see that it ceases to be a pocket borough. Let me assure Dr. Ghosh that although I represent the Calcutta University this time, there will be no University representative in the future Assembly. So, there is no question of any pocket borough in that case.

Then Dr. Ghosh also suggested that there should be a committee to consider the whole of the financial problems of Bengal and see how far we can come to some decision regarding the expenditure and the receipts. I have asked my Finance Minister who is not here today to consider this proposal seriously and I propose to take it up with my Cabinet and see how far they can agree and in what manner.

Then he referred to an Agricultural Commodities Price Board, because that would, in his opinion, lower the price or at least control the prices of various commodities and also facilitate the supply of such food materials to the different parts of the province. Sir, there is one question which I want to place before the members of this House, and it is a very important

question, and that is the question of transport. Bengal has been so badly divided that today it almost consists of three parts with no connection between one another. My friend Srijut Khagendra Nath Das Gupta comes from Jalpaiguri with red eyes, cleanses his eyes, and says that his people are not having food. I quite agree with him that they are not getting facilities which they should get. The position is that when Sir Cyril Radcliffe had given the award, probably in his heart of hearts he felt that it would be possible for goods to go from one part of the province to another by mutual agreement, but this has not happened. Therefore today we are faced with great difficulty so far as transport of commodities is concerned. Then again it is very difficult to say whether we should fix the prices. You must remember, we, members of this House, must remember that we are through a developing stage. We have done it in the past—last year and the year before. Sometimes we impose control over a particular commodity and sometimes we withdraw the control. People blame us when we impose control; they also blame us when the control is withdrawn. The position is that we are not quite sure what really would suit our economic structure in this province.

Then comes the question of re-election to the five district boards and the question of general election. With regard to four of the district boards, they were created or rather carved out at the time of partition, and the nomination took place then in the hope that they would be able to have their election at an early date. We had to wait for a little while, because we were not sure what the new constitution would be and what the suffrage would be under the new constitution. Now it has been settled, and it is expected—so far as I am concerned I will do my best—that the election will take place at the earliest opportunity. Under the new constitution, no reservation has been made for any particular community. Both the sexes have equal opportunities of being elected and voting, and therefore it is essential that we should have a new electoral roll, and that will certainly take a little while. The same is the case with the Calcutta Corporation. I may state for the information of Mr. Rafique that the Commission has finished its work and has sent its report. The report is being considered by the Government and the matter will be coming before the Assembly. As soon as the Assembly passes the Bill which will then become an Act and agrees to the formation of a new type of Calcutta Corporation, the election will take place, and I hope that it will bring in a certain type of men who will know their responsibilities in that organisation. So far as the General election is concerned, I may tell the members that we have finished our enrolling and printing of the electoral rolls, so far as the Calcutta areas are concerned. The electoral roll of the whole of Bengal under the new system will be completed and printed by the 28th February. I have informed the Central Government who have to take certain steps for enabling the President of the Republic to issue orders, as the Secretary of State used to issue orders in the olden times, regarding the method of election, franchise, etc., etc. As soon as that is done, the election will be held. I have suggested to the Centre that the election should be held some time in July or August, but it is for them to take up the next step, and I can assure you that there will be no effort lacking on my part for getting the thing done as quickly as possible.

My colleague, Mrs. Bina Bhowmick, said that there has been no educational movement. I can tell her that 500 adult educational centres and institutions were started last year in 1949, and I hope and trust that she will give her full co-operation to this new movement. It is a new movement so far as this province is concerned. She spoke about some incidents happening on the 26th January. I shall be very happy to get from her the details so that we can pursue the incidents; the sooner it is done the better.

Then I come to my friend Srijut Deben Sen. I can tell you, Sir, that I was thoroughly disappointed with his speech. I will tell you why. He talked of revolution—"Inquilab Zindabad," long live revolution, let the revolution go on revolving! But no achievement in the meantime. He is thinking of one revolution which has passed, and another revolution which, he said, would either be by agreement or by direct action. I warn him—do not raise this Frankenstein. I am an old man and I will disappear, but Deben Sen will have to bear the burden, and it is possible that the monster will eat him up. He says—scrap the constitution if it is against you. I am one of those who are inclined to agree with him. Let us run coach and four over the constitution that has been built up, but what next? I ask him that question. Bring down this big edifice because this is a classful society and it is not a classless society. Let us bring the whole thing down, but there will be a void, there will be an abyss, there will be a crater. What are you going to do with that? It is all very well for Mrs. Bhowmick to say "জননী চলো জননী চলো" but I can assure you that I am not prepared to put my foot into a morass. There is also a Hindi saying جلدی کا کام شیطان کا ہے (Jaldi ka kam shaitan ka hai) "Unless you put your case clearly before you and know what you are doing, haste is always waste." Therefore I would ask my friend to be patient. As I said just now, not in my interest, not in the interest of so-called rich men and capitalists, but in his own interest he should swallow his own hobgoblins. He said that he was really very upset because there is no mention of labour, as if the labouring class did not exist. He said you cannot ignore him. How can we ignore him? As the leader of the Labour Party how can we ignore him? His party cannot be ignored. But the point is, the labour problems are generally governed, as he knows very well, by an all-India policy, and therefore it would be out of place for any speech from His Excellency the Governor to include them except in a very general sort of way. But that does not really mean ignoring labour. What is this problem with regard to removal of vested interests in land? Sir, it is perfectly true that the tiller of the soil should have right to own the soil. That is a general poposition no one can cavil at, and if anybody does so, he does so at his own peril. The question is, how to achieve that particular goal, how to achieve that particular objective. There are some who are impatient and say, as Mr. Deben Sen says, let us scrap the constitution if the constitution is against us; but surely you cannot scrap fairplay, you cannot scrap common justice, you cannot scrap the rights and privileges which accrue to every individual. Sir, I am neither a landlord nor a tenant. I have no interest in the land except to see that, as a Congressman, justice should be done to every individual. In what manner and how to do it in a particular case is a different matter. Sir, what is the position today? Let me recall it in a brief compass. The point is that today a *raiyat* in Bengal pays a rent on the average of about Rs. 3. The average rent of a *raiyat* under a Government estate is 4-12, so that if the Government buys off all the intervening interests, the tenant pays more. We have to consider whether the Government can afford to lose this amount of revenue. Possibly it can or, as Mr. Deben Sen would say let us go for it, and then thereafter comes the deluge. The other point is this. In other provinces—I say that because he mentioned about Bihar, the United Provinces and Madras—the position of the *raiyat* in, say, Madras, United Provinces, is worse. I am talking of Bengal, what is the position of the *raiyat* in Bengal who pays the rent direct? I am not talking of the *bargadars* or the labourers or the *bhagchasis*, and so on. Before partition, I might inform Mr. Sen, I was one of those who before the Floud Commission and during the Floud Commission had pleaded for a change in the proprietorship of land, because I am a believer in the theory that the person who tills the soil should own the soil. But the position has changed since the partition. Take, for instance, the different districts in Bengal before the partition.

In Mymensingh the ratio of revenue paid by the zamindar to the Government to his gross income is only 9 per cent. In West Bengal, say, Burdwan, it is 63 per cent. The average is 41 per cent. Therefore, we have got to consider whether, while we may not improve much the lot of the tenants, it would be at least possible for the Government to take it up unless, as Mr. Deben Sen would say you do not pay compensation. Unfortunately for him, or fortunately for the fairplay ideal of the members of the Central Assembly, Article 31 of the constitution has laid down certain methods of compensation. I do not say—and there I agree with them—that we should find out some method of getting round this. And I can assure him that we have already taken this matter up in certain areas of West Bengal and we propose, if possible, to put it into operation, not throughout the whole of West Bengal, but at least in certain parts of it.

Then, he has talked about Japan, about Eastern Europe. But Japan and Eastern Europe are industrial countries, and they have not got that pressure of work that we have got in this province.

My friend Mr. Bimal Comar Ghosh said that the finances of this province are not very satisfactory. He will have more to say when the Budget is before the House. But if he has got an open mind, and is open to reason, I can tell him that the finances of this province are more satisfactory than the finances of any other province in India today.

I come now to my old friend Mr. Abul Hashem. He is really chameleon-like. It is very difficult to find out what he is exactly aiming at. He begins by saying "You Congress fellows are dishonest, inefficient and corrupt". Hard words do not break any bones. But I am reminded of a poetry or poem which I read some years ago. When Henry VIII was opposed in his attempt to dispossess the priests of their proprietorship, the Poet said:

Tell me my muse
What monstrous dire offence
Could a Christian King incense
Such a rage.
Was it luxury or lust?
Was he so temperate and so just?

I leave it at that. He says the exploitation of the *kisan* is going on and the capitalists run the Congress Party. He says there is general hatred of the Congress Party. I, as a democrat, am not afraid of that hatred. If the Congress Party is hated, it will not be elected. Fortunately it is a joint electorate. This time Mr. Abul Hashem is bound to come up by some miracle or other, and let us see how he and his group and people of his mentality control the electorate. We shall be very happy to ask him to take the reins of office, and I hope it will be more efficient, less corrupt, and more honest. Sir, he has raised certain questions which I was not prepared to answer yesterday, the correctness of which however I had the opportunity of testing for myself today. Everything was misrepresented to us. If necessary, I will not refer to them now, but when we come to the Police budget, I hope, if he raises this question, I shall be able to nail the lie to the counter.

Then, Sir, I come to another question. Mr. Abul Hashem went on to say that the men in office are thoroughly powerless, that they have sold their conscience for a small price. I am thankful for little mercies, at any rate. I do possess a conscience which I have sold perhaps, but there may be others who may not have any conscience at all to sell. They say that we are abject slaves of the Central authority. I am proud to be a member of one unit of the whole Indian Union, and if he is really a loyal citizen of the Indian Union, he should be proud that the Government of West

Bengal and the Central Government go hand-in-hand in co-operation, not in opposition. Any attempt on his part or on the part of any member of the House to create a breach between this Provincial Government and the Central Government will not have any effect. (Cries of "Hear", "hear".) He said the real revolution is yet to come. I can understand Mr. Deven Sen talking about revolution. I wonder what part my friend Mr. Abul Hashem had taken in the last revolution that he is thinking of a new revolution. But probably with some people ideas go on revolving in the mind and revolution goes along with the ideas. After all, he is a loyal citizen of this empire and the flag of this empire has got Asoka Chakra which goes on revolving, and probably he thinks that the revolution of the wheel constitutes the revolution that he is thinking of.

Now, I come to my friend Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji, and take up the remarks regarding classless society. I have not yet understood it. I plead guilty to the charge. I am perhaps one of the heretics of the Congress Party. I do not understand what is classless society. If he says that there would be no capitalists and that there would be no landlords, I can understand it. But how can you remove the classes from the society? One man will be an idiot and another will be intelligent; one will be tall like me, and another may be short; one may be fair and another may be dark, and thus you go on creating classes. Suppose Mr. Walker should, I say, go into the workers' shed in his mill and the workers should sit in his chair—if that happens, I wonder how long the mill will continue. I have had some experience of the city about which my friend Dr. Banerji has spoken in such glorious terms—I mean Prague. It so happened that I went there almost at the same time that he did, but unfortunately his eyes were not mine. I have seen things from a different point of view, and I am prepared to say that there I saw a person who had a three-storeyed building. A person was taken to the cellar and there she got pneumonia because that woman was a bourgeois and she was not accustomed to it. She was forced to go to the cellar and the other floors were given to other parties for rental. The rent was being collected and utilised by them. That is one form of class, viz., the oppressive society,—the oppressor and the oppressed. When you are talking of capitalists I have to say something. Capital does not consist merely of one's money that he possesses in the bank. It consists of brain. How does Mr. Walker make his millions—not by his hand but because he has got better brain. Therefore, if you have a person with a bigger brain, that is the fault of the Creator and not the fault of the created. If one man controls another, it is not the fault of the man who controls the other. Sir, I know of people who wrote a book and before the book was published, fifty thousand copies had been sold. I need not name the parties. But if that is so, I say that is *fatka* business because the books are sold even before they are published.

But, Sir, the whole question about capital and capitalists arises not because one man possesses bigger power and greater strength and another comparatively less but in how he utilises that. If a capitalist crushes another fellow I am prepared to crush that man and if a man who has got, for instance, muscle power and muscle capital wants to strike another and succumb him to his whims and caprices I say he is wrong. But supposing that man goes out in the streets and sees a woman being molested for which he punishes the evil doer shall I call that capital wrong capital? Certainly not. Therefore when we are talking about a classless society we have to consider and know what exactly is meant by it. Possibly Dr. Banerjee has got his own meaning and I may have my own. My own opinion is—and this much is certain—and our constitution has laid it down that there should be equal opportunities for all, that there should be no distinction as regards race, sex, creed and colour as between one man and another, that you shall not enjoy a privilege because you happen to belong to a particular community or a particular religion or a particular class.

The next two questions that I shall address myself to before I finish are (1) the question of refugee rehabilitation—I have heard it said by members that there is no plan and (2) the question of security. Sir, in the beginning of the year 1948 when I came to office it was not yet quite understood as to what was or what would be the nature or extent of refugee exodus into West Bengal. As a matter of fact when I first went to Delhi after my taking the Premiership I had difficulty in making the people in the Centre understand that there is a problem like refugee problem. Eventually of course they agreed to help us with funds. Now the method that we have adopted is this. The Centre has accepted the fundamental principle that the relief given to the refugees either as a dole or as a grant for rehabilitation or as a loan for rehabilitation should be paid for from the Centre. That is the fundamental principle. In the beginning therefore they asked us to open camps to take the refugees in. We had opened about 40 camps in different parts and generally utilised the military hutments wherever we could get them in order to accommodate them. In many cases we had to borrow or hire tents in order to rehabilitate them because it was an urgent situation. In the beginning of 1949 the problem was not one of rehabilitation but a problem of giving relief and doles to every individual that was in the camp and through certain agencies like the Ramkrishna Mission we gave doles to certain individuals and about 55,000 persons received doles from the beginning of 1948 till about May 1949. Then the Government of India issued instructions that it was not possible either for the Government of India or for the Government of West Bengal to undertake the liability of feeding such a large proportion of people and, secondly, they felt and quite rightly that these men should be taught to earn their own livelihood so that they could be adjusted to the economic structure of this province. Now, Sir, when you come to take statistics of the total number of people that have come it is unfortunate that a very large portion of them, between 40 and 42 per cent. of the people who have come were persons who on the other side were either in employment, in service, or were enjoying the fruits of income from land. Now they have come over here in distress, in agony having lost their all. Even foregoing the small collection that they could have made had they stayed behind they had to come away and they are absolutely helpless, penniless. What is worse is their inability to adjust themselves or adapt themselves to the new surroundings. Therefore in the beginning of 1949 the Government of India asked us to take up the problem of rehabilitation in a proper manner.

Mr. SPEAKER: As usual let me adjourn the House for 15 minutes and you will please resume your speech after the prayer adjournment.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was talking about the plan for refugee rehabilitation. I will go into it a little in detail because I am afraid in spite of various Press Notes which have been issued from time to time people do not seem to realise either the enormity of the problem or the steps which the Governments, both here and in Delhi, have taken so far. As I am saying, early in 1949, the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal decided to stop giving doles any longer and the target date for giving doles was first of all fixed at 31st of October, 1949, and later on extended up to 31st of December within which the West Bengal Government was asked to rehabilitate the 55,000 people that were in the camps except those who could not be rehabilitated, namely, the old, infirm, old women and children. The expression "rehabilitation" is used not merely to indicate that house is provided to shelter the individual but that some occupation or other, a gainful occupation is provided for the individual so that he can be above want. Now, while a

person who had been a fisherman on the other side or an artisan or worker or even an agriculturist, it is not difficult for him even in the nev State to which he has come to get himself accustomed to the nev surroundings and adjust himself to the economic condition of the provinc to which he has come. The Government of West Bengal started first wit the rural housing scheme. Those who lived in camps—9,600 of th refugee families—were given lands between 4 cottahs and 10 cottahs, wer given a loan of Rs. 500 to build a house, were given one month's mainte nance while the house was being built and if one happened to be businessman he got another month's maintenance grant, while if h happened to be an agriculturist and he settled in an area where it possible for us to provide him with an agricultural land he got 10 bigha of land, he got maintenance grant for six months and a total loan c Rs. 2,270 for the purpose of purchasing bullocks and other implements fc cultivation including Rs. 100 for reclamation of the land and Rs. 100 fc providing water-supply. This is a plan which not only applies to Wes Bengal but it is a universal plan adopted by the Government of India an unless we follow that plan it would not be possible for us to get a gran from the Government of India. The land which is to be acquired require to be acquired under two Acts. One is the Act which is known as th West Bengal Land Development Act which was passed by the Legislatur last year and this allowed us to reduce the period for acquisition. I hav had some part of land acquired within 7 days whenever the local officer—th Magistrate—was satisfied that the land was not a homestead land nor a agricultural land but was what is known as a waste land. We have als in some places acquired land under the Defence of India Act. That Act that if a land or premises had been requisitioned by the Defence Departme any time during the war, then the Defence Department can on the applic tion of the Provincial or State Government acquire that piece of land at value which would be much cheaper than what obtains today. The pri that we have to pay for under our West Bengal Land Development Act the price which obtained in December, 1946. This is in answer to th question which was raised by Dr. Ghosh. We do not allow the profite to sell the land as he likes. In fact, whenever we get any information th there is any waste land what we do is, even before we actually make u our mind to acquire that land we issue a notification under section 4 so th the land may not be utilised by the profiteers, and here, as some of th members have suggested or complained, I may ask every member of th house and the member of the public that anybody who can tell us whe a piece of waste land is available and tell us of the party who would pay fo it, I guarantee that the land would be acquired under the West Beng Land Development Act. The difficulty comes in when the individual do not either want to pay or chooses a land which is not within his mean Remember that every loan that we give for rehabilitating these persons is loan which the individual has to pay back within, say, 20 years. If the is loss, half the loss is borne by the Central Government and half is born by the Provincial Government but the difficulty comes in in the fact th many of the refugees do not want to go outside the urban area. Dr. Gho suggested that Calcutta being overcrowded there should be a law prohibitir anybody coming to Calcutta; it should be a forbidden city. I wish h wishes had fructified but the fact remains that the majority of people wh have come over from East Bengal have had some relation or other in an of the urban areas and it is but natural that when a person comes distress, absolutely shorn of any means of livelihood or any shelter, h runs to a city not merely for shelter but also for finding some friends, son relation who would be able to put him up for a little while.

And, therefore, we see the scene that while cities like Nadia, cities li Calcutta and cities like Berhampore and Jalpaiguri have been invaded b a large number of refugees, the rural areas have not been equally invade

but we are still pursuing that objective, and, as I said before, if there is any friend who can give us information of any land which is available anywhere in West Bengal where we can send the refugees, and if he can find the persons who can pay for the same, I shall be very glad. It is obvious that the refugee, distressed as he is, cannot possibly purchase land in Calcutta or even near Calcutta, because the cost price is very high. Therefore, what he does is that he goes and occupies any unprotected land whether it is within the compound of a big building or whether it is a land which is not being used by some other person and constructs some sort of a shelter. But what is really more reprehensible is that the middleman again comes in. The black-marketeers are everywhere and they begin to register the refugees. I have been shown receipts of what the refugees have paid to the middlemen. They have paid sometimes Rs. 15, sometimes Rs. 20 for a cottah of land. The middleman goes to the band of refugees and tells them "here is a vacant land; the whole land is yours; how much do you want? One cottah?" He then takes Rs. 15 or so from a refugee for one cottah of land. The fellow does not know that this payment will not give him any right to that land. He thinks that the middleman is responsible enough and, therefore, he takes his word to be correct. Afterwards he finds out that his right and title to that land is absolutely nil. The result is that not only there has been a cry from the proprietors of land of unlawful occupation by these refugees, but it has also happened that in some cases these men have put up some sort of small structure and that structure as also the land on which that structure has been built up cannot ultimately belong to them. The Government of West Bengal, as you are aware, issued a notification in November last that they could not with complacency look upon this attack on the private property, because the basis of all Government excepting perhaps U. S. S. R. is to respect the sanctity of private property. I know my friends Mr. Deben Sen and Dr. Suresh Banerjee will tell me that that is a Machiavellian contract. The difficulty therefore is first of all to find out the waste lands and secondly to get people who will go to those waste lands. On two or three occasions certain refugees were shown certain plots of land, but they refused to go there. In one case they refused to go to a certain place and said that the plot chosen was the dumping ground of the municipality. So there you are. In some cases they first agreed to go, but at the last moment they refused to go as a result of the fight for supremacy between the various rival political groups. I used to learn in the olden days that somewhere Milton says, "Hot, cold, dry and moist, four champions fierce, strive here for mastery". Among the poor refugees there is a strife for mastery. In the morning one man comes and says, "I represent the refugees. Who are you? I am so and so". Then another man comes in the afternoon and he says, "I represent the refugees". The poor refugees are being shunted from one group to another and all the time they are in difficulties. In spite of that we have been able to give plots of lands to 22,000 families. Either we have given them loans as well as the maintenance grant as I have said before, or we have given them loan and procured land for them, or in some cases they have arranged for the land by private negotiations. 22,000 families have been given plots of lands. Then in the Andamans we sent about 199 families, 12 of whom came back, but again we have got permission to send another 122 families. I can tell you that some of those men who had gone last year came to see me. Two of them belonged to Barisal. One of them said, "I used to grow 8 maunds of paddy per bigha. There I am growing 16 maunds of paddy per bigha for the first year". He has come over on his own to take his relations to cultivate the lands that they have got there—10 acres or 30 bighas which is more than a man can cultivate. We have provided 500 families with fisheries. We have made arrangements for 200 weavers and we have given cultivable lands to 2,000 families, 5 to 10 bighas to each family, mostly situated in Nadia and Jalpaiguri. The area which is being given to any individual

depends upon the productivity of the soil in question. Then there is another plan and that is about construction of buildings. I will welcome any one of my friends here to go over to Habra which is about 23 miles from here. It will be a beautiful morning drive. He will see how buildings are being constructed. 400 buildings have been completed. Another 400 buildings will be completed by June. We have given orders for building 500 houses in Garia area and 180 houses in Midnapore. Up to date we have given a loan of Rs. 66,000 in house-building loans and about Rs. 6 lakhs in business loan. We have given other loans of Rs. 8·4 lakhs. There is one Committee which is called the Business Rehabilitation Board consisting of independent persons who can give loans up to Rs. 5,000. They have given about Rs. 21 lakhs for medical practitioners and to lawyers they have given about Rs. 2 lakhs and then loans to students and to institutions amount to Rs. 23 lakhs. Five thousand students have been trained by the Employment Exchange under the Labour Department of the Government of India. That is the story that I have to tell you about Refugee Rehabilitation.

Now I come to the last portion of my speech, that is, the assurance to the minorities. Sir, the constitution lays down some provision for the minorities—section 370 or whatever it is. But apart from that the position of the minority community in this province of West Bengal is rather delicate, and I shall refrain from indulging in any expression which might not only create a wrong impression but also bring about some want of proper relationship between East Bengal and West Bengal. Sir, ordinarily we are all exercised with the events that have happened in East Bngal, but the difficulty in the first place is that we do not know exactly what the actual situation is. The Chief Secretaries are meeting tomorrow at Dacca, and my direction to our Chief Secretary is to try to find out whether it is possible for two persons belonging to the Provincial Minority Board of East Bengal and of West Bengal to go and see two or three definite areas where events have occurred on that or this side. Ordinarily it is not the business of the West Bengal Government or of the Indian Union to bother themselves about what is happening in the other Dominion, because whatever treatment they are giving to their own nationals one might say that the people of Indian Union should not interfere with their internal affairs. But in this particular case there is this difficulty that whenever anything happens on the other side, not only is there a general exodus of refugees to West Bengal—my people have given me the figures as 13,000 that have already come over from East Bengal to the Bongaon area—but it also creates certain amount of fear in the minds of the minority community here. I want to assure every member of the minority community that so long as I have anything to do with this Government any person whether he belongs to the minority or to the majority will be protected to the best of the ability of the Government from any anti-social forces that may attack them or try to molest them or assault them. (Applause.) It is not a question of any individual here. As has been said many times, this State is a secular State: we do not recognise one religion, one caste and one group. We will save everybody who is oppressed, who is assaulted: they will be protected by the Government. It may be that sometimes we may not be able to reach the place where the event occurs, in time; but whatever happens it would be my endeavour as it has been in the past to see that the minorities are protected, not merely for the purpose of protecting them but also because we know that so far as the Muslim minority community is concerned, any incident on this side may react on the other side. Therefore my duty is and my responsibility is to see that the minorities are safe. Here I am not merely speaking of the Muslims but I am also speaking of the Anglo-Indians, of the Europeans, of every other groups or sub-groups who might feel that they are not properly protected. All I want from them is this—let them tell me where events are likely to occur, if possible, in

time. Let them tell me where events have occurred, and it will be my endeavour to see that remedy is given and events do not recur, and that as quickly as possible. Sir, we have still to achieve economic freedom. We have got political freedom; but apart from economic freedom which we all aspire to, we want social freedom, that is to say, a society—not a classless society as my friend Dr. Banerjee would probably think of, but a society in which there is no class in the sense that there is no distinction between White and Brown, between Black and Blue, a society which would ask for and get all the protection, all the resources available to the State for the protection of the individual and of the community. And I hope and trust that in this attempt to fight all forms of anti-social activities and in this attempt to preserve the life and property of the individuals and to secure to every peace-loving citizen of this province the facilities for doing their daily work properly, I shall get the support of every member of this House, from every corner of this building. (Applause.)

The motion of Mr. Jasimuddin Ahmed that the following be added at the end of the address, viz.:—

"While expressing our disappointment at the failure of your Government to take adequate popular measures to avail of people's co-operation towards the removal of anti-social elements.",

was then put and lost.

The motion of Shaikh Mohamad Rafique that the following be added at the end of the address, viz.:—

"But regret to find that no new policies have been enunciated to repeal oppressive measures, curtail costs of administration, provide adequate cheap food, hold election of the Corporation of Calcutta and bring in relief with a view to curb the unrest in the State of West Bengal.",

was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the following be added at the end of the address, viz.:—

"But beg to express our regret that the speech makes no reference to the unfair allocation for the State under the Deshmukh Award, that it omits to mention any positive steps other than resort to special powers in combating the anti-social elements in the country, that it does not refer to minorities in the State and their rights and responsibilities, that it is silent on the unfortunate background created by partition—a background likely to affect the role of India in Asian unity as also against world conflicts and further that it ignores the forces generated by devaluation which has not merely brought about a deadlock in the general economic sphere, but it is likely to affect the food position of the State as well.",

was then put and lost.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, after hearing the Chief Minister I beg to withdraw my amendment.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is there any objection?

(There was no objection.)

The motion of Janab Mudassir Hossain that the following be added at the end of the address, viz.:—

"But it is distressing to find that neither any beginning has been made nor any initiative taken to secure to the citizens of West Bengal State the objectives of the august and great constitution—the objective being—

(*i*) justice—social, economic and political,

(*ii*) liberty of thought and expression,

(*iii*) equality of status and opportunity,

(*iv*) fraternity—assuring the dignity of individual and unity of the people of West Bengal,

by legislation on executive or administrative order or action or creation of organisation or making budgetary provision in this session of the Assembly,

but, on the other hand, steps are being taken to further curtail civil liberties, acts are continued to be done which are conducive to spread a reign of terror and corruption by executive and police action or inaction, especially in the Department of Supplies and Procurement and in the matter of protection of Mussalmans in the district of Murshidabad and other places,
and to find the total omission of social and economic and development plans or programme.",

was then by leave of the House withdrawn.

The motion of Janab Md. Khuda Bukhsh that the following be added at the end of the address, viz.:—

"But regret the omission of—

(*i*) indication of any action being taken by the Government to have the development grants from the Centre increased,

(*ii*) mention of any policy pursued in rehabilitating refugees,

(*iii*) mention of Government policies, if any, to maximise the cultivation of jute in the State,

(*iv*) indication of any action being taken by the Government to bring down price of essential goods,

(*v*) indication of any Government action towards the abolition of zaminderi system.",

was then put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Hemanta Kumar Basu that "A respectful address in reply be presented to His Excellency the Governor as follows:—

'Your Excellency, we, the Members of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled in this session, beg to offer our humble thanks to Your Excellency for the most excellent speech which Your Excellency has deliverd to this House'.",

was then put and agreed to.

ORDINANCES.

The West Bengal Special Courts Ordinance, 1949.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to lay before the House the West Bengal Special Courts Ordinance, 1949 (West Bengal Ordinance No. III of 1949).

The West Bengal Jute Goods Futures Ordinance, 1949.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: On behalf of the Hon'ble Nalini Ranjan Sarker I beg to lay before the House the West Bengal Jute Goods Futures Ordinance, 1949 (West Bengal Ordinance No. V of 1949).

The West Bengal Jute (Control of Prices) Ordinance, 1949.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: On behalf of the Hon'ble Nalini Ranjan Sarker I beg to lay before the House the West Bengal Jute (Control of Prices) Ordinance, 1949 (West Bengal Ordinance No. VII of 1949).

The West Bengal Council of Medical Registration (Extension of Term of Office of Members) Ordinance, 1949.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to lay before the House the West Bengal Council of Medical Registration (Extension of Term of Office of Members) Ordinance, 1949 (West Bengal Ordinance No. VI of 1949).

The West Bengal Special Courts (Amendment) Ordinance, 1949.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to lay before the House the West Bengal Special Courts (Amendment) Ordinance, 1949 (West Bengal Ordinance No. XI of 1949).

The West Bengal Security Ordinance, 1949.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to lay before the House the West Bengal Security Ordinance, 1949 (West Bengal Ordinance No. II of 1949).

The West Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Special Courts) Amendment Ordinance, 1949.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I beg to lay before the House the West Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Special Courts) Amendment Ordinance, 1949 (West Bengal Ordinance No. IV of 1949).

The West Bengal Jute Goods (Control) Ordinance, 1949.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to lay before the House the West Bengal Jute Goods (Control) Ordinance, 1949 (West Bengal Ordinance No. IX of 1949).

The West Bengal Bargadars Ordinance, 1949.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: I beg to lay before the House the West Bengal Bargadars Ordinance, 1949 (West Bengal Ordinance No. X of 1949).

The West Bengal Land-Revenue Sales Ordinance, 1949.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: I beg to lay before the House the West Bengal Land-Revenue Sales Ordinance, 1949 (West Bengal Ordinance No. I of 1949).

The West Bengal Drugs (Control) Ordinance, 1949.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to lay before the House the West Bengal Drugs (Control) Ordinance, 1949 (West Bengal Ordinance No. VIII of 1949).

The West Bengal District Boards (Amendment) Ordinance, 1950.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: I beg to lay before the House the West Bengal District Boards (Amendment) Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. II of 1950).

The Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) Amendment Ordinance, 1950.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: I beg to lay before the House the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) Amendment Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. IV of 1950).

The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Amending) Ordinance, 1949.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to lay before the House the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Amending) Ordinance, 1949 (West Bengal Ordinance No. XII of 1949).

The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Second Amending) Ordinance, 1949.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to lay before the House the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Second Amending) Ordinance, 1949 (West Bengal Ordinance No. XIII of 1949).

The Calcutta Special Tribunal (Change of Composition) Ordinance, 1950.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to lay before the House the Calcutta Special Tribunal (Change of Composition) Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. I of 1950).

The Bengal Medical (West Bengal Amendment) Ordinance, 1950.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to lay before the House the Bengal Medical (West Bengal Amendment) Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. III of 1950).

Laying of amendments to the Bengal Motor Vehicles Rules, 1940.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to lay before the House the amendments to the Bengal Motor Vehicles Rules, 1940, made under the Motor Vehicles Act, 1938, as required under sub-section (*3*) of section 133 of the Act.

GOVERNMENT BILLS.

The West Bengal Bargadars Bill, 1950.

Mr. SPEAKER: I understand that the West Bengal Bargadars Bill, 1950, will be taken up afterwards.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Yes.

The Calcutta Special Tribunal (Change of Composition) Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to introduce the Calcutta Special Tribunal (Change of Composition) Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the Calcutta Special Tribunal (Change of Composition) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

Mr. SPEAKER: I find there is an amendment of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 3(*1*)(*c*) in proposed clause (*a*) of sub-section (*4*) of section 6—

(*a*) in lines 1 and 2, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted;

(*b*) in line 4, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted; and

(*c*) in lines 6 and 7, for the words, brackets and figures "sub-section (*3*) of section 220 of the Government of India Act, 1935", the words, brackets and figures "clause (*2*) of Article 217 of the Constitution of India" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 3 as amended do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

Mr. SPEAKER: I find there is an amendment of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move in clause 4, line 3, for the figures "1949" the figures "1950" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 4, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the Calcutta Special Tribunal (Change of Composition) Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The West Bengal Money-Lenders (Amendment) Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal Money-Lenders (Amendment) Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg move that the West Bengal Money-Lenders (Amendment) Bill, 1950, b taken into consideration.

Sir, the object of this Bill is to exclude those scheduled banks whic have been declared to be scheduled banks after the 1st of January, 1939 By the Money-Lenders Act all those banks which had been declare scheduled banks before that date were excluded from the operation of th Act, but now we are proposing that the banks which have been declare scheduled after that date should also be excluded from the purview of th Act.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Money-Lenders (Amendment) Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The Indian Registration (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to introduce the Indian Registration (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the Indian Registration (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

Sir, as will be seen in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, the partition of Bengal has necessitated the division of the records of several Registration offices. It was agreed that each of the Provinces of East Bengal and West Bengal would get half of the original records of common interest and copies of the other half. But it has been considered better and easier to take photographic copies instead of copying the records in the ordinary way. Under the present law, however, copies taken by the public from these photographic copies may not be admissible in evidence. To obviate this difficulty Government have decided to amend the Indian Registration Act, 1908 (Act XVI of 1908), so that copies prepared from photographic copies of the books of Registration offices affected by partition are accepted for the purpose of proving the contents of the original documents.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the Indian Registration (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The Calcutta Sheriff's (Amendment) Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to introduce the Calcutta Sheriff's (Amendment) Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the Calcutta Sheriff's (Amendment) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

Sir, the Bill has been prepared to meet certain difficulties in the working of the present Sheriff's Act and also to eliminate certain deficiencies in the expressions used in the Act. It is just for that purpose that this short amending Bill has been introduced.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 4, in the proposed sub-section (*1*) of section 8, line 1, for the words "The revenues of the Province" the words "The consolidated funds of the State" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 4, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 6.

The question that clause 6 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 7.

The question that clause 7 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the Calcutta Sheriff's (Amendment) Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The Societies Registration (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, on behalf of the Hon'ble Nalini Ranjan Sarker, I beg to introduce the Societies Registration (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the Societies Registration (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

As will be seen from the Statement of Objects and Reasons the reason why this Bill has been put before the Legislature is that it is an enabling measure under which any society of the kind mentioned in section 20 can register itself in the manner prescribed by the Act. On such registration the society acquires a special status and becomes entitled to certain rights and subject to certain liabilities. The legal status of such a society is held to be similar to that of a registered Trade Union. The name in which the society is registered assumes considerable importance since it is in its registered name that it can enjoy the various benefits conferred by the Act.

While special provision has been made in the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, for changing the name of a Trade Union, there is no such provision in the Societies Registration Act, 1860, by which a registered society can claim the benefits of the Act if its registered name be changed. The object of the present Bill is to remedy this defect in the Act by making express provision for changing the names of the societies registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

Sj. ARDHENDU SEKHAR NASKAR: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 4, in sub-section (*3*) of proposed section 12A, last line, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 4, as amended, do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the Societies Registration (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 6-42 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Thursday, the 9th February, 1950, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 9th February, 1950, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 62 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Implementation of awards by the Industrial Labour Tribunals

*1. **Sj. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Labour Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) the total number of Judges working as Industrial Tribunals;

(*ii*) whether there is any High Court Judge among them;

(*iii*) whether there is any machine to implement the awards made by the Industrial Tribunals; and

(*iv*) whether there are any cases of criminal prosecution on the ground of non-implementation of award against any commercial firms of Calcutta?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*)(*iv*) be in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing the up-to-date position of those cases?

MINISTER in charge of the LABOUR DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Kalipada Mookerjee): (*a*)(*i*) Six.

(*ii*) No.

(*iii*) First the Labour Directorate tries to persuade the parties to abide by the terms of the awards. Where such persuasion fails, even after request from Government, steps are taken to prosecute the defaulting party.

(*iv*) Yes. In seven cases prosecutions have been launched—

Messrs. M. B. Sarkar & Sons.

Messrs. Balmer Lawrie & Co., Ltd.

Messrs. J. R. Huchinson & Co., Ltd.

Messrs. Indian Economic Insurance Co., Ltd.

Messrs. Wachel Molla & Sons, Ltd.

Messrs. R. B. Rodda.

Messrs. Roberts McLean & Co.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: On a point of order, Sir. The answers were not read fully.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the Hon'ble Minister should read the answers. An objection has been raised by the honourable member that the answers should be read fully. Our practice here is to read them fully.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Also in the answers that we have received there are only five cases and not seven. They are not mentioned as seven.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the Hon'ble Minister has read only five.

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Sir, I have added two more.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you kindly read the answers fully?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Sir, I shall read the answers—

(*a*)(*i*) Six.

(*ii*) No.

(*iii*) First the Labour Directorate tries to persuade the parties to abide by the terms of the awards. Where such persuasion fails, even after request from Government, steps are taken to prosecute the defaulting party.

(*iv*) Yes. In seven cases prosecutions have been launched.

(*b*) (*1*) *Messrs. M. B. Sarkar & Sons.*—Prosecution started on 24th February, 1949, in the court of Sri B. Mukherjee, Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta. The accused persons appeared in court on 28th March, 1949, and the case fixed for hearing on 13th May, 1949. Subsequently this prosecution resulted in conviction and in fine.

(2) *Messrs. Balmer Lawrie & Co., Ltd.*—Pending in the court of Sri S. N. Bhattacharjee, Additional Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta. Next date of hearing 22nd April, 1949. Since then it has also resulted in conviction.

(3) *Messrs. J. R. Huchinson & Co., Ltd.*—Pending in the court of Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta. Next date of hearing 12th April, 1949. Subsequently it has resulted in conviction.

(4) *Messrs. Indian Economic Insurance Co., Ltd.*—Pending in the court of Sri T. P. Mukherjee, Additional Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta. Next date of hearing 23rd April, 1949. Subsequently resulted in conviction.

(5) *Messrs. Wachel Molla & Sons, Ltd.*—Case was filed on 1st April, 1949, in the court of Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta.

Case against Wachel Molla & Sons was withdrawn on compromise. They implemented the awards and the case was withdrawn.

(6) and (7) Subsequently two further prosecutions were launched against Messrs. R. B. Rodda and Messrs. Roberts McLean & Co.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Sir, in some cases I find that the dates fixed for hearing have been stated as 1949. Should it not be 1950?

Mr. SPEAKER: 1949 is correct. The questions were submitted long ago and the answers relate to that period.

Sj. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU: ব্যাঙ্ক সম্বন্ধে যে রায় বেরিয়েছে সে সম্পর্কে মন্ত্রিমহাশয় কি কোন রকম Prosecutionএর বন্দোবস্ত করবেন ?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: ব্যাঙ্ক ও ইনসিওরেন্স Central Governmentএর subject হওয়ায় Tribunalএর যে রায় বেরিয়েছে সে সম্বন্ধে Central Governmentই যথাযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা করবেন।

Sj. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU: ফিলিপ্‌স ইলেক্‌ট্রিক্যাল ওয়ার্কাস্‌ সম্বন্ধে ট্রাইবুনালের রায় অনুসারে কোম্পানি কাজ করছেনা, সে সম্বন্ধে মন্ত্রিমহাশয় কিছু জানেন কি ?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: আমি নোটিশ চাই।

Sj. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: কোন caseএ কিরকম conviction হয়েছে মাননীয় মন্ত্রিমহাশয় বলবেন কি ?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: বর্ত্তমান আইনে কেবল fineএর ব্যবস্থা আছে কাজেই সব caseএ fineই হয়েছে।

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Labour Department be pleased to state the number of cases of non-implementation?

The Hon'ble KALIPAPA MOOKERJEE: To be very specific in respect of the number I would like to have notice.

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there are any cases of non-implementation save and except those mentioned here as having been sent to the court?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: I do not know about the other cases, whether they are pending or not. If you want a more specific answer I would like to have notice.

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that a large number of mills relating to cotton textiles did not at all implement the award and have not as yet implemented the award?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: If notice is given I shall enquire into the matter, and I shall try to get the necessary answers.

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Is the the Hon'ble Minister aware that due to the non-implementation of the award the complaint was brought or rather the dispute was brought to the notice of the Labour Minister in connection with the Vidyasagar Cotton Mill?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: I want notice.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় জানাবেন কি রাধাকৃষ্ণ cotton millএর বেলায় prosecution করে successful হতে যে পারেননি তার appealএর কোন ব্যবস্থা করেছেন কি ?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Appealএর ব্যবস্থা party করবে।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Party তো এখানে আর কেউ নাই Government prosecution করেছেন employerকে অতএব these are the two parties. Lower Courtএ prosecution করেছেন—এখন High Courtএ যাবেন কিনা ?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: গভর্ণমেন্টের হাইকোর্টে যাওয়ার অভিপ্রায় নাই।

Sj. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি এই সমস্ত caseএ fineএর পরিমাণ কত ?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: এক একটা caseএ এক এক রকম। কোন caseএ দুশো, কোন caseএ একশো, কোন Caseএ পঞ্চাশ টাকা।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলেছেন যে—The judgment of the Federal Court has since been passed—সেই judgmentটা কবে বেরিয়েছে ?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: কবে বেরিয়েছে তারিখ বলতে পারব না। Federal Courtএর রায় বেরুবার পরে যে সমস্ত case হয়েছে এবং রায় অনুসারে শাস্তির ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: একজনও মিলমালিক award মাফিক বোনাস না দেওয়ার জন্য punishment পেয়েছে কি ?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: আমি নোটিশ চাই।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: সামান্য টাকা fine হলে কোম্পানির কিছুই যায় আসে না। মন্ত্রীমহাশয় এদের প্রকৃত সাজার ব্যবস্থা যাতে হয় সেটা করবেন কি ?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: প্রচলিত আইনানুযায়ী পাঁচশো টাকা পর্য্যন্ত fineএর ব্যবস্থা আছে, কাজেই এ আইনের পরিবর্তন নাহলে সে আরাম করা সম্ভব হবে না।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় জানেন কি প্রত্যেক দিনের জন্য ৫০০৲ টাকা করে fine হতে পারে। হাইকোর্টের Chief Justice রায় দিয়েছেন যে for every day he can be fined Rs. 500.

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: ৫০০৲ টাকার অতিরিক্ত কোন fine কোন কোর্টই দিতে পারে না Industrial Disputes Act অনুসারে।

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any attempt is being made on behalf of the Government to change the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act in view of the difficulties just mentioned by him?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: We have submitted a memorandum to the Government of India.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় অবগত আছেন কি যে প্রত্যেক Employerএর জন্য ৫০০৲ করে fineএর ব্যবস্থা—যদি এক হাজার জন লোক থাকে তবে ৫০০ × ১,০০০ fine হতে পারে।

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Industrial Disputes Actএ ৫০০৲ টাকার বেশী fineএর ব্যবস্থা নাই।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: কোর্টের কি করণীয়, সেটা কোর্টেরই বিবেচ্য, গভর্ণমেণ্টের নয়।

Labour Conciliation Machinery

*2. **Sj. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Labour Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) how the Labour Conciliation Machinery is working;

*(*ii*) the total number of Conciliation Officers;

(*iii*) the total number of cases before Labour Directorate during July to December, 1948;

(*iv*) total number of conciliation cases which terminated successfully during the same period; and

(*v*) the total number of cases where conciliation failed during the said period with the reasons of failure?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that absence of legal power of Conciliation Officers to compel the attendance of employers and production of documents and paucity of Labour Officers are causes of delay?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, do the Government consider the desirability of taking necessary steps in the matter?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: (*a*)(*i*) On receipt of a complaint the Regional Conciliation Officer holds conciliation proceedings. In important cases the Labour Commissioner or a Deputy Labour Commissioner takes up conciliation proceedings direct or when Regional Conciliation Officers fail.

(*ii*) Twenty-two, consisting of one Labour Commissioner, two Deputy Labour Commissioners, nine Assistant Labour Commissioners and ten Labour Officers. These officers carry on conciliation work in addition to other duties.

(*iii*) 1,638, consisting of 102 strikes and lockouts and 1,536 disputes other than strikes and lockouts.

(*iv*) 427 (38 strikes and lockouts and 389 other cases).

(*v*) 81, due to uncompromising attitude of the parties.

(*b*) Section 11 of the Industrial Disputes Act does not confer
Conciliation Officers powers of compelling attendance of any pers examining him on oath. Such powers have been conferred on the Court and Tribunal. Paucity of Conciliation Officers is not a cause of

(*c*) The matter has already been taken up with the Government of for conferring such powers on Conciliation Officers.

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister in ch of the Labour Department be pleased to state the normal time require the Conciliation Officer to take up a case when first brought to his n as also the time required for bringing about conciliation?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: It takes about a fortni but it is very difficult to give a specific date by which these concilia proceedings are gone through.

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware there is a good deal of discontent among the working classes becaus the delay that these conciliation proceedings are taking?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Sometimes delay is ca by the tactics adopted by the parties; they take time; they do not ap in time; and sometimes they make undue delay in submitting their re and this thing and that.

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Arising out of the reply just given, the parties concerned who take to dilatory tactics the employers or employees?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Sometimes employers sometimes employees; sometimes both.

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be ple to state whether he knows of any case where the initiative for coming the conciliation has been taken by the employer?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: I want notice, Sir.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয় অনুগ্রহ করে বলবেন কি এই যে বলেছেন Paucity of Conciliation Officer is not the cause of delay সেটা কি তিনি enq করে বলেছেন না গতানুগতিকভাবেই উত্তর দিলেন।

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: অনুসন্ধান করেই বলেছি।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয় অবগত আছেন যে Concilia Officerরা ঘুরে বেড়াবার কোন ব্যবস্থা নাই এই কারণেই কাজে দেরী হয়।

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Conciliation Officerদের যানবা ব্যবস্থা আছে। প্রয়োজন হলে তাঁরা সে সুযোগ নিতে পারেন।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয় কি অবগত আছেন Assist Labour Commissionerকে বহু case attend করতে হয়। এবং আমাদের Motor ভাড়া করেই যেতে হয়।

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be plea to state, in view of the answers given in (*a*)(*iii*) and (*iv*), whether it w at all be possible to cover all the disputes in view of the residual dispu appearing there? I might make myself clear. The figure shows that of 1638 disputes, only 427 were disposed of.

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Within the time fixed.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: সে ত জান কথা।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Conciliation Officerদের কোন বাড়ীর ব্যবস্থা করা হয় নি। তাদের অনেক দূরে থাকতে হয় তার ফলে তাদের কাজের অসুবিধা হয়। তার উপরে conveyance অসুবিধা।

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Conciliation Officerদের হয়ত কিছু কিছু অসুবিধা আছে। আজকাল বাড়ীর অসুবিধা অনেকেরই আছে।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয় বলবেন কি এই যে Paucity of Officers, এবং বাড়ীর ব্যবস্থার অভাবের অভিযোগ আছে সেটা দূর করবার ব্যবস্থা sympathetically চিন্তা করবেন কি?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: বিবেচনা করবো।

Operation of the Payment of Wages Act in the State

*3. **Sj. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Labour Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether he is aware—

(*i*) that the provisions of the Payment of Wages Act do not apply to certain industrial establishments mentioned in section 2(*ii*) of the Act,

(*ii*) that demands are being made by some of the Workers' Organisations to bring comprehensive labour legislation in this Province,

(*iii*) that the Governments of Central Provinces, Madras and Assam have passed Acts for regulating the terms and conditions of employees in the commercial firms, and

(*iv*) that the Tribunals do not recommend compulsory recognition of Employees Unions as it is not permissible by the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947;

*(*b*) whether any representations were made to the Government to revise the Workmen's Compensation Act in the light of suggestions as envisaged by the Planning Committee (Labour) under the auspices of the All-India Congress Committee;

(*c*) whether he would consider the desirability of enacting comprehensive labour legislation;

(*d*) when the Labour Courts as contemplated under Trade Unions (Amendment) Act, 1947, will be established and the provisions for compulsory recognition of Employees' Unions will be put in force, and

(*e*) whether any recommendation has been made by the Provincial Government to the Central Government with regard to setting up of Labour Courts?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: (*a*)(*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) and (*b*) No.

(*iii*) Those Governments have passed Acts corresponding to Bengal Shops and Establishments Act, 1940, relating to leave, holidays, method of payment of wages and a few other conditions of service of employees in commercial establishments only. I am not aware of any other comprehensive legislation in those Provinces for regulating the terms and conditions of service of employees in the commercial firms.

(*iv*) Yes. Industrial Tribunals have held that the question of compulsory recognition of Employees' Unions is not an industrial dispute, as defined in the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, being not connected with the employment or non-employment or the terms of employment or with the conditions of labour of any person.

(c) Government of India propose to bring forward a comprehensive labour legislation removing defects in the existing legislation, on which a preliminary discussion has taken place already. As such legislation will be comprehensive enough, it does not seem necessary to enact any separate legislation in this Province.

(d) and (e) The Indian Trade Unions (Amendment) Act, 1947, has not yet been brought into force by the Government of India. Officers have been selected for appointment as Labour Courts and such courts will be set up as soon as the Indian Trade Unions (Amendment) Act, 1947, is brought into force.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয় কি অবগত আছেন তিনি যে কথা বলেছেন "Industrial Tribunals have held that the question of compulsory recognition" ইত্যাদি বলে--

Mr. SPEAKER: The honourable member should only refer to the number of the question and not read it out.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: যেহেতু relevant!

Mr. SPEAKER: No, you need not.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: এই যা বলেছেন এটা অর্দ্ধ সত্য সেটা স্বীকার করবেন কি?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: এটা সত্য বলেই জানি। অর্দ্ধ বা ৣ অংশ সত্য তা জানি না।

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Arising out of his reply to (a)(i), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government here contemplates extending the provisions of the Payment of Wages Act to cover such establishments as are not covered now?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: We have already applied it to the Tramways, the motor omnibus services and the plantations

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয় অবগত আছেন কি Tribunalএর Judge—ইউনিয়নকে recognitionএর award দিয়েছিলেন?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Notice চাই।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয় অবগত আছেন কি যে মযুর্ভঞ্জ luminium Worksএর Tribunalএর Judge award দিয়েছিলেন Union is to be recognised?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Notice চাই।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয় অনুসন্ধান করে জানাবেন কি শ্রমিক Union recognitionএর প্রশ্নে অনেক সময় বলা হয় কোর্ট আছে recognition দেবার দরকার নাই?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: প্রশ্ন করলেই জানাবো।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: এই ত প্রশ্ন করলাম।

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: "Written notice" চাই।

West Bengal Wakfs Office

***4. Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state if it is a fact—

(i) that a number of ballot papers issued by the Commissioner of Wakfs for the ensuing election of the Wakf Board had been returned to the Commissioner of Wakfs by the Postal Department due to incorrect names and addresses being given of the addressees; and

(ii) that the present Superintendent of the Wakfs Office opted for Pakistan?

(b) If the reply to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister e pleased to state the reason of his being reappointed and promoted as uperintendent of the Office?

MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble ai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri): (a)(i) Yes, the successors of dead *utwallis* not having applied for substitution of their names and addresses, allot papers were sent in the name and to the addressees appearing in the ectoral roll.

(ii) It is not a fact.

(b) Does not arise.

Salary of the Wakf Commissioner, West Bengal

*5. **Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in iarge of the Education Department be pleased to state—

(a) the present monthly salary of the Commissioner of Wakfs;

(b) the monthly salary which the previous Commissioners used to get; and

(c) whether Government contemplate to increase the salary of the Commissioner of Wakfs, if so, to what amount and why?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: (a) Rs. 800.

(b) (i) Khan Bahadur M. A Momin, first term of appointment—s.2,000 (*plus* pension); second term of appointment—Rs 1,500 (*plus* nsion).

(ii) Janab A H M Wazir Ali (Bengal Civil Service), Rs 800 (grade iy) *plus* Rs.250 (special pay) *plus* Rs 80 (motor car allowance).

(iii) Janab Md. Israil, M.L.A., Rs.1,500.

(iv) Janab Ahmed Husain (Bengal Civil Service) He was Chief dministrative Officer, Orphanages, Bengal, on a scale of Rs.1,200—50—300. He continued to draw the same pay on his temporary posting as 'akf Commissioner, West Bengal, after the Partition.

(c) No.

Hooghly Training School

*6. **Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI:** শিক্ষাবিভাগের ভারপ্রাপ্ত মন্ত্রী াশয় জানাইবেন কি যে—

(ক) হুগলী Government Vernacular Mastership Training স্কুলের ছাত্রদের বৃত্তি যুদ্ধপূর্ব্বকালে মাসিক ১০৲ টাকা ছিল কি না;

(খ) উহা এখনও ১০৲ টাকা আছে কি না;

(গ) ছাত্রদের ছাত্রাবাসে জীবনযাত্রার পক্ষে উহা বর্ত্তমান সময়ে নিতান্ত অপ্রচুর বলিয়া ছাত্রগণ উক্ত বৃত্তি ১০৲ টাকা হইতে ২৫৲ (পঁচিশ) টাকায় বৃদ্ধি করিবার জন্য সরকারের নিকট আবেদন করিয়াছেন কি না;

(ঘ) ঐ দরখাস্ত হুগলী জেলার কংগ্রেস কমিটির সভাপতি মহাশয় সুপারিশ করিয়াছেন কি না;

(ঙ) গুরুট্রেনিং স্কুলসমূহে (যাহাতে প্রাথমিক স্কুলের শিক্ষকতার ট্রেনিং দেওয়া হয়) গুরুছাত্রদের মাসিক বৃত্তি গত জুন মাস হইতে ১০৲ টাকার স্থলে ২০৲ টাকা করা হইয়াছে কি না;

(চ) গুরুট্রেনিং স্কুলগুলির অধিকাংশই পল্লীগ্রামে অবস্থিত কি না;

(ছ) B. T. কলেজের ছাত্রদের বৃত্তি বৃদ্ধি করিয়া মাসিক ২৫৲ টাকার স্থলে ৫০৲ টাকা করা হইয়াছে কি না;

(জ) হুগলী ভি এম. ট্রেনিং স্কুলে দুইটী শ্রেণীর জন্য ৫০৲ টাকা হিসাবে একশত ছাত্রের ব্যবস্থা আছে কি না;

(ঝ) ছাত্রসংখ্যা একশত হইতে কমিয়া বর্ত্তমান বর্ষে ২৫এ নামিয়াছে কি না;

(ঞ) বর্ত্তমান স্বল্প বৃত্তি উক্ত ছাত্রসংখ্যাহ্রাসের অন্যতম কারণ কি না,

(ট) উক্ত স্কুলে মাত্র ম্যাট্রিক পরীক্ষোত্তীর্ণগণই পড়িবার সুযোগ পান কি না, এবং

(ঠ) সরকার ছাত্রদের বৃত্তি বৃদ্ধির আবেদন মঞ্জুর করিবার কথা বিবেচনা করিবেন কি না?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: (ক), (ঘ), (ঙ), (চ) এবং (ট) হ্যাঁ।

(খ) না। উক্ত বৃত্তির হার গত বৎসরে জুন মাস হইতে বর্দ্ধিত করিয়া ২০৲ টাকা করা হইয়াছে।

(গ) হ্যাঁ। আবেদনপত্র যথোচিত বিবেচনা করিয়া বৃত্তির হার ২০৲ টাকা নির্দ্ধারণ করা হইয়াছে।

(ছ) B. T. কলেজের ছাত্রদের বৃত্তির হার ৫০৲ টাকা করা হইয়াছে, কিন্তু শিক্ষকদের বৃত্তির হার পূর্ব্বে ৩৭॥০ ছিল, ২৫৲ টাকা নয়।

(জ) মোট ১০০ ছাত্রের ব্যবস্থা আছে।

(ঝ) ছাত্রসংখ্যা বর্ত্তমানে ২৪এ নামিয়াছে।

(ঞ) বৃত্তির হারের স্বল্পতা ছাত্রসংখ্যাহ্রাসের অন্যতম কারণ হইতেও পারে। কিন্তু অন্যান্য কারণও থাকিতে পারে।

(ঠ) বৃত্তি বর্দ্ধিত হওয়ায় এ প্রশ্ন এখন আর উঠিতে পারে না।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: অন্য কি কারণে জানাবেন কি?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: অন্য কারণ হচ্ছে প্রাথমিক শিক্ষা বিভাগে Basic education শিক্ষণ বেশী শিক্ষকদের আকর্ষণ করছে।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয় অনুগ্রহ করে বলবেন কি বর্ত্তমান জীবনযাত্রার ব্যয় বৃদ্ধি হওয়াতে এই ২০৲ টাকায় চলতে পারে না। এই হার বৃদ্ধি হবার কোন সম্ভাবনা আছে কি?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: সম্প্রতি ঐ পর্য্যন্ত বাড়ান হয়েছে, পরে বিবেচনা করা যাবে।

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: সেটা কবে হবে জানাবেন কি?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Governmentএর অর্থ স্বচ্ছলতার উপর সেটা নির্ভর করে।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: এই স্বচ্ছলতা আগামী বৎসর সম্ভব হবে কি? ছাত্রদের সংখ্যা ত মোটে ২৪ জন আছে। তাতে স্বচ্ছলতার প্রশ্ন উঠে কি করে বুঝি না।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: শুধু এটা ত হুগলি Training Schoolএর কথা নয়। সমস্ত গুরু বা প্রাথমিক ট্রেনিং Schoolএর শিক্ষার্থীর ভাতার হার বৃদ্ধির প্রস্তাব। আর হুগলি Training School সম্বন্ধে বিশেষ কথা এই যে একে রূপান্তরিত করা হচ্ছে Basic Training প্রতিষ্ঠানে। সেখানে Basic Trainingএর ব্যবস্থা করা হচ্ছে। অনুমান প্রায় ১৫০ জন শিক্ষকের শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা করা হবে। এবং সেখানে যাঁরা যাবেন তাদের বৃত্তি হিসাবে ৩০৲ টাকা দেওয়া হবে।

Enquiry into the case Emperor versus Wasil Khan and others

*7. **Janab ABUL HASHEM:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether an enquiry was made into the case Emperor *versus* Wasil Khan and others tried at Barrackpur Court, 24-Parganas;

(*b*) if so, the name of the department at whose initiative the enquiry was held;

(*c*) whether the enquiry was stopped;

(*d*) if so, by whom; and

(*e*) whether the enquiry would be completed?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE on behalf of the MINISTER in charge of the HOME DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) Home (Anti-Corruption) Department.

(*c*) No

(*d*) Does not arise.

(*e*) It was completed.

Inspector Satidas Maitra, the Investigating Officer, in the case Emperor versus Wasil Khan and 18 others

*8. **Janab ABUL HASHEM:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) the name of the Investigating Officer in the case Emperor *versus* Wasil Khan and 18 others;

(*ii*) whether there were any charges of forgery, ante-dating, tampering of police diary, etc., against the said officer in the case;

(*iii*) whether the then Special Officer, Home Department, made an enquiry into the said charges; and

(*iv*) if so, what were his findings?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether an enquiry was made by the Enforcement Branch into the case;

(*ii*) whether the enquiry was completed;

(*iii*) if not, what are the reasons; and

(*iv*) the name of the officer under whose orders the enquiry was stopped?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE (on behalf of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy): (*a*)(*i*) Sri Satidas Maitra.

(*ii*) Yes.

(*iii*) The Special Officer, Anti-Corruption, requested the District Magistrate, 24-Parganas, to institute an enquiry. Two Inspectors attached to the 24-Parganas District Enforcement Branch conducted the enquiry and a

report was submitted to the District Magistrate which was forwarded by the latter to the Special Officer, Anti-Corruption. The Special Officer, Anti-Corruption, checked the papers and submitted a report.

(*iv*) He recommended steps against the then Public Prosecutor and departmental proceedings against Inspector Satidas Maitra.

(*b*)(*i*) The Enforcement Branch did not make any enquiry into the case Emperor *versus* Wasil Khan and 18 others. Two Inspectors of the Enforcement Branch attached to 24-Parganas enquired into the allegations against Inspector Satidas Maitra.

(*ii*) The enquiry against Inspector Satidas Maitra was completed.

(*iii*) and (*iv*) Do not arise.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Arising out of answer (*a*)(*iv*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what were the steps that Government took on the recommendations against Inspector Satidas Maitra?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I ask for notice.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if any action was taken at all against Satidas Maitra?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I want notice.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Arising out of answer (*b*)(*ii*), namely, that "the enquiry against Inspector Satidas Maitra was completed", will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when it was completed?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: It was a case which happened before 1948 and as such I require notice.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am afraid the Parliamentary Secretary to the Home Department has not misunderstood my question. I asked him when the enquiry was completed.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I want notice.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the Parliamentary Secretary knows that any enquiry was instituted at all? Is he quite sure about it?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Yes.

Allegations against the Public Prosecutor, Alipore, in the case Emperor versus Wasil Khan and others

***9. Sj. JYOTI BASU:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether an enquiry was held by Government in connection with the case Emperor *versus* Wasil Khan and others?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether allegations were made against the Public Prosecutor, Alipore, in course of the enquiry; and

(*ii*) if so, the nature of the allegations?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the enquiry is complete?

(*d*) If not, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason why the investigation is being delayed?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE (on behalf of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy): (*a*) An enquiry was held into the matter.

(*b*)(*i*) Certain allegations were made against the Public Prosecutor of Alipore.

(*ii*) The allegations were that police diaries had been tampered with, some accused were favoured by being made approvers and the Public Prosecutor had pleaded for lenient treatment of some accused. There were also allegations of dishonesty.

(*c*) The enquiry into the allegations against the Public Prosecutor has been completed.

(*d*) The question does not arise.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the allegation of dishonesty against the Public Prosecutor was substantiated?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I require notice.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not know if it is any use putting any questions if the Parliamentary Secretary takes shelter under such answers as "I want notice".

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: That question cannot be addressed to the Home Department. That question should be addressed to the Judicial Department. A member of the Assembly ought to know the proper procedure.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: My submission to the contention raised by the Hon'ble Minister is that since the Home Department has chosen to reply they ought to give a fuller reply. If the Home Department had not replied then he might have taken the specious plea that the Minister is now taking, and that would have been all right.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, my friend is getting excited for nothing. So far as the enquiry against the Public Prosecutor is concerned, it is Home Department's work, but so far as the steps taken against the Public Prosecutor are concerned the Home Department has no information about it. Since he wants to have information about it, the proper procedure would be for the member to ask the Judicial Department, and then they will give the answer.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: My submission is that the enquiry, as has been told us by the Chief Minister, was conducted by the Home Department. Therefore the Home Department is in possession of the report, and my first question was whether the guilt of dishonesty has been fixed on the Public Prosecutor, whether it has been proved against him. The Home Department knows it because the report is with them. So far as the action is concerned, it may lie with the Judicial Department.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Chief Minister has said that that is a question which you can put to the Judicial Department as he is not aware of it. If you want you can draw the attention of the Judicial Minister.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: If my honourable friend will refer to starred question No. 12, he will find that a similar question has been asked about the Public Prosecutor and the answer has been given by the Judicial Department, and if he wants to put any supplementary question he better ask the Judicial Department.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a question of privilege, Sir. When one question concerns more than one department, the Prime Minister used to reply. In this case the Home Minister happens to be the Prime Minister. So to have to refer to the Judicial Minister is not quite fair to the members. I would request the Prime Minister to give a reply today or later if he requires any notice, and not delay, if not to evade, the answer.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: That is not correct. In the past there was no such procedure.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Sir, the Leader of the House has referred to question No. 12, but I do not find question No. 12 in today's agenda.

Mr. SPEAKER: Question No. 12 is not in today's agenda. It will come up tomorrow.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: On a point of order, Sir. Is the Hon'ble the Leader of the House within the bounds of procedure here to refer to a matter which is not on the agenda yet?

Mr. SPEAKER: If a question is not in the agenda, it should not be referred to.

Statement on the communal situation in the city.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: May I with the permission of the Leader of the House and with your permission, Sir, make a short statement on the alarming communal situation in the city? I have already obtained the permission of the Leader of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, following communal disturbances during the last few days, the situation in the city has suddenly assumed alarming proportions since last night, affecting various localities mainly Bagmari, Muralibagan and Ultadanga areas, resulting in loss of life and property and causing great panic among the minorities. I would request the Hon'ble Chief Minister to state on the floor of the House what steps the Government have already taken or propose to take to round up the miscreants who have been responsible for this serious conflagration in the city, not merely to bring the situation under control but to arrest further deterioration in the communal situation.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I am thankful to my friend over there for affording me this opportunity of placing before the House and before the country the situation which has arisen in this city as well as in the suburbs within the last few days.

Since the publication of incidents in East Bengal area and the exodus of a certain number of people to Bongaon area, I had apprehended that there might be some repercussion on this side of West Bengal. And I had brought the leaders of parties who were likely to take the matter up seriously and warned them not to indulge in any activities which might excite the people into actions which will be deplored by every one concerned. I also got together several editors of newspapers five days ago and told them not to publish records of events which are likely to excite people here, because my firm conviction is that any precipitate action taken by one community or the other is not going to do any good to anyone. On the other hand, it may create a situation which might require much sterner measures. In spite of my warnings I am sad to find that yesterday and the day before meetings have been held in certain areas and processions have been led exciting people to violence. Sir, as I said yesterday, I repeat again that no Government can tolerate such a situation. Therefore it was my duty to order section 144 throughout the areas of Calcutta so as to stop all meetings and all processions, and secondly, I have ordered curfew in certain areas, one or two of which have already been mentioned by my friend Janab Syed Badrudduja. Further I have asked the Military to come out and they have started patrolling the areas most affected from 4 o'clock this afternoon. I have taken a further step of issuing instructions to all

the newspapers not to publish any record of incidents or letters which might lead to communal difficulties, and I have asked them to submit them to Government for censorship at least for the next few days, because I do not think that it is going to do anybody any good to publish such incidents. As I told you yesterday, my Chief Secretary has gone today to Dacca to collect any information that he can get, first-hand information of the events that are happening on the other side. As I told you also yesterday, I have suggested to the Chief Secretary to propose to the East Bengal Government to take early steps to have a proper reconnoitring of the areas disturbed both on this side and on the other side. I have arrested quite a large number of people and warrants have been issued against many others whom we have not yet been able to lay our hands on. But I can assure the House and I assure my friends who have seen me with their difficulties, and I assure Mrs. Hakam who has sent me a letter—just now she is not here—that all the areas in which the Muslim community live in isolated pockets will be given protection. I have already issued instructions and I shall follow them up in the course of the evening, and I shall follow the events as they come along. It is not possible obviously that in every instance every anti-social act like printing of a poster, calling for blood or shouting of slogans can be met by a policeman, because we have not got enough men, but I repeat again that if any member of the public were in possession of any particular information regarding either the source from which these posters are issued or people who are utilised for the purpose of pasting them or any other incident of that character which might lead to conflict between the two communities, if he would kindly inform me or inform the Deputy Commissioner, Headquarters, at Lalbazar, prompt action might be taken. We are also watching events in Howrah district, particularly Howrah town, and also in certain parts of Hooghly district. I am hoping that with these steps which we have taken events will quieten down, or else we shall have to take sterner measures.

Introduction of Blue Papers (Votes and Proceedings).

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I proceed with the business of the House I simply wish to draw the attention of the members that today two blue papers have been circulated to the members, one giving the votes and proceedings and other things transacted on the previous day, and the other giving notice of the questions as well as the business which will be taken up before the House that day. This I have started following the precedent of the British House of Commons. If it is found convenient and useful by the members of parties, it will continue. I have only introduced it as an experimental measure. It gives notice to the members as to what questions will be taken up today. Otherwise if questions are placed half an hour before the sitting, the members may not know what questions are going to be answered that day. I shall be glad to have the reactions of the members later on, but this is for the information of the House. If they find it useful, we shall continue it; if they do not, we shall discontinue it.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Sir, we are thankful to you for introducing this procedure. We hope this will be found useful and this will continue.

GOVERNMENT BILLS.

The West Bengal Bargadars Bill, 1950.

Mr. SPEAKER: The West Bengal *Bargadars* Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, this may be postponed today.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right.

The Bengal Mining Settlements (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to introduce the Bengal Mining Settlements (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Mining Settlements (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

Mr. J. R. WALKER: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to place before the House the views, in so far as I have been able to secure them in the time available, of the very substantial mining interests which have a stake in a measure of this kind. The Bill provides in the first place for an increase in the membership of the Mines Board of Health from nine to twelve. Let me assure you, Sir, that the Industry has no objection in principle to this change. But they would have appreciated from Government a more specific declaration on the nature of the representation for which this increase is intended to make provision. The Statement of Objects and Reasons mentions only the Labour Welfare Officer, who, I presume, is the officer appointed under the Central Government Legislation. This is an entirely satisfactory addition to the Board, for which we have nothing but approval. But no indication is given how the other two seats are proposed to be filled. It may be that the intentions in their regard will prove equally satisfactory. On this we should like some reassurance. The original Act of 1912 to which the measure before us is an amendment, defines very clearly the extent of the representation to which the mining industry is to be entitled on the Board. The provision is approximately 50 per cent. of the total seats. I suggest, Sir, that this proportion was enforced in recognition of the fact that, after all, the Industry has a fundamental interest in this body and provides the whole of the finances for its operations. If Government now intends—and I stress that it is on this that we are not informed—to increase the representation on the official side by one-third, it will increase the official representation on the Board to two-thirds and will utterly upset the present balance. I am not, Sir, for a moment, suggesting in present circumstances and in practice that this will lead to harmful results because I believe that a very satisfactory spirit of co-operation exists between the local representatives of Government and of the Industry. It is for this reason that I move no amendments. But I feel bound to record my opinion that in principle such a move would be unsatisfactory, and to ask therefore that Government's intentions regarding the utilisation of the remaining two seats should be made known without delay.

This Bill is also intended to extend by clause 3, the functions of the Mines Board of Health to providing medical relief to residents in mining settlements. There appears some doubt in the wording of the Statement of Objects and Reasons whether it is intended thereby, that the Board should provide medical facilities for everyone resident in mining areas, irrespective of whether they are actually employed in mining operations. I submit, Sir, that funds provided by the Industry—and all the finances available to the Mines Board of Health are so contributed either directly or indirectly—should not in justice be utilised for the population which it is not engaged in or ancillary to the Industry's operations. I cannot believe, therefore, it is the intention that the Board should cover the whole of the public for medical facilities any more than the existing function of the Board for providing houses for residents extends to others than those who are employed or concerned in the Industry. I therefore, Sir, assume that the intention is otherwise. If, however, the alternative is the case and the medical facilities are for mining employees, I regret that I have been unable to find a necessity for the provisions of clause 3 in that they will cause the operations of the Board to overlap those of the already existing

Coal Mines Welfare Fund Advisory Committee. Legislation to provide medical relief for those actually working in coal mines was enacted by the Government of India under the Coal Mines Welfare Fund Act, 1947, and the Advisory Committee is already engaged in such measures as the erection of hospitals in mining areas. To give the Mines Board of Health similar powers is not only a duplication of effort but a waste of the funds of the Board.

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we welcome this Bengal Mining Settlements (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950. In fact it seeks to remove one great defect in the original Act of 1912 which the Act had been carrying on so long, that defect being that although there was the Mines Board of Health consisting of 9 members the Act as such did not provide for representation of the mining population, of the actual workers, of the actual employees who operate those mines. That was a great defect and the amendment that has been proposed now will give an opportunity for these workers to get themselves represented in this Mines Board of Health. The second redeeming feature in this amending Bill is that it seeks to extend the scope as well as the field of operation of this Mines Board of Health. I may take up the second question first. In the colliery area the collieries are separated and in between these collieries there are areas which are not covered by this Mines Board of Health and as a result whatever steps are being taken, whatever money is being spent for the colliery labour is being wasted because the intervening area and the people remaining there, are not being covered. To give one example there is a great attempt being made both by this Mines Board of Health and other agencies to remove or to combat the menace of malaria there. Now in the colliery area the operations are taking place and when those labourers go to the neighbouring villages and mix with the villagers they again get infected. Therefore whatever money is being spent to combat the malaria in the colliery area is being frustrated because the intermediary areas are not being covered by this Mines Board of Health. So it is very necessary in the interests of the coal mining population that the spaces in between the various collieries are also covered by this Bill. Then, as to the scope and functions of this Mines Board of Health I wish Government should have gone further. There are various clauses in this Mines Board of Health seeking some informations from the colliery owners and requiring the colliery owners to do something to keep the housing accommodation all right, to keep the sanitation all right and, if they do not do so, there is a provision for punishment but which is very meagre and very slight. There is one provision which requires every owner to get a permit from this Mines Board of Health before they can start a housing programme or before they can allow their labourers to come in and reside there but I can say from my own experience that not a single colliery owner is observing that rule and, if this Mines Board of Health had sufficient powers in its hand then every colliery owner at least in Bengal—and we are concerned with Bengal area only—would have to pay heavy penalty or might have to go to jail for the infringement of this rule of Mines Board of Health. There should have been stronger provisions and penal clauses to cope with this situation. Sir, one point has been raised by Mr Walker and that point is that the colliery owners pay for running this Mines Board of Health and therefore their representation should be adequate as it has been till now. It is quite true that this Mines Board of Health is run from a cess levied upon the production of coal but that does not mean that the credit for that payment goes to the employers only; it is the workers who produce the coal. There are both the sides. The employers may get some credit but they cannot claim exclusive representation or greater representation in comparison with other interests involved in this Mines Board of Health. In fact it has been in operation for long long years and because it has continued to be dominated by a particular interest it has not functioned properly and we have great

many grievances against the working of this Mines Board of Health. I also like to bring to your notice, Sir, that a very great amount of money is being advanced, is being paid to this Mines Board of Health from the Colliery Advisory Board. Last year we paid about Rs. 50,000 and this year also that Board has sanctioned to that extent. So it is not out of the money that is supplied by the owners exclusively that the Mines Board of Health is being run. Money is coming from other sources also and from that point of view also the other interests should get proper representation in the matter.

In conclusion, Sir, I welcome this amending Bill.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I did not purposely make any statement on this Bill that I had the honour to place before the House because I thought the object will be understood fairly clearly. But now I see that I have satisfied neither the labour nor the capital. Well, fortunately I am neither the capital nor the labour but I am a man who has to think in terms of the masses. I am not worried about who the workers are or who the capitalists are. We in the Bhore Committee considered the position in this way that there should be no area in the whole of India which should be devoid of arrangements for medical relief and ensuring of preventive measures against the diseases ultimately. But it is not possible for us to introduce that scheme everywhere. Here is an area which is primarily intended let us say for the coal mine owners and for the workers but I refuse to believe that we can exclude other persons who may be living in the villages near about and if there is any arrangement for provision of medical relief to a certain type of people in a particular area, whatever be the source from which money is derived for the purpose of keeping up this arrangement for medical relief, the people who live in that area should not be deprived of the benefit of such arrangements for providing medical relief. But there is another aspect of the question to which Mr. Deben Sen has just referred. You have got in this Bill arrangements for ordering the Sanitary Officers to take steps to ensure against, let us say, spread of smallpox or cholera. Sir, although you might divide the population in that area between the coal mine owners and workers, unfortunately disease knows no boundary; disease does not make any difference between one person and another. If an epidemic starts in a settlement which is purely a mining settlement and if a village, as usually happens, grows up near a mining settlement, the people of that village are likely to be infected as the people of the mining settlement and *vice versa*. As Mr. Deben Sen aptly pointed out if a man gets malaria he may get malaria even when he goes to see his parents or relations living in the village or the relations and friends from the village might be coming to visit the people in the mining area and carry infection. Therefore, even if you want in the limited sense to give effect to the provisions of the Mining Settlement Act, as it now stands, it is essential that the whole area should be under the control of one Board of Health. During the last year and a half I have tried to unravel the mystery of the arrangement under which the Mining Board of Health have been working. It seems to me that this Bill or this Act was conceived at the time when they considered that people in this country were living in water-tight compartments. Today, we are sure everybody will agree, they do not do so. At any rate, diseases do not live in water-tight compartments. Therefore it was essential that we should leave the medical officers of that area also to deal with the people who do not belong to the mining settlement. Mr. Walker will at once say, he who pays the piper must order the tune; if the mining settlement or the mine owners pay the money, then why should the doctor attend to other people. If it is necessary for the doctor to attend to people other than the workers of the mining settlement, the Government will certainly provide extra allowance or extra remuneration for the doctor. The number of doctors available in India is so few, the personnel is so little, that it is

desirable that we should try and rationalise all our efforts in this direction. Here is a doctor, let us say, a very good one, appointed by the Mining Board of Health. There is no difficulty for the Government supplementing the income or the salary of that individual and giving him some extra work. Similarly, if he is going to take any step towards removing any source of infection or disease or stopping the infection through water-supply, that also can only be done in connection or conjunction with the Department of Public Health under the Government. You cannot isolate a Board from the rest of the Health and Medical Relief Department of the province. At the same time I feel it is no use our taking over the whole thing. There is a Board and the Board has been doing fairly good work for the last few years, but if the Board is to function as representing all the different interests I have mentioned, it has to be increased in number. I feel that there should be one Deputy Director of Public Health also on the Board, possibly one or two other officers—may be the Civil Surgeon of Asansol—may be on the Board. Similarly, there may be other people for whom the present Mines Board of Health do not provide any room. After all, as Mr Sen has suggested, in all these measures the giver and the taker both must be represented. Supposing for the time being we argue that it is the mine owner who gives the money, but still in this instance when he provides for any medical measures or any measures for public health, those who are going to be affected by such also should have representation on the Board through their own representatives. Therefore, we feel that there should be room for labour representative, there should be room for two or three more members of the staff of the Government—the Labour Welfare Officer should be there, and therefore I would not mind the increase—I saw an amendment mentioning that the number 12 should be increased to 14—because in these matters you should go on with the largest amount of collaboration and co-operation between the different interests involved. As a matter of fact, in the Statement of Objects and Reasons we did not mention it in detail but we simply said that "the different interests in the area". It is not possible to include representatives and I do not make any secret of it that when the Government has to select the names of persons it will not only select the representatives of the mining interests—three are mentioned in the Act—but also other interests which are affected by the operations of the Act. Therefore, Sir, I feel that the amendment should be accepted by the House and also representatives taken from the labour group.

The motion of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy that the Bengal Mining Settlements (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: With your permission, Sir, I beg to move a short-notice amendment to the Bengal Mining Settlement (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, that in clause 2, line 3, for the word "twelve" the word "fourteen" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 2, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

The question that clause 4 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Mining Settlements (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The Bengal Nurses (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to introduce he Bengal Nurses (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that he Bengal Nurses (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, be taken into onsideration.

Sir, the reason why this Bill has been put before the House is, as you will see from the Statement of Objects and Reasons, that under the Bengal Nurses Act, 1934, there was no restriction as to domicile, nationality, esidence or place of practice or employment which was imposed on registerd nurses, midwives and health visitors who are either voters or candidates or election to the West Bengal Nursing Council. The Nursing Council as pointed out that various complications and difficulties may arise if the egistered nurses, midwives and health visitors who now belong to East Bengal (Pakistan) and other countries outside the Indian Dominion are llowed to participate or to stand as candidates in the election to the ouncil. It is proposed therefore to amend section 4 of the Bengal Nurses Act, 1934, to the effect that in order to be eligible to vote at or stand for lection as a candidate for election to the West Bengal Nursing Council, person in addition to other qualifications must be a citizen of India and must reside, carry on his profession or be employed in West Bengal.

This is the reason why this amending Bill has been placed before the House.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and greed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and greed to.

Preamble.

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put nd agreed to.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that he Bengal Nurses (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, as settled n the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The West Bengal Special Courts Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to introduce he West Bengal Special Courts Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that ıe West Bengal Special Courts Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

Sir, the main object for which this Bill has been introduced is, as is tated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, that in order to provide or speedy trial of offences where protracted trial will not be in the public nterest, and also to provide for payment of suitable compensation and ward out of the fines imposed, the West Bengal Special Courts Ordinance, 949, was promulgated by the Governor on the 17th August, 1949. Secon 6 of this Ordinance has subsequently been amended by the West engal Special Courts (Amendment) Ordinance, 1949, promulgated on the th December, 1949. The Ordinances will lapse six weeks after the ommencement of the session of the Assembly. The necessity for the rovisions in the Ordinances, however, continues.

The Bill is intended to confer on the State Government on a permanent asis the special powers that have been derived from the Ordinances entioned above. It may, however, be observed that Government can vest themselves of the special powers by repealing the Act as soon as rcumstances permit.

With these words I beg to move that the Bill be considered by the ssembly.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and greed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and greed to.

Clause 3.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause line 1, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Govern-ent" be substituted.

The motion was put and agreed to.

The question that clause 3, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was en put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause line 1, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Govern-ent" be substituted.

Sir, I also beg to move that in clause 4, lines 4 to 6, for the words, brackets and figures "sub-section (*3*) of section 220 of the Government of India Act, 1935," the words, brackets and figures "clause (*2*) of Article 217 of the Constitution of India" be substituted.

The motions were put and agreed to.

The question that clause 4, as amended, do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 5(*1*), lines 2 and 3, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I beg to move that the following proviso be added to clause 5(*1*), namely:—

> "Provided that in such cases as are triable by a Court of Session only the Special Court shall be assisted by a panel of jurors or assessors."

Sir, the Hon'ble the Leader of the House, the sponsor of the Bill, has told us that this Bill aims at providing for speedy trial of certain classes of offences. Sir, you have noticed that the classes of offences are so comprehensive that almost anything can be referred to Special Court. That is why I have suggested that, in those cases that are triable ordinarily by the Court of Session, certain sections, as you know, Sir, are enquired into by the Magistrate and then committed to the Court of Session. Sir, this Bill aims at dispensing with that procedure. It will function as Magistrate's court as also a Court of Session. But, Sir, I do not mind if those cases which are triable by Magistrates are tried by the Special Courts without the assistance of jurors. But if those cases that are tried by the Court of Session are referred to these Special Courts, they must be tried by those Special Courts with the assistance of jurors. This is the principle which has long been accepted and has been in practice. Therefore, for those grave offences the accused shall get the assistance of jurors—men drawn from all classes of society who are judges of facts. They are the judges that come to a conclusion as regards facts and then when the facts are established, the Judge interprets the law and prescribes the sentence. While we do not object to the Government taking powers for the speedy trial, they should not transgress the well-accepted juridical principle that has got the sanction of ages behind it. That is why I have moved that jurors, that is, those common men from all walks of life who are usually assisting the Judges in the Sessions Court, should also be asked to assist the Special Court in the determination of the guilt or otherwise of the accused charged under certain sections that are triable only by the Court of Session.

I hope, Sir, that the Hon'ble Minister who is sponsoring this Bill will appreciate the spirit in which I have moved this amendment and will see his way to accept it.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to oppose this amendment because we have considered this aspect very carefully, and the object for which a Special Court has been established or is about to be established is for the purpose of speedy trial, and the Jury trial is always a lengthy trial. So, Sir, I oppose the amendment.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: The trial will then degenerate into the Inquisition.

The motion of Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee that in clause 5(*1*), lines 2 and 3, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted, was then put and agreed to.

The motion of Janab Md. Khuda Bukhsh that the following proviso be added to clause 5(*1*), namely:—

"Provided that in such cases as are triable by a Court of Session only the Special Court shall be assisted by a panel of jurors or assessors."

was then put and a Division taken with the following result:—

AYES—6.

Abdul Wahid Sarkar, Janab.
Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Abul Hashem, Janab.
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab.
Mudassir Hossain, Janab.

NOES—37.

Bandopadhaya, Sj. Pramatha Nath.
Banerjee, Sj. Sushil Kumar.
Banerji, Dr. Suresh Chandra.
Barman, The Hon'ble Syama Prasad.
Basu, Sj. Hemanta Kumar.
Bhattacharyya, Sj. Shyamapada.
Bhowmick, Sja. Bina.
Chatterjee, Sj. Haripada.
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sj. Radha Nath.
Das Gupta, Sj. Khagendra Nath.
Dass, Sj. Kanailal.
Doloi, Sj. Harendra Nath.
Ganguli, Sj. Bepin Behari.
Gayen, Sj. Arabinda.
Ghose, Sj. Bimal Comar.
Golam Hamidur Rahman, Janab.
Gupta, Sj. J. C.
Haldar, Sj. Kuber Chand.
Mahanty, Sj. Charu Chandra.
Mahtab, Sj. Uday Chand, Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan.
Maiti, The Hon'ble Nikunja Behari.
Majhi, Sj. Nishapati.
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Bhupati.
Mandal, Sj. Annadaprasad.
Mandal, Sj. Bankubehari.
Mandal, Sj. Umesh Chandra.
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Kalipada.
Naskar, The Hon'ble Hem Chandra.
Panja, The Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath.
Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta.
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra.
Roy, Sj. Jajneswar.
Roy Singh Sarker, Sj. Satish Chandra.
Sen, Sj. Debendra Nath.
Sen, The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra.
Sinha, The Hon'ble Bimal Chandra.

The Ayes being 6 and the Noes 37, the motion was lost.

(At this stage the house was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

The question that clause 5 as amended do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 6.

The question that clause 6 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 7.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I beg to move that in clause 7(*1*), line 1, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 7 as amended do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 8.

The question that clause 8 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 9.

The question that clause 9 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 10.

Mr. SPEAKER: The amendment of Janab Md. Khuda Bukhsh to this clause is out of order.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I bow down to your ruling, Sir, that it is out of order, but may I know, Sir, why you have ruled it out of order?

Mr. SPEAKER: It has the effect of a negative vote and, therefore, it is disallowed, under rule 43(*3*) of the Assembly Procedure Rules.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I am aware that no discussion should follow a ruling given by the Chair; but all the same I feel constrained to remark that that clause does not militate against the principal provisions of the Bill. The principal provisions of the Bill as stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons are to provide for speedy trial of offences where protracted trial will not be in the public interest. I cannot see how this clause 10 will help speedy trial or, if it is omitted, how it will militate against the provisions of the Bill as sought to be made out by the Government.

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as the amendment is concerned, we have been following this procedure that any amendment which has the effect of a negative vote is not allowed.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: It is only against a clause and the vote is not against the Bill as a whole.

Mr. SPEAKER: If you like you may defeat the clause by voting against it. You want that it should be omitted. This result can be achieved by voting against this clause. The effect will be the same. Suppose you carry the House with you and this clause is not passed, will it not have the same effect as your amendment?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I appreciate that it will, but, Sir, if I am not allowed to move this amendment it does not afford me a chance to address the House in support of the amendment and to say why I am voting against the acceptance of this clause.

Mr. SPEAKER: You may speak on the main clause itself. You can argue against this clause and say this clause should not be passed. Therefore, we are putting each and every clause before the House and you can speak against any clause.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: May I be permitted to speak on the clause, Sir, and oppose it?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I beg to oppose this clause. It has been a well-established principle that justice should not only be done but, Sir, it should also appear to have been done; and in pursuance of this well-established juridical principle the public have always been admitted into the precincts of the courts. Sir, now this clause takes away my inherent right to come and witness the trial of an accused. Sir, it has been accepted that the public being allowed to enter the court room will have a salutary effect on the presiding officer of that court, and that having the country before him to answer he will apply himself to his task conscientiously. In pursuance of this principle, the press also used to be, and still are, admitted in the other courts, but this clause takes away even the right of the press to be admitted because the presiding officer, on direction from Government, may preclude anybody, whether he be a member of the public or a member of the press, from the session of any court.

Sir, the proceedings of a court are always public property and they should be brought to the blaze of day what is happening in a court. But, Sir, I do not know why should Government seek to take this power when their object, as has been stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, is only to take power for speedy trial. The admittance of the public will certainly not affect speedy trial of an offence or bringing an accused to justice. Why is it then that the Government want to take this power? Sir, I suspect that the Government do not want the admittance of the press or of the public because in certain cases Government might not want that there should be any publicity. Sir, why is this hush hush policy even in a court of law. Why should Government take resort to this policy of "close the doors and please do not allow the public in and do not see what we are doing". As it is, Government are doing many things and the public are debarred from having a look at them in courts of law. It has been the right of the public to go and see what the court is doing and how justice is being administered. After all, for everything we depend on the court of law for protection. If the administrative officers go wrong, we go and seek succour and relief from the justice of courts of law. Therefore, Sir, precluding or keeping the public from the court goes against the very principle of the administration of justice. So, Sir, I oppose this clause.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I did not think that Mr. Khuda Bukhsh would avail of the opportunity to speak on the clause by misrepresenting the clause itself. If he looks to the clause, he will find that Government has got nothing to do with it. Clause 10 runs as follows: "A Special Court may, if it thinks fit, order at any stage of a trial that the public generally, or any particular person, shall not have access to, or be or remain in, the room or building used by the Court." Absolutely and without any reservation the power is given to the court. The court in the exercise of its discretion may exclude the public generally or a section of the public or any member of the public. That discretion is given to the Special Court in the trial of cases before the Special Court because these cases may in certain circumstances draw a very large crowd which may interefere with the court's functioning properly. That being the case, the court is vested with this direction. There is nothing here for the Government to do or direct. Government is not to issue any direction to the court to exclude the public. The court will not be taking any direction from the Government at all. The court is vested with this power for peaceful trial. That is all.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: That power is with the court already. Why are you giving additional powers to the court?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Already with the other courts but not with the Special Court.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: With any court constituted as a court.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: No, had that been the case, there would have been no necessity at all for vesting the Special Court with this power.

The question that clause 10 do stand part of the Bill was then put and a division called.

(While the division bell was ringing.)

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is only one member in the Opposition. I think votes may be taken here by raising of hands or by some other arrangement.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think we should not deprive a member of his right to have a vote. I know that can be done.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Thank you, Sir.

The question that clause 10 do stand part of the Bill was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—33.

Bandopadhaya, Sj. Pramatha Nath.
Banerjee, Sj. Sushil Kumar.
Barman, The Hon'ble Syama Prasad.
Basu, Sj. Hemanta Kumar.
Bhandari, Sj. Charu Chandra.
Bhattacharyya, Sj. Shyamapada.
Chatterjee, Sj. Haripada.
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sj. Radha Nath.
Das Gupta, Sj. Khagendra Nath.
Dass, Sj. Kanailal.
Dolui, Sj. Harendra Nath.
Gayen, Sj. Arabinda.
Ghose, Sj. Bimal Comar.
Gupta, Sj. J. C.
Haldar, Sj. Kuber Chand.
Maiti, The Hon'ble Nikunja Behari.
Majhi, Sj. Nishapati.
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Bhupati.
Mallick, Sj. Ashutosh.
Mandal, Sj. Annadaprasad.
Mandal, Sj. Bankubehari.
Mandal, Sj. Krishna Prasad.
Mandal, Sj. Umesh Chandra.
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Kalipada.
Naskar, The Hon'ble Hem Chandra.
Panja, The Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath.
Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta.
Roy, Sj. Jajneswar.
Roy Singh Sarker, Sj. Satish Chandra.
Sen, The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra.
Shamsul Huq, Janab.
Sinha, The Hon'ble Bimal Chandra.

NOES—1.

Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.

The Ayes being 33 and the Noes 1, the motion was carried.

Clause 11.

The question that clause 11 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 12.

The question that clause 12 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 13.

The question that clause 13 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 14.

The question that clause 14 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 15.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 15(*2*), line 1, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 15(*4*), line 2, for the word "seven" the word "thirty" be substituted.

Sir, this relates to the provision of the preferment of appeals for persons aggrieved by decisions of the Special Courts. Here, Sir, when Government feel aggrieved at the decision of the Special Court, it is suggested in this Bill that the time for preferment of the appeal for the Government should be 30 days; but, Sir, when the accused feels aggrieved about a decision of the Special Court, the time allowed to him for preferring appeal is only 7 days——

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir,——

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, we are quite prepared to accept that amendment.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: In that case, Sir, I would not detain the House by any longer speech.

The motion of Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee that in clause 15(*2*), line 1, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted, was then put and agreed to.

The motion of Janab Md. Khuda Bukhsh that in clause 15(*4*), line 2, for the word "seven" the word "thirty" be substituted, was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 15, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 16.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 16, line 4, after the words "be no appeal" the words "except to the Hon'ble High Court" be inserted.

Sir, here it says "notwithstanding the provisions of the Code, or of any other law for the time being in force, or of anything having the force of law by whatsoever authority made or done, there shall, save as provided by this Act, be no appeal from any order or sentence of a Special Court and, save as aforesaid, no Court shall have authority to revise such order or sentence........." I have suggested by my amendment that there shall be an appeal to the Hon'ble High Court.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, my friend Janab Khuda Bukhsh should be well-advised to read the Bill very carefully. In this clause 16 there is the expression "save as provided by this Act", and this Act provides in section 15 that there will be an appeal to the High Court.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: In that case I beg to withdraw my amendment.

The motion of Janab Md. Khuda Bukhsh that in clause 16, line 4, after the words "be no appeal" the words "except to the Hon'ble High Court" be inserted was then by leave of the House withdrawn.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 16, line 6, after the word "aforesaid" the words "and subject to the Constitution of India" be inserted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 16, as amended, do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 17.

The question that clause 17 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 18.

The question that clause 18 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 19.

The question that clause 19 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Mr. SPEAKER: I understand that Dr. Roy is not here.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I have been authorised——

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: On a point of order, Sir. Can this be permitted? The Hon'ble the mover is not here. Can he authorise another member of the Cabinet to move for the third reading?

Mr. SPEAKER: I understand there will be some difficulty.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 6-15 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Friday, the 10th February, 1950, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 10th February, 1950, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 55 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Culturable waste land in the State

***10. Sj. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) what is the total (approximate) acreage of cultivable waste land in West Bengal;

(*b*) what portion of the said land has been converted into cultivable land through Government endeavour;

(*c*) what amount has been spent during the last financial year for land development in West Bengal;

(*d*) what works have been completed or taken up in furtherance of the said land development plan;

(*e*) what is the number of workable agricultural tractors in possession of the Government and how the same are utilised now;

(*f*) what steps have been taken by Government to introduce or develop the tractor-cultivation in areas where it is suitable; and

(*g*) whether Government consider the desirability of starting tractor stations in rural areas to implement the "Grow More Food" campaign?

MINISTER in charge of the AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen): (*a*) The total area of culturable waste in this Province is about 14 lakhs of acres.

(*b*) No land reclamation was undertaken under the auspices of the Provincial Government before 1948-49. During 1948-49, 1,000 acres of land were reclaimed with the help of departmental tractors. In addition to this, about 10,330 acres are reported to have been reclaimed by private owners for producing additional jute during the jute season of 1948.

(*c*) About Rs.58,000 had been spent on waste land reclamation during 1948-49.

(*d*) No individual block had been completely reclaimed by the end of 1948-49. Only a total of 1,000 acres lying in different districts had been reclaimed, the bulk of the work having been done at Fatepukuri (Jalpaiguri) at the request of the Relief and Rehabilitation Department. A detailed survey of one compact block of land measuring about 12,000 acres has just been undertaken by the *kanungos* and *amins* deputed for this purpose by the Director of Land Records and Surveys. Another scheme for large scale reclamation of about 74,400 acres of waste land with the help of the Central Tractor Organisation has been prepared, and is being forwarded to the Government of India for their approval.

(e) At present there are 20 tractors, ten of which are being used at the Haringhata Farm, and the remaining ten are being utilised for land reclamation work in a few districts, according to indents of private parties, on a hire basis. At present three tractors are at Fatepukuri (Jalpaiguri), one at Burdwan and another at Nadia. The other five tractors were received towards the end of 1948-49 and the attachments reached in February and March, 1949. One of these will be sent to Jalpaiguri and the remaining four will be sent to the Eastern and Western Ranges.

(f) Supply of tractors is at present very limited. The few tractors that Government have, were being utlisied principally, for reclamation work in accordance with the Relief Department's refugee rehabilitation plans. Government now have under consideration a scheme for enhancing the facilities already available to private cultivators for utilising Government tractors on hire basis. It will be possible to undertake such a scheme on an adequate scale when the supply position of tractors improves.

(g) The economics of tractor cultivation in this Province are being studied. In the existing conditions of small rural holdings in this Province, it is doubtful whether extensive and economic use of tractors is possible. Government would, however, try to help individual big cultivators with tractors on a hire basis, if they desire to undertake mechanical cultivation.

Sj. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুগ্রহ করে বলবেন কি হরিণঘাটায় যে ২০টী tractors আছে তাতে কতখানি জমি চাষ হয়েছে, এবং সেই জমির উৎপন্ন ফসলের পরিমাণ কত?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: হরিণঘাটায় ২০টি নয়, ১০টি tractors আছে এখন আমি বলতে পারব না ঠিক কত বিঘা জমি চাষ হয়েছে। আমি নোটিস চাই।

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHAYA: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলবেন কি, ঐ যে চাষ হয়েছে, সেটা কি রকম?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: সেটা খুব ভাল চাষ হয়েছে।

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHAYA: সেটা ধান চাষ হয়েছে, না অন্য চাষ?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: সেখানে খুব ভাল ধান চাষ হয়েছে।

Sj. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: অতিরিক্ত প্রশ্ন স্যার, answer (*d*)তে ১২,০০০ একর land undertaken করার কথা বলা হয়েছে—মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুগ্রহ করে বলবেন কি, সেটা কোন জেলায় অবস্থিত?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: বিভিন্ন জেলায়।

Sj. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: অতিরিক্ত প্রশ্ন স্যার, answer (*d*)তে বলা হয়েছে "one compact block of land measuring about 12,000 acres has just been undertaken by the kanungos and amins" মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি, এর কতখানি survey হয়েছে?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: আমি offhand বলতে পারব না—নোটিস চাই।

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why only one thousand acres of land were reclaimed when the total numbet of acres of culturable waste land is in the region of 14 lakhs?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: তার কারণ, খুব বেশী সংখ্যক tractors না থাকলে, এর চেয়ে বেশী পরিমাণ reclaim করা যায় না। আমাদের যা tractors আছে তাতে ১৫ হাজার একরের বেশী land reclaim করা যেতে পারবে না।

Sj. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলবেন কি, tractorsএর চাহিদা খুব বেশী হয়েছে কিনা?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Tractorsএর চাহিদা খুব বেশী নাই বটে, তবে কিছু আছে।

Sj. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুগ্রহ করে বলবেন কি, এক একটি tractorএ কত পরিমাণ জমি চাষ হতে পারে?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: বিভিন্ন প্রকার horse-powerএর tractors আমাদের দেশে আছে।

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps are being taken by the Government to secure more tractors?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Import licence পাওয়া যাচ্ছে না—তবে আমরা ২০টা tractors এবৎসর পাব।

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the reclamation is being held up only for want of tractors or finances?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: For both.

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলেছেন যে tractors এর চাহিদা নেই। কিন্তু তিনি কি অবগত আছেন নদীয়া জেলার জন্য ৩০টি tractors চাওয়া হয়েছে?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: আমি একথা কখনও বলিনি যে চাহিদা একেবারে নেই, তবে কম আছে।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুগ্রহ করে বলবেন কি, হরিণঘাটায় ধান উৎপন্নের জন্য যে পরিমাণ খরচ হয়েছে তার তুলনায় লাভ কত হয়েছে?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: আমি হিসাব করে দেখেছি যে পরিমাণ ধান উৎপন্ন হয়েছে তা ৭।।০ টাকা control দরে বিক্রয় করলেও আমাদের বেশ লাভ হবে।

Shaikh MOHAMED RAFIQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the tractors purchased by the Government are all of the same horse-power?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: No. They are of different horse-power.

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHAYA: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলবেন কি খুব কম horse-powerএর tractor এ কত বিঘা জমি চাষ হতে পারে?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: আমি নোটিশ চাই, offhand কিছু বলতে পারি না।

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many tractors will be required for bringing these 14 lakhs of acres under cultivation and what would be the cost of these tractors?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I have already said that 30 tractors will be able to reclaim 15,000 acres of land per annum. As regards the cost of the tractors, I want notice; I cannot tell you offhand.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: In view of the Hon'ble Minister's reply that tractors are not very suitable for land reclamation in this Province, does he think that land reclamation is being held up only for tractors?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I have nowhere said that tractors are not useful for land reclamation.

Allegations against the Director of Forests and other Forest Officers at Nilpara Forest, Jalpaiguri

***11. Sj. JAJNESWAR ROY:** (ক) মাননীয় বনবিভাগের মন্ত্রীমহাশয় কি অবগত আছেন যে—

(১) বিভাগীয় কমিশনার ও দার্জ্জিলিংএর জেলা ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেটসহ বন বিভাগের ডিরেক্টর এবং কতিপয় বিভাগীয় ফরেষ্ট অফিসার সপরিবারে জলপাইগুড়ি জেলার নীলপাড়া ফরেষ্টে সরকারী ব্যয়ে গত জানুয়ারী মাসে শিকার করিতে গিয়াছিলেন কি না;

(২) ইহাদের শিকারের জন্য বিমানযোগে আগ্নেয়াস্ত্র এবং টোটা ইত্যাদি লইয়া যাওয়া হইয়াছিল কি না; এবং

(৩) নিজেদের প্রমোদ-ভ্রমণের এবং শিকার করার জন্য সরকারী মোটর, হাতী প্রভৃতি ব্যবহার করিয়াছিলেন কি না?

(খ) যদি (ক) প্রশ্নের উত্তর "হ্যাঁ" হয়, তাহা হইলে মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলিবেন কি—

(১) ইহাদের শিকারের জন্য সরকারী তহবিল হইতে কি পরিমাণ অর্থ ব্যয় হইয়াছিল; এবং

(২) সরকার এই ব্যয় বন্ধ করা উচিত মনে করেন কি না?

(গ) মন্ত্রী মহোদয় জানাইবেন কি যে, সরকারী কার্য্য ছাড়া সরকারী যানবাহন ব্যবহার করিতে কর্ম্মচারীরা পারে কি না?

(ঘ) যদি (গ) প্রশ্নের উত্তর "না" হয়, মন্ত্রী মহোদয় জানাইবেন কি যে, ঐরূপ যানবাহন ব্যবহার বন্ধ করার বিষয় সরকার কোন ব্যবস্থা করিয়াছেন কি না?

MINISTER in charge of the FOREST DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Hem Chandra Naskar: (ক)(১) শিকারের জন্য তাঁহারা যান নাই। বিশেষ সরকারী কাজেই গিয়াছিলেন।

(২), (৩) এবং (গ) না।

(খ) এ প্রশ্ন উঠে না।

(ঘ) বেসরকারী কাজে সরকারী যানবাহনের ব্যবহার নিষেধ আজ্ঞা ইতিপূর্ব্বেই জারী করা হইয়াছে। সরকারী যানবাহনের ব্যবহার নিয়ন্ত্রণ করার জন্য দিনপঞ্জী (Log Book) আছে। উহাতে সরকারী যান প্রতিদিন কি কার্য্যে ব্যবহৃত হয়, কত মাইল পরিভ্রমণ করে, কোন্ কর্ম্মচারী ব্যবহার করেন ইত্যাদি বিস্তারিত বিবরণ লিপিবদ্ধ থাকে।

Criminal Case—Emperor *versus* Wasil Khan and others

***12. Janab ABUL HASHEM:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state if it is a fact that the criminal case Emperor *versus* Wasil Khan and 18 others was tried at Barrackpur Court, 24-Parganas?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the names of (1) the Trying Magistrates, (2) the Public Prosecutors, (3) the Junior Public Prosecutors, and (4) the Pleaders who assisted the Public Prosecutors;

(*ii*) *whether there is any record of misstatement or misrepresentation of facts by the Public Prosecutor in the Appellate Court, Alipore, in connection with the said case;*

(*iii*) whether the then Chief Minister, Dr. P. C. Ghosh, ordered an enquiry into the matter; and

(*iv*) if so, the result of the enquiry?

MINISTER in charge of the JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*)(*i*)(1) Sri Anil Chandra Bose, Deputy Magistrate, Sri K. C. Banerjee, Deputy Magistrate, and Sri Nagendra Mohan Sarkar, Munsif-Magistrate.

(2) Sri P. K. Ganguli.

(3) Sri Nilamber Mitra.

(4) Nil.

(*ii*) There was allegation of misrepresentation of facts by the Public Prosecutor in the Appellate Court.

(*iii*) Yes.

(*iv*) As a result of the enquiry the conduct of the Public Prosecutor came in for consideration. The District Magistrate enquired into the Public Prosecutor's conduct. This led to the Public Prosecutor being relieved of his office.

Payment of travelling and daily allowances to process-servers

***13. Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI:** (ক) বিচার বিভাগের ভারপ্রাপ্ত মন্ত্রীমহাশয় অনুগ্রহ করিয়া জানাইবেন কি ইহা সত্য কি না যে—

(*i*) পরোয়ানাজারি কাজের জন্য মফঃস্বলে যাইতে হইলে দেওয়ানী আদালতের প্রসেস-সারভারগণকে (process-server) কোন দৈনিক ভাতা (daily allowance) দিবার ব্যবস্থা নাই,

(*ii*) ঐ কাজের জন্য যতদিনই বাহিরে থাকিতে হউক না কেন, এক পয়সাও ভাতাস্বরূপ তাহাদিগকে দেওয়া হয় না;

(*iii*) উক্ত কারণে মফঃস্বলে যাইতে হইলে যেখানে ট্রেন, বাস সার্ভিস, ষ্টীমার সার্ভিস বা নৌকা সার্ভিস আছে মাত্র সেই ক্ষেত্রে সর্ব্বনিম্ন শ্রেণীর যে ভাড়া প্রকৃতপক্ষে লাগে (actual fare) মাত্র তাহা দেওয়া হয়, কিন্তু যেখানে ট্রেন, বাস সার্ভিস, ষ্টীমার সার্ভিস বা নৌকা সার্ভিস নাই সেখানে পাঁচ মাইলেরও অধিক দূরবর্ত্তী স্থানে যাইতে হইলে কোনরূপ পথখরচ দেওয়া হয় না; এবং

(*iv*) পাঁচ মাইলেরও অধিক দূরবর্ত্তী স্থানে যাইতে হইলে ও তথায় উপরোক্ত যাত্রী যানবাহনের ব্যবস্থা থাকিলেও যে ক্ষেত্রে প্রতি পাঁচ মাইলের মধ্যেই পৃথক্ কাজ থাকে সেখানে ট্রেনভাড়া প্রভৃতি কিছুই দেওয়া হয় না?

(খ) উপরোক্ত (ক) সংখ্যক প্রশ্নাবলীর উত্তরে যদি মন্ত্রীমহাশয় "হ্যাঁ" বলেন, তাহা হইলে তিনি নিম্নলিখিত বিষয়গুলি বিবেচনা করিয়াছেন কি না জানাইবেন কি, যথা—

(*i*) যেখানে ট্রেন, বাস, ষ্টীমার বা নৌকা সার্ভিস নাই সেখানে পাঁচ মাইলের অধিক দূরবর্ত্তী স্থান সর্ব্বশেষ গন্তব্য হইলে পথভাতাস্বরূপ (mileage allowance) মাইল প্রতি ৵০ আনা হিসাবে প্রতি পাঁচ মাইলের মধ্যেই, পৃথক্ কাজ থাকুক আর না থাকুক, পরোয়ানাজারি কাজে রত প্রসেস-সার্ভার (process-server) গণকে দেওয়ার বিধান প্রয়োজন;

(*ii*) যেখানে ট্রেন, বাস, ষ্টীমার বা নৌকা সার্ভিস আছে সেখানে (ক)তে বর্ণিত অবস্থায় পরোয়ানাজারিকারকগণকে পথখরচ (mileage allowance) স্বরূপ সর্ব্বনিম্ন শ্রেণীর ভাড়ার দেড়গুণ করিয়া দেওয়ার ব্যবস্থা আবশ্যক;

(*iii*) পরোয়ানাজারি করার কাজে বাহিরে থাকিতে হইলে প্রসেস-সারভারগণের (process-servers) জন্য দৈনিক ভাতা (daily allowance) দৈনিক অন্যূন ২৲ টাকা হিসাবে দেওয়া উচিত; এবং

(*iv*) Mileage allowance (পথভাতা) ও daily allowance (দৈনিক ভাতা) সম্পর্কে process-serverগণের অবস্থার কোনও উন্নতিবিধান করার প্রয়োজনীয়তা?

(গ) শেষোক্ত প্রশ্ন (খ) (*iv*) সম্পর্কে মন্ত্রীমহাশয় যদি বিবেচনা করিয়া থাকেন, তাহা হইলে অনুগ্রহপূর্ব্বক কি করা হইবে তাহা জানাইবেন কি?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHOUDHURI: (ক)(*i*) হইতে (*iv*) পূর্ব্বে দেওয়া হইত না বটে, কিন্তু সম্প্রতি process-serverগণকে চতুর্থ পর্য্যায়ের সরকারী কর্ম্মচারীর ভ্রমণ ভাতা (travelling allowance) দেওয়া অস্থায়ীভাবে ২৮শে ফেব্রুয়ারী ১৯৫০ পর্য্যন্ত মঞ্জুর করা হইয়াছে। তাহারা সমপর্য্যায়ের সরকারী কর্ম্মচারীর ন্যায় দৈনিক ভাতাও (daily allowance) পাইবে। এতদ্ভিন্ন রেল বা মোটর ছাড়া অন্য যানবাহনে কুড়ি মাইলের অধিক পথ ভ্রমণের জন্য পরোয়ানাজারিকারকগণ ভ্রমণ-ভাতার পরিবর্ত্তে প্রকৃত খরচ (actual expenses) পাইতে পারে।

(খ) এবং (গ) পূর্ব্বপ্রদত্ত উত্তরের পরে এই প্রশ্ন উত্থাপিত হইতে পারে না।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলবেন কি চতুর্থ পর্য্যায়ের সরকারী কর্ম্মচারীর ভ্রমণ ভাতা এবং দৈনিক ভাতা যে দেওয়া হয়েছে, এটার পরিমাণ কত?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: আমি নোটিস চাই।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: এটা ঠিক মত চতুর্থ পর্য্যায় জানা আছে যে ।৵০ আনা মাত্র তাদের দৈনিক ভাতা। একদিন halt করলেও কি ।৵০ আনা এবং মাইল প্রতি ৵০ আনা পায়?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: নোটিস না দিলে আমি বলতে পারব না।

Improvement of communications from Balarampur to Berhampore, Murshidabad

***14. Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works Department be pleased to state if he is aware—

(*i*) that there is a refugee camp run by the Government of West Bengal at Balarampur near Berhampore in the district of Murshidabad; and

(*ii*) that the refugees there are experiencing great inconvenience for want of facilities of easy communication from Balarampur to Berhampore?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps he has taken or proposes to take for the improvement of communication from Balarampur to Berhampore?

MINISTER in charge of the COMMUNICATIONS and WORKS DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra Sinha): (*a*)(*i*) Yes, near Sargachi railway station.

(*ii*) and (*b*) The road connecting Berhampore to the refugee camp at Balarampur near Sargachi railway station is a part of the Berhampore-Plassey Road. This road has been taken over by Government for improvement under their Road Development Plan as a Provincial Highway. Pending development work, necessary repair has been carried out on the road and the road is being maintained now in its present specification as a *kutcha* road. The existing road is in good condition.

Requisition of lands at Panagarh, Burdwan

*15. **Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Land and Land Revenue Department be pleased to state if it is a fact—

(*i*) that about 60,000 *bighas* of paddy-growing and homestead lands of 18 villages at Panagarh in the district of Burdwan were requisitioned for military purposes;

(*ii*) that the District Magistrate of Burdwan held out in the requisition notices the promise of restoring the lands to the respective owners with proper crop compensation within six months of the termination of the war; and

(*iii*) that the crop compensation has not yet been paid for the years 1353 to 1355 B.S.?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the steps which have been taken or proposed to be taken for prompt payment of the said compensation?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that about 20,000 *bighas* out of the 60,000 *bighas* of the said requisitioned lands are lying unused?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of releasing immediately the unused lands for cultivation for increasing the food of the Province.

MINISTER in charge of the LAND and LAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra Sinha): (*a*)(*i*) The total area requisitioned in connection with the Panagarh Reserve Base is 12,145 acres affecting 31 villages. These comprise culturable, unculturable and homestead lands.

(*ii*) Initially all requisitions used to be for the period of the war and six months thereafter. Subsequently however necessary legislation was enacted by the Government of India to continue requisition, if necessary, for longer periods.

(*iii*) Crop compensation for lands still under requisition has been paid up to 1354 B.S. and compensation for 1355 B.S. is expected to be paid shortly. Crop compensation for lands acquired has been paid up to 1352 B.S. No more crop compensation is payable in respect of these lands as they have been permanently acquired by Government.

(*b*) Necessary steps have already been taken for prompt payment.

(*c*) As the lands in question are under military occupation, it is not possible for this Government to furnish the information.

(*d*) A portion of the total area originally requisitioned has been released and the Government of India have been moved for further release of lands.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, may I read the answer on behalf of the Chief Minister?

Mr. SPEAKER: But then we have not yet received the delegation order.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Then, Sir, for the present this question may be held over.

Mr. SPEAKER: May I expect the delegation order by tomorrow morning? If so, you may answer the question.

Complaints against the Officer-in-charge of Contai police-station.

*16. **Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHYAYA:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether complaints against the present Officer-in-charge of Contai police-station were received by Government; and

(*ii*) whether departmental enquiry was made into the conduct of the said police officer?

(*b*) If the reply to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the result of the enquiry;

(*ii*) whether assets and liabilities of the said police officer were investigated by the Anti-Corruption Department; and

(*iii*) if not, why not?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE on behalf of the MINISTER in charge of the HOME DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*)(*i*) It was found that he had purchased land without the previous sanction of the Inspector-General of Police, though such sanction is necessary under Regulation 112(*c*) of the Police Regulations, Bengal, Volume I. As a punishment, the pay of this officer was reduced by Rs.10 per month for a period of one year. There were other allegations also, but these were held as not proved during the enquiry.

(*ii*) No.

(*iii*) The assets and liabilities of the officer were investigated by a Deputy Superintendent of Police of the C.I.D. It was not, therefore, considered necessary to have another investigation made by the Anti-Corruption Department.

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHAYA: ইনি কত টাকার সম্পত্তি কিনেছেন আপনার জানা আছে ?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: নোটিশ চাই।

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHAYA: ইনি কত টাকা মাহিনা পান।

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: নোটিশ চাই।

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHAYA: এটা জানেন কি তিনি একজন Sub-Inspectorএর মাহিনে পেয়ে প্রায় ৩০ হাজার টাকার সম্পত্তি করেছেন, এবং সেই সম্পত্তি সম্বন্ধে C. I. D. পুলিশ অনুসন্ধান করেছেন তাতেই কি সন্তুষ্ট থাকা উচিত বলে মনে করেন ?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: হাঁ, আপাততঃ তাই। তবে আপনি যদি report দিতে দিতে আর কিছু জানতে চান তাহলে আরও enquiry হবে।

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHAYA: আচ্ছা আমি জানতে চাই কোনটা anti-corruptionএ দেওয়ার কিছু অসুবিধা আছে কি ?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I require notice.

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: মন্ত্রী মহাশয় জানেন কি শুধু কণ্টাইএর Sub-Inspectorই নয় আরও অনেক জায়গায় Sub-Inspectorরা এই রকমই বটে ?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I shall make enquiry if you kindly send notice.

Mosques and dargahs damaged during August disturbances of 1946.

*17. **Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) how many mosques in Calcutta had been damaged during the 1946 August disturbances; and

(*ii*) whether the *dargah* at Kalighat and the *dargah* adjacent to London Medical Stores in Bowbazar Street had been converted into shop or *Kali* temple?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*ii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether any other *dargahs* and mosques in Calcutta had been converted into shops or *Kali* temples; and

(*ii*) if so, their numbers?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE (on behalf of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy): (*a*)(*i*) Twenty-one mosques and three *darghas* were damaged.

(*ii*) No.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Refund of collective fines in connection with the August disturbances of 1942

*18. **Sj. ANNADA PRASAD MANDAL:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state ১৯৪২ সালের আগষ্ট বিপ্লব উপলক্ষে পশ্চিমবঙ্গে যে পাইকারী জরিমানা করা হইয়াছিল তাহা ফেরৎ দেওয়া তিনি আবশ্যক মনে করেন কি না ?

(*b*) ফেরৎ দেওয়া আবশ্যক মনে করিলে কখন এবং কিভাবে ফেরৎ দিতে চাহেন এবং স্থানীয় কংগ্রেস প্রতিষ্ঠান মারফৎ স্থানীয় জনহিতকর কার্য্যে ব্যয় করিবার জন্য ফেরৎ দেওয়া আবশ্যক মনে করেন কি ?

(c) পশ্চিমবঙ্গের কোন্ জেলার কোন্ স্থানে কত পাইকারী জরিমানা করা হইয়াছিল তাহার একটি তালিকা মন্ত্রী মহোদয় দিবেন কি ?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE (on behalf of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy): (*a*) and (*b*) It has been decided that refunds of collective fines should not be made to any individual; an amount equivalent to that realised from a district should be spent on public welfare concerns, e.g., Spinning Centres, Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies, Eductional Institutions, etc., of the district concerned.

Steps are being taken to give effect to this decision.

(c) A statement of such collective fines realised, as reported by the District Officers, is placed below:—

Statement referred to in reply to clause (c) of starred question No. 18.

Districts	Amount realised. Rs.	a.
Birbhum	22,156	0
Burdwan	73,745	6
Hooghly	6,701	8
Nadia	8,806	9
Murshidabad	6,687	3
Malda	6,488	7
West Dinajpur	62,000	0
Midnapore	Nil.	
Howrah	Nil.	
24-Parganas	Nil.	
Bankura	Nil.	
Jalpaiguri	Nil.	
Darjeeling	Nil.	

(When answers to questions were being read.)

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Parliamentery Secretary মহাশয়ের পড়তে অসুবিধা হচ্ছে। আমরা না হয় পড়ে দিচ্ছি—voluntary service—সে জন্য কিছু দিতে হবে না। তাহলে তাড়াতাড়ি হবে।

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: আপনি গোলমাল করবেন না তাহলে শুনতে পাবেন।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: কাঁচা Parliamentary Secretaryরা fumble করেন। বাবু মন্ত্রীরাও fumble করেন কেন?

Detention of some cargo boats and steam launches at Kaliganj, Khulna, by Pakistan Government

*19. **Sj. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that some 50 cargo boats and steam launches, belonging to the subjects of the West Bengal, carrying jute and other commodities with valid permits from the Pakistan Government, have been detained by the police officers at Kaliganj, Khulna?

(b) If the reply to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps he intends to take for the release of these detained boats?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE (on behalf of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy): (a) According to inforamtion received by this Government, S.L. "Bangabir" and a barge of Messrs. Indo-Swiss Trading Co., Ltd., and S.L. "Sakti" together with four barges of Messrs. Bengal River Service Co., Ltd., and some steamers belonging to Messrs. National Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., were detained at Kaliganj, district Khulna. A report was also received about the detention of five cargo boats, but the Government of East Bengal, on an enquiry made, have denied having ever detained these cargo boats. Messrs. Indo-Swiss Trading Co., Ltd.,

reported on the 4th October, 1948, about the detention of some 70 country boats carrying cargo of jute and other commodities at Kaliganj by the Government of East Bengal to whom a reference has been made on the 14th February, 1949, for an early enquiry into the matter and for ensuring that boats with cargo for the Indian Dominion are not unnecessarily detained.

(*b*) According to information received, the reason for the detention of steam launches is that the Government of Pakistan are not recognising survey and pilot certificates held by the launches which have been issued by authorities in India and are insisting on these certificates being endorsed by one of their officers on payment of a fee. The reason for the detention of country boats, if any, carrying cargo is not, however, known. As regards the cargo boats, the Government of East Bengal have been moved as stated under (*a*) above and the Government of India informed. As regards the launches and the barges, the matter has been reported to the Government of India, who are examining the question of recognition by the Government of Pakistan of survey and pilot certificates issued by authorities in India. Neither any reports nor any complaints have been received from the persons affected by the alleged detention of 50 cargo boats referred to in part (*a*) of the question. It is believed that things will improve as a result of the Inter-Dominion Conference held at New Delhi and subsequent developments.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of order, Sir. What shall we take as the correct reply? What he read or what is printed here?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think there is any difference.

UNSTARRED QUESTION

(answer to which was laid on the table)

Calcutta Shellac Exchange, Ltd.

1. **Sj. BASANTALAL MURARKA:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Commerce Department be pleased to state if it is a fact that representations have been made by shellac traders of Balarampur (Manbhum) and Calcutta praying for the closing of the "Calcutta Shellac Exchange, Ltd."?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what actions have been taken in the matter?

MINISTER in charge of the COMMERCE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Nalini Ranjan Sarker): (*a*) Yes; a representation has been received from Chapra Byaparic Sabha, Balarampur (Manbhum).

(*b*) The matter was considered and it was decided to enact legislation to abolish futures market in shellac. In the meantime the new Constitution of India came into force. According to item No. 48 of the Union List (List I) of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution of India, "Futures Markets" is a Union subject, and the State Legislature is not competent to enact such legislation. The Government of India has accordingly been requested to take up the matter in the Union Legislature.

GOVERNMENT BILLS.

The West Bengal Special Courts Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Special Courts Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The West Bengal Bargadars Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal *Bargadars* Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal *Bargadars* Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

Sir, in requesting the House to take the Bill into consideration, I would like to draw the attention of the honourable members to two features of this Bill. In the first place, it is a temporary measure which is going to be enacted to regulate the relations between the *bargadars* and the owners of land and also for the establishment of Bhagchash Conciliation Board for the settlement of disputes that may arise between the owners of land and the *bargadars*. In this conection I would like to make it perfectly clear that so far as this Bill is concerned, it does not propose to confer any rights which are not existent now. No new rights are going to be conferred by this Bill. It is a temporary measure because there is, as all honourable members are aware, a very large and comprehensive measure of agrarian reforms, viz., zemindary abolition, under the consideration of the Government. At this stage, it would not be advisable to create any new rights of land. All that the Bill, therefore, proposed to do is to bring about better relations between the owners of the land and the *bargadars* so that disputes may not arise between them as regards the division of the produce of the land or if disputes arise, there may be easy solution of those disputes, without going to the court, by the Conciliation Board.

Now, Sir, there is another very important thing which should also be noticed in the provisions of this Bill, namely, that this Bill proposes also to see that the *bargadars* are not ousted for any and every reason by the owner of the land. It is going to give protection to the *bargadars* by limiting the rights of the owner to get rid of the *bargadar*. The grounds on which the owner can get rid of a *bargadar* are specifically mentioned in the Bill, so that there may not be any vagueness about them. Only on stated grounds the owner can get back his land or get rid of an undesirable or offending *bargadar*. I would, therefore request those who are anxious to see the rights of the *bargadars* enlarged or the rights of the owners enlarged in this respect not to stand by their etxreme views. So far as the present postion is concerned honourable members are aware that under section 3, sub-section *(17)* of the Bengal Tenancy Act the *bargadar* is not in the position of a tenant at all. The present position of the *bargadar* under the Bengal Tenancy Act is that he is not a tenant, because the tenant, as defined in the Bengal Tenancy Act, is a person who holds land under another person and is, but for a special contract, liable to pay rent for that land to that person. It is clearly stated there that a person who under the system generally known as *adhi*, *barga*, or *bhag* cultivates land of another person on condition of delivering a share of produce to that person is not a tenant. That is the proviso to the definition of the tenant. The *bargadar*, as the law stands at present, is not a tenant and the *bargadar*, therefore, cannot avail of the protection which is available to the tenant under the Bengal Tenancy Act. It is just for that reason that a legislation is necessary to regulate the relations of the owners and the *bargadars* and to protect the *bargadars* even in their present position and even if no new right is conferred on them; for, after all, what is necessary from the point of view of the State is that the differences of opinion and disputes between the owners and the *bargadars* may not lead to the non-cultivation or indifferent cultivation of lands or may not affect the food production in the Province. That is what the State has got to see in the present circumstances and in that anxiety the *Bargadars* Ordinance was promulgated. Now, the *Bargadars* Ordinance,

in the opinion of the Government, has stabilised the position to a great extent. That being the idea of the Government, the *Bargadars* Ordinance is going to be made into law by this measure. That is all that I have to say at this stage and I hope honourable members will realise the object and understand the scope of the Bill and also judge the Bill from the point of view that has been urged by me.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED: বর্গাদারদের জন্য Bengal Tenancy Actএ যদিও কোন স্বত্ব নাই কিন্তু বর্ত্তমান বিলে ও Ordinanceএ কিছু স্বত্বের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে। তাতে দুইটা স্বত্ব দেওয়া হয়েছে—একটা হল এই। তাদের যখন ইচ্ছা তখন উঠিয়ে দেওয়া হত,—এই জমি এই বৎসর একে দেবে, আগামী বৎসর দেবে না—সে-রকম জিনিষ বন্ধ করা হয়েছে। তারা জমি চাষ করতে পাবে। দ্বিতীয় কথা হচ্ছে, সাধারণভাবে আধি অর্থাৎ অর্দ্ধেক ফসল দিতে হয় এবং ভাগিদারদের কাছ থেকে অনেক সময় সেলামী আদায় করা হয়। বর্ত্তমান নিয়মে আধি ত তারা পাবেই তাছাড়া এই ব্যবস্থার দ্বারা আধির বেশীও পাবে, কিন্তু সেলামী সম্পর্কে এই বিলে কিছু বলা হয়নি যে, সেলামী নেওয়া হবে না। সেই provision এখানে করা দরকার ছিল। এখানে এই measureকে বলা হয়েছে temporary অর্থাৎ অস্থায়ী কিন্তু এই provision কতদিন থাকবে এখানে তার কিছু ইঙ্গিত পাওয়া যায়। দুই বৎসরের জন্য Conciliation Board হবে। আর Conciliation Boardএর বিচারে ৫ বৎসরের মধ্যে যদি জমির মালিক অর্থাৎ owner আর একজনকে জমি দেয়, তাহলে ৫ বৎসর ফুরালে বর্গাদারকে সেই জমি পুনরায় দেওয়া যেতে পারে—এই ইঙ্গিত আছে। অতএব আইনটা ২ বৎসর এবং ৫ বৎসরের জন্য, সুতরাং এটা খুব temporary নয়। সেই জন্য আমি বলতে চাই যে, যেসব অঞ্চলে এই বর্গাদারদের হাঙ্গামা উপস্থিত হয়েছে, সেসব অঞ্চলের সহিত অন্য অঞ্চলকে পৃথক করা। আমাদের মন্ত্রী মহাশয় নিজেই জানেন কারণ তাঁর এই অঞ্চলে জমি আছে সুতরাং সেই সব অঞ্চল সম্বন্ধে তিনি খবর রাখেন। সুন্দরবন অঞ্চলের সমস্তই হচ্ছে Temporary Settlement। এখানে এক এক জন লোকের হাতে ২০।২২ হাজার বিঘা জমি আছে। সেখানে লাটদারদের হাতেও বহু জমি আছে। এই জমি তারা ৪।৫ জন চকদারদের মধ্যে বন্দোবস্ত দেয়। চকদারেরা নিজেরা এই সমস্ত জমি চাষ করে না, অথচ এই সমস্ত চকদারদের বাড়ীতে দেখা যায় ধানের গাঁদি রাশি রাশি। আসল জিনিষটা হচ্ছে যে, যারা প্রকৃত চাষ করে তাদের বিশেষ কিছুই নেই। এই থেকেই হিংসা জন্মায় "আমরা চাষ করি অথচ আমরা কিছু পাই না"। আর যারা চাষ করে না, কেবল মাত্র গবর্ণমেণ্টের কাছ থেকে কিছু সনদ পেয়ে, রাশি রাশি জমি হাতে রেখে দিয়েছে, তাদের খামারে ধান ভর্ত্তি। দুঃখের সঙ্গে বলছি যে যতক্ষণ এই সমস্যার সমাধান না হচ্ছে—এক একজন লোক নিজের হাতে হাজার হাজার বিঘা জমি রেখে দিচ্ছে এবং সম্পূর্ণ জমি ভাগচাষীদের দিয়ে চাষ করাবার পরিবর্ত্তে যদি কিছু জমি বর্গাদার চাষীদের মধ্যে বণ্টন করে না দেয়, ততক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত এই উৎপাৎ, এই বিক্ষোভ দূর হবে না।

Conciliation Boardএর দ্বারা সুন্দরবন অঞ্চলে এই বৎসরে খুব বেশী কাজ হয়নি। অবশ্য কিছু কাজ হয়েছে সত্য। আমি জানি যে কাশিমবাজারের মহারাজার জমির ক্যানিং গঞ্জের মধ্যে এমন লোক আছে যারা কেঁদে বেড়াচ্ছে কমুনিষ্ট উৎপাৎ হচ্ছে বলে। কিন্তু অন্যের সম্পত্তিতে তারা হস্তক্ষেপ করেনি। যে স্থানে এটা হয়েছিল সেখানে তার কারণ অনুসন্ধান করে আমি নিজে দেখেছি যে যেখানে চকদাররা তাদের জমির কিছু কিছু জমি খাজনায় বিলি করে দিয়েছে সেখানে কোন গোলমাল হয়নি। আর যেখানে তারা এই রকম করেনি সেখানেই গোলমাল হয়েছে। সুতরাং একজনের হাতে বেশী জমি রাখতে দেওয়া উচিত নয়। সুন্দরবন অঞ্চলের কথাই বিশেষ করে বলি, এখানকার সমস্ত জমি বণ্টন করে দেবার ব্যবস্থা করা হোক। এই জন্য জমিদারী abolitionএর অপেক্ষা করা উচিত নয়। Temporary Settlement Areaর জন্য বিশেষ আইন করা উচিত। জমিদারী abolished হলে খাজনার হার কিছু কমবে আর জমি প্রজার হাতে আসবে। কিন্তু সুন্দরবনে জমিদারী প্রথার উচ্ছেদ করলেও বিশেষ কিছু হবে না। যদি ভাগচাষীদের প্রজা স্বত্ব না থাকে, তাহলে Government নিজেই লাটদার চকদারদের ৪।৫ হাজার বিঘা জমি বিনা বাধায় তার খাস possession এনে দিবেন। জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদ হলেও এখানে কোন improvement হবে না। অতএব সুন্দরবন সমস্যা জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদ সমস্যার মধ্যে জড়িয়ে না রেখে অর্থাৎ সেখানে একজনের হাতে রাশি রাশি জমি রেখে অন্য লোকদের বঞ্চিত করে রাখলে সুন্দরবনের উন্নতি করা সম্ভব হবে না। তার জন্য অন্য ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত। এখানের জন্য যে improvement committee হ'য়েছে তা দিয়ে agrarian improvement হবে না। কারণ Sundarban Improvement কমিটির বিষয় বস্তু হচ্ছে—কিভাবে cottage industriesএর উন্নতি করতে হবে, speed boatএর কাজ কি, তারপর পুকুর উন্নতি কিভাবে হবে—এই সমস্ত কাজ। এই কমিটি agrarian

improvementএর উদ্দেশ্যে গঠিত হয় নি। আমি আবার এই কথা বলছি যে সুন্দরবনের সমস্যা Permanent Settlementএর সঙ্গে জড়িত না রেখে পৃথকভাবে দেখা উচিত এবং এর জন্য পৃথক enquiryরও আবশ্যকতা নাই, কেন না এখানে অনেকেই আছেন, যাঁদের জমি ঐ অঞ্চলে আছে। সেখানে হরেন্দ্র বাবুর নিজেরই জমি আছে, নিকুঞ্জ বাবুরও আছে। তাঁরা নিজেরাই এই সুন্দরবনের সমস্যা, কিভাবে সমাধান করা যাবে তা করতে পারেন।

বর্ত্তমান Actএর provisionএর মধ্যে tenantএর clause quality করা উচিত ছিল। Bengal Tenancy Actএ যা আছে তাই করা উচিত। অর্থাৎ tenants as defined in Bengal Tenancy Act.

দুই বৎসর পরে যখন বোর্ড চলে যাবে তখন ঐ জমি ফেরতের কাজ কে করবে? সেটার ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত ছিল। কাজের সুবিধার জন্য এই boardগুলি ইউনিয়ন basisএ করা উচিত ছিল। থানা basisএ হলে তাড়াতাড়ি কাজ হবে না। চটপট কাজ করতে গেলে স্থানীয় লোক দিয়ে করাতে হবে। যাঁরা conciliation নিয়ে আলোচনা করছেন তাঁরা অনেকেই অসুবিধায় পড়েছেন agreement তাঁবেদার ব্যাখ্যা লইয়া। মালিক, বর্গাদার ও প্রজার মধ্যে আপোষ অর্থে কি প্রকার আপোষ বুঝায়? কোন্ আপোষ তা পরিষ্কার করা উচিত ছিল।

সুন্দরবনের সমস্যা কলকাতায় বসে বলছি। এখানেও নানা উৎপাৎ আরম্ভ হয়েছে। আজ এখানে এসেছি, বাড়ী ফিরে যেতে পারবো কিনা জানিনা। সহরে থাকলে কাটাকাটি আবার সহরের বাইরেও যদি এই রকম গোলমাল আরম্ভ হয় তাহলে কোন যায়গায় যাবো? পাকিস্তানের কাছে ত আর যাবো না। সেই জন্য সুন্দরবনের সমস্যাটাকে জমিদারী প্রথাচেছদের অপেক্ষা না করে একজনের হাতে যাতে বেশী জমি না থাকে তার একটা ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত। আমি যেহেতু Opposition থেকে বক্তৃতা করছি সেহেতু আমার কথা আপনারা উড়িয়ে দেবেন না। আপনারা বর্গাদারদের অবস্থা জানেন। তাই তাদের উন্নতির জন্য যে ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করা উচিত মনে করেন তাই করুন।

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN : মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, এই Bill দেখে আমার মনে পড়ে "confusion will be worst confounded"—এই যে গোলমাল, confusion আমাদের West Bengalএ চলেছে সেটা আরও বেড়ে যাবে। আমি বক্তৃতা দিয়ে প্রশংসা বা বাহাবা নেবার জন্য বলছি না। আমি প্রকৃত পক্ষে দেশের অবস্থা সমালোচনা করে, বিবেচনা করে দেখে তবে সে কথা আপনাদের সম্মুখে বিনীতভাবে উপস্থিত করছি ও আপনারা সে বিষয় ভাল ভাবে অনুগ্রহ করে বিবেচনা করে দেখবেন।

প্রথমতঃ কথা হচ্ছে এই যে আপনারা যে Bill প্রস্তুত করেছেন সেই Bill প্রস্তুতিতে ভাগচাষী ও owner অর্থাৎ মালিক, যোতদারদের মধ্যে যে চুক্তি হয়েছে সেই চুক্তিকে আপনারা বলবৎ রেখেছেন, এটা অতি উত্তম কথা, এর চেয়ে ভাল কথা আর হতে পারে না। কিন্তু আবার সেই "এ" দিয়ে (A VOICE: আপনি ইংরাজিতে না বলে বাংলায় বলছেন কেন?) যখন বাংলায় বলতে আরম্ভ করেছি তখন বাংলায়ই বলব। (A VOICE: হাঁ, যে ভাষায় ইচ্ছা তাই বলুন।)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, please, order.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN : These gentlemen interrupting me, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER : Please go on.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN : আমি পূর্ব্বেই বলেছি যে contract, চুক্তি যা হয়েছে, একরার যা হয়েছে তাকে বলবৎ রেখেছেন, এর চেয়ে ভাল কাজ আর কিছু হতে পারে না। সব সময় এই চুক্তিকে solemn ভাবে মনে রাখা উচিৎ। চুক্তিকে যে বলবৎ রাখা হয়েছে সেটা প্রশংসার যোগ্য।

দ্বিতীয় কথা হচ্ছে, এই চুক্তির শক্তি কমিয়ে দেবার জন্য একটা Conciliation Board করা হয়েছে। সেই Conciliation Boardএর হাতে চুক্তিটাকে দিয়ে এবং representation, misrepresentation, fraud প্রভৃতি নানা প্রকার আইনের কথা সংযোগ করে একে একেবারে শূন্য করে দিচ্ছেন। আমার বিবেচনায় এরকম একটা সর্ত্ত থাকা উচিৎ নয়। এবং এর প্রয়োগের দ্বারা এই চুক্তিকে কখনও শূন্য করা উচিৎ নয়। এই হচ্ছে আমার প্রথম point.

দ্বিতীয় point হ'ল, আমি যা পূর্ব্বেই বলেছি "confusion will be worst confounded". দু'এক জায়গায় গোলযোগ হয়েছে বটে, কিন্তু সকল জায়গায় নয়। As for example, বীরভূম জেলায় কোন প্রকার গোলযোগ হয়েছে কি না জানি না। স্যার, এর ভিতর কথা হচ্ছে যে যেখানে কোন agreement নেই সেখানে এ সম্বন্ধে যে বিধান আছে সেটাই প্রযোজ্য হবে।

Janab ABUL HASHEM : এ সম্বন্ধে মানে?

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN : এ সম্বন্ধে মানে Bill সম্বন্ধে। (A VOICE : আপনি ইংরাজিতেই বলুন না কেন?) আমাকে এখন বিরক্ত করবেন না, next timeএ আমি ইংরাজিতে বলব।

আর একটা কথা হচ্ছে জমি এই রকম ভাগে আর তারা দেবে না। যাদের অনেক আছে ৫০ বিঘা ৬০ বিঘা--আমাদের জসিমুদ্দিন সাহেবও বলেছেন যাদের দু হাজার, চার হাজার বিঘা জমি আছে, তারা ভাগে দিয়ে চাষ করে, তাদের কথা স্বতন্ত্র—উনি যা বললেন তা আমি fully support করি, স্থানীয় landless labourerদের মধ্যে তা বণ্টন করে দেওয়া উচিৎ। কিন্তু এই সাধারণ চাষী, সাধারণ যারা গৃহস্থ, যাদের ৬০।৭০।৮০ বিঘা জমি আছে, তাদের মধ্যে অনেকে ২।৩ হালের জমি নিজেরা চাষ করে এবং বাকী জমি ভাগে চাষ করে। Landless labourer যারা ঐ জমি চাষ করে খায়, এখন এই আইন প্রবর্ত্তনের ফলে এই হবে যে সেই চাষীরা যাদের কিছু একটু বেশী জমি আছে ৫০।৬০।৭০ কিম্বা ৮০ বিঘা তার মধ্যে যারা ২০।৩০ বিঘা জমি নিজে চাষ করে, তার আর বাকী জমিটা ভাগে দেবে না।

যেখানে জমির সংখ্যা কম চাষীর সংখ্যা বেশী, সেখানে একটা বিভ্রাট হয়ে যাবে। তারা ভাগে দেবে না, নিজেরাই গিয়ে জমি চাষ করবে। এই so-called ভাগচাষীদের অবস্থার উন্নতি করতে গিয়ে, তাদের যা কিছু সম্বল আছে, তাও আপনারা এই বিলের দ্বারা নষ্ট করে দেবেন। এই রকম অবস্থাতে আমি বলছি যে যেখানে যেরকম প্রথা প্রচলিত আছে সেখানে সেই রকম প্রথাই থাকুক। আর যেখানে গভর্ণমেণ্ট বা জমিদার যাদের দু হাজার, চার হাজার বিঘা জমি আছে, জসিমুদ্দিন সাহেবও বললেন সেই জমি বণ্টন করে দেবার কথা, সেটা খুব ভাল, নতুবা এই বিলের কোন আবশ্যক নাই।

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHYAYA : মাননীয় পরিষদপাল মহোদয়, এই বর্গাদার বিল আমাদের এখানে যেটা আনা হয়েছে, সেটা সম্বন্ধে আমি কিছু বলতে চাই। এই বিল আনার সম্পর্কে আমরা কয়েকজন জড়িত আছি। জমিদার প্রথা abolition যতদিন না হচ্ছে, Bengal Tenancy Act যতদিন আছে, ততদিন land-owner ও বর্গাদার এই দুটো দল থাকবে। এই land-owner ও বর্গাদারদের মধ্যে যে সমস্ত বিরোধ হয়, সেই বিরোধের মীমাংসা কি করে করা যায়, সেই জন্যই এই বিলের দরকার হয়েছে। তাদের ভিতর বিরোধ লেগেই আছে এবং বাংলাদেশের বিভিন্ন জেলায় বিভিন্ন প্রকারের বিরোধ আছে। কোন জায়গায় বর্গাদারের সংখ্যা বেশী, জমির পরিমান কম, সেই জায়গায় যারা মালিক, তারা বর্গাদারদের উপর অত্যাচার করে। তাদের যা পাওয়া উচিৎ, তার চেয়ে বেশী পাওয়ার চেষ্টা করে এবং যার ফলেতে মালিক এবং বর্গাদারদের মধ্যে সেই সব জায়গায় বিরোধ এত বেশী মাত্রায় হয়েছে যে সেখানে কমুনিষ্ট আন্দোলন খুব প্রসার লাভ করেছে। আবার কোন জায়গায়, কোন জেলায় এই রকম আছে, যেখানে জমির পরিমান খুব বেশী, কিন্তু বর্গাদারের সংখ্যা কম, সেখানে যারা জমিদার তারা বর্গাদারদিগকে নানা প্রকার প্রলোভন দিয়ে নিয়ে যায়। আমি শুনেছি, আমার বন্ধু খগেন বাবুর কাছ থেকে, জলপাইগুড়িতে এমন ব্যবস্থা আছে। তারা বর্গাদারদের ঘর তৈরী করে দেয়, তাদের বিয়ে দিতে হয়--যেখানে যা দরকার মালিকদের দিতে হয়, এবং এই সব দিয়ে তাদের দ্বারা জমি চাষ করা হয়।' এই ব্যবস্থাও এক এক জেলায় আছে। আবার একই জেলায় দুতিন রকম ব্যবস্থা আছে। যেমন, মেদিনীপুর জেলার কাঁথী সাবডিভিসনে। যেখানে বর্গাদারদের অবস্থা খুব খারাপ সেখানে মালিকরা বর্গাদারদের কাছ থেকে যে অংশ নিতে চায়, তাতে তাদের ভাগে আর কিছুই থাকে না। আবার সেই মহকুমার এক অংশে, কয়েক ক্রোশ দূরেতে, যেখানে জমিতে উৎপন্ন কম হয়, সেখানে বর্গাদারর৷ বেশী যেতে চায় না। সেখানে মালিকরা বর্গাদারদের বেশী অংশ দিয়ে নিয়ে যায়। এই প্রশ্ন এত জটিল যে ভূমিশূন্য কৃষক থেকে আরম্ভ ক'রে জমিদার পর্য্যন্ত এই যে দুই শ্রেণী, তার ভেতর আবার উপশ্রেণী আছে। এত বিভিন্ন রকমের স্বার্থসমন্বিত শ্রেণী গঠিত হয়েছে যে এই জমি সম্পর্কে গভর্ণমেণ্ট যখনই কোন নির্দ্দিষ্ট ধারায় নোটিশ দেন জমিদারী abolition সম্পর্কে, তখন এই সব বিভিন্ন স্বত্ব ও স্বার্থকে যদি রক্ষা করতে হয়, তাহলে একটা বিরাট ব্যাপার হয়ে দাঁড়ায়। এই বর্গাদার বিলে যে সমস্ত ধারা এসেছে, তার ভেতর এমন ধারা আছে যে, কেউ কেউ চাইবে সেই ধারাকে বদলে এমন করা হোক যে যারা জমি চাষ করবে নিজের হাতে, তাদেরই কেবল জমি থাকবে, অপরের জমি থাকবে না। Land to the tiller, এই প্রশ্ন এসেছে। তাতে দেখা যায় আমাদের বাংলাদেশে যে অবস্থা হয়েছে, তাতে মধ্যবিত্ত

এবং নিম্ন মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণীর অবস্থা এমন হয়েছে, আমাদের যারা সর্বহারা—জমি নাই, যারা শুধু শারীরিক পরিশ্রমে উপার্জনের উপর নির্ভর করে, তাদের অবস্থা খুবই খারাপ হয়েছে। এর দুটো কারণ হয়েছে এই--আমার যা হয়--বাংলাদেশে জমির উপর শতকরা ৮০ জন কিংবা তারও বেশী লোক নির্ভর করে। পশ্চিম বঙ্গের কথা আমার জানা আছে। তাই বলছি যেখানে আমাদের মধ্যবিত্ত তাঁরা চাকরীই করুন, আর যাই করুন, বা ব্যবসা করুন, বাড়ীতে তাঁদের যে বিশ পঞ্চাশ বিঘা জমি আছে, তার উপর নির্ভর করেন। অনেক সময় এমন হয় তাঁদের চাকরী থাকে না, অনেক গোলমাল হয়, আবার অনেক সময় এমনও হয় তাঁদের ব্যবসায় নষ্ট হয়ে যায় তখন জমিতে যে আয় হয় তাতেই তাঁরা মোটা ভাত কাপড়ের সংস্থান করেন। এই জন্যই তাঁদের জমির উপর খুব মায়া। যাঁরা চাকরী বা ব্যবসায় করেন, তাঁরা তাঁদের নিজের হাতে জমি চাষ করেন না, বর্গাদার দিয়ে চাষ করেন। কোন কোন জেলাতে—বর্দ্ধমান জেলায় বড় বড় জোতদার আছেন, তাঁরা বাড়ীতে মজুর রেখে জমি চাষ করান। এখন যদি হয় land to the tiller, তাহ'লে এই সমস্ত মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণীর ছেলের যাবে কোথায়? আমাদের বাংলাদেশে কেন, সারা ভারতেও আমরা শিল্পে খুব প্রসার লাভ করতে পারিনি বর্ত্তমানে যে শিল্পে প্রসার করা কত কঠিন, তা আপনারা সকলে জানেন। প্রয়োজন মত কোন জিনিষ নিয়মিত পাওয়া যায় না। কাজেই শিল্পে যদি আমরা প্রসার না করতে পারি, তবে এই যে আমাদের লক্ষ লক্ষ যুবক নিম্ন মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণী, এরা যাবে কোথায়? চাকরীর যে কয়টা বিভাগ আছে, এই সিভিল সাপ্লাই বিভাগে যারা আছে, কবে যে তাদের ছাড়িয়ে দেওয়া হবে তা জানা নাই। অনেক এমন আছে যারা ১৫।২০ বছর ধরে, temporary service করছে এখন ও permanent হয় নাই। তাঁবা জীবনের সবচেয়ে বড় ভাল অংশ temporary service করে কাটিয়ে দিলেন। আব যখন তাঁরা permanent হবেন, তখন তারা নিমতলার ঘাটে গিয়ে উপস্থিত হবেন কিনা জানি না। এই যে অবস্থা এটা আমরা কমাতে পারি, যদি শিল্পে আমরা প্রসার লাভ করতে পারি, কিন্তু সেই প্রসার করবার সম্ভাবনা নাই আমাদের। শুধু তা নয়—এ ছাড়াও যে আর একটা জিনিষ আছে। শিল্পাঞ্চলে এবং কলকাতা ও তাব আশে পাশে যে জায়গা আছে—উলুবেড়িয়া থেকে আরম্ভ ক'রে বর্দ্ধমান পর্য্যন্ত,—এই সব শিল্পাঞ্চলে গিয়ে দেখুন সেখানে কয়টা বাঙ্গালী ছেলে কিংবা বাংলার শ্রমিক, labour class যাদের বলেন, তারা গ্রামেতে দেশেতে জমি চাষ করে,—তাদের কয়টা শ্রমিক এই সব শিল্পাঞ্চলে গিয়াছে? এখানে দেখবেন অবাঙ্গালী শ্রমিক শ্রেণীই বেশী।

আজকে যারা শিল্পাঞ্চলে শ্রমিকের কাজ করেন তারা সব বাঙ্গালী শ্রমিকের নেতা নয়। তারা সব অবাঙ্গালী শ্রমিকদের নেতা। অবশ্য সেই জন্য আমি কাকেও দোষ দিই না। শারীরিক পরিশ্রমের কাজ আমাদের ছেলেরা করতে পারে না। সেটা তাদের দোষ। নিজেদের জমিতে চাষ করতে হলে আজ নিজেদের খেটে চাষ করতে হবে। টিটাগড়ের কারখানার চেয়ে সেটা কম খাটুনির কাজ নয়। যদি জমি হস্তান্তর করতে হয় তাহলে এটা বিবেচনার সহিত করতে হবে। একদিনের ঝোঁকের মাথায় সেটা করা ঠিক হবে না। এই যে বিলটা এনেছেন এটা একটা Ordinanceএর মতন এনেছেন। এটা অনেক বিবেচনা করা হয়েছে। এটাকে অনেকেই সাময়িক প্রতিকার বলে মনে করেন, এটা সাময়িক হতে পারে কিন্তু এটার কি দরকার নেই? কারণ এই বর্গাদার বিলে যা ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে তাতে বর্গাদার মালিকদের ভিতর যাতে বিরোধ না হয়, যাতে আপোষে বর্গাদার ও মালিকের ভিতর কাজ চলে সেটার ব্যবস্থা আছে। আমার বন্ধু Janab Mudassiar Hossain বলেছেন যে এর দ্বারা ক্ষতি হবে সেটা আমি মনে করি না। যতক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত শিল্পের প্রসার না হবে, যতক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত জমিদারী প্রথা বিলোপ কোরে নিম্ন মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণী ভূমিহীন কৃষক শ্রেণী জমির স্বার্থ সমন্বয় না করা যায় ততক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত আমাদের এই বর্গাদার বিল চালান উচিৎ। বিলের বিরুদ্ধে বলার কিছু নাই তা আমি বলছি না; তবে দেশের ও সমাজের যা বর্ত্তমান অবস্থা সেই সব দিক থেকে বিবেচনা কোরে আমি এই বিলটা সমর্থন করি।

SJ KANAILAL DASS : পরিষদপাল মহাশয়, আমাদের মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় West Bengal Bargadar Billটা যে এই পরিষদে গৃহীত হওয়ার জন্য এনেছেন তার জন্য তাঁকে আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ দিচ্ছি। এই বিলে সত্যই আমাদের যারা ভাগচাষী, যারা অপরের জমি চাষ করে,—তাদের উন্নতি হবে আশা করা যায়। আর আমরা যে অধিক শস্য ফলাও নীতি গ্রহন করেছি সেই নীতিটাকে ভালভাবে কার্য্যকরী করতে হলে যারা প্রকৃত পক্ষে জমি চাষ করে, যারা প্রকৃত চাষী তাদের যদি অর্থনৈতিক উন্নতি না করতে পারি তাহলে অধিক শস্য ফলাও নীতি সফল হবে না। সেই জন্য আশা করি আমাদের সভ্য মহাশয়রা সকলেই এই বিলটাকে সমর্থন করবেন। বর্ত্তমানে যারা চাষী আছে তারা যেভাবে ভাগচাষ করে তাতে তারা আর্দ্ধেকটা পাচেছ। আর আর্দ্ধেক যারা জমিদার তারা পাচেছ, কিন্তু এখনকার এই অর্থনৈতিক সঙ্কটের দিনে চাষের গরু

ও বাজন প্রভৃতির দরুন খরচ খুব বেশী পড়ে, এ অবস্থায় জমি চাষের জন্য ষাঁড় বলদের পেছনে খরচ করার শক্তি বা প্রবৃত্তি তাদের বড় একটা থাকে না। এই জন্য আমাদের যারা ভাগচাষী, তাদের যদি অর্থনৈতিক উন্নতি করতে পারি, তাহলে তারা চাষের জন্য প্রয়োজনীয় গরু, বীজ ও সার প্রভৃতির যোগাড় করে চাষের উন্নতি দ্বারা অধিক শস্য ফলাও নীতিটাকে সফল করার সাহায্য ভাল ভাবে করতে পারবে। এই জন্যও এ বিলটা আনা ঠিক হয়েছে।

এই প্রসঙ্গে আমি আর একটা কথা বলতে চাই, এই যে ভাগচাষী বিলটা আনা হয়েছে এতে দেখা যায় বাংলাদেশে প্রকৃত ভাগচাষীর বেশীর ভাগই যে অনুন্নত শ্রেণী তাদেরই সুবিধা হবে। জমিদারেরও লোকসান হবে না। কারণ যারা বেশীর ভাগ জমি চাষ করে তাদের অর্থনৈতিক উন্নতি হলে জমির পিছনে তারা বেশী করে খরচ করবে, ভাল গরু কিনবে, জমিতে ভাল সার দেবে, তার ফলে জমিতে শস্য বেশী ফলবে, সুতরাং জমিদারেরাও বেশী পাবে।

Sj. NISHAPATI MAJHI : মাননীয় ডেপুটি স্পীকার মহোদয়, বাংলা দেশে যারা অধিকাংশ জমি মাথার ঘাম পায়ে ফেলে তৈরী করেছিল, আজ তারাই ভাগচাষী কৃষান মাহিনদার কৃষিমজুর প্রভৃতি রূপে আখ্যাত হয়ে থাকে—এরা উপযুক্ত অন্ন-বস্ত্র থেকে সুখ-স্বাচ্ছন্দ্য থেকে এমন কি আইন থেকে বঞ্চিত হয়ে জীবন যাপন করছে। আমাদের পশ্চিম বঙ্গ সরকার আজ তাদের হয়ত জমির উপর সর্ববিধ অধিকার দানে প্রস্তুত নয়। কিন্তু তাদের বর্তমান অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থা এবং জমি জায়গার উপর যে কোন অধিকার নাই, এই সমস্ত বিবেচনা করে যে বিল উত্থাপন করেছেন এবং যা পরিষদে গৃহীত হতে চলছে তার জন্য আমি পরিষদ নেতাকে ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি।

কিন্তু এই প্রসঙ্গে বলা দরকার যারা জমি চাষ কোরেছেন তারা যে পরিমাণ ফসল পাচেছন এবং যারা মালিক হোয়ে আছেন তাদের কথা আমার কোন মাননীয় বন্ধু এখানে বোলেছেন, অধিকতর জমির মালিক যারা—তারা প্রকৃত চাষী যারা তথা ফসল উৎপাদনকারী যারা তাদের সামান্য কিছু স্বার্থ ত্যাগ কোরেও সুবিধা দিতে চান না। তাঁদের দেশের বর্তমান পরিস্থিতির উপর লক্ষ্য কোরে চলা উচিৎ। খুব দুঃখের বিষয় এই যে জমির মালিক যারা তারা কৃষান মাহিনদার ভাগচাষীদের কথায় চিঁড়া ভিজিয়েছেন যারা তাদের ঘরে পাঁচ সাত মাসের বেশী খাওয়ার থাকে না জেনেও অধিক ফসল উৎপাদন করাতে চান না। অর্থাৎ নিজেরা সামান্য স্বার্থ ত্যাগ করতে নারাজ। এই যদি হয় তাহলে দেশের গরীব কৃষকদের অবস্থার উন্নতি হবে না। আজ আনন্দের বিষয় পরিষদে এই বিষয়ে আলোচনা হচেছ। প্রকৃত চাষীদের জমিতে সকল অধিকার দিতে নানা বাধা আছে। সকলেই জানছে এজন্য অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থা ভাল হচেছ না। তবু যতটুকু অধিকার সম্ভব সেইটাই দেবার ব্যবস্থা হচেছ। গ্রামের পঞ্চায়েত কমিটি, থানা কমিটি এবার নিজের চাষের মজুরি বিষয় আলোচনা করতে পারবেন এবং যোগ্য অফিসাররা যদি ভাল ভাবে কাজ করেন তাহলে এর দ্বারা অনেকটা সুযোগ সুবিধা ভাগচাষীরা পাবে। আমরা দেখেছি গরীবের দিকে লক্ষ্য করতে অনেকেই নারাজ বড় লোকের দিকে সকলেই নজর দেয়। সেইজন্য আমি বল্‌ছি এই বিল সম্বন্ধে যদি অফিসাররা জমিদারেরা এবং পরিষদের সভ্যরা মনযোগ না দেন দৃষ্টি না দেন তবে অতীতে যেমন অনেক বিল এই পরিষদে উপস্থিত হয়েছে কিন্তু সেগুলি কার্য্যকরী করবার জন্য বিশেষ মনযোগ দেওয়া হয় নাই এটারও সেই দশা হবে। কিন্তু এই বিলের দ্বারা ভাগচাষীরা যাতে একটু সুবিধা পায়, সেদিকে সত্যই যদি সকলে একটু দৃষ্টি দেন তাহলে এই বিলটা কার্য্যকরী হবে। তাতে দেশ অনেকটা অগ্রসর হতে পারবে। পরিষদের লীডার মহাশয় এই বিল আনতে অনুমতি দিয়েছেন এবং এই বিলটা পরিষদে গৃহীত হলে দরিদ্রদের যে প্রভূত উপকার হবে দরিদ্রদের এই স্বার্থ যে তিনি দেখেছেন এই জন্য তাঁকে ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় Deputy Speaker মহাশয়, এই বিলের আলোচনায় মধ্যে আমার যোগ দেবার কোন উদ্দেশ্য ছিল না। নিশাপতি মাঝি মহাশয় যা বলেছেন, তার মধ্যে যতগুলি অসত্য তার প্রতিবাদে কিছু না বলে পারছিনে। (Question from Government Benches.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order, No personal reflection please.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: বিলটা ভাল হলে না হয় সহ্য করতাম। (A MEMBER FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES : সহিষ্ণুতার অবতার !!) কিন্তু বিলটাই যখন খারাপ, তখন আবার বিলটায় এটা ভাল করা হয়েছে ওটা ভালো করা হয়েছে একথা কেন? বর্গাদারদের জমিতে কোন অধিকার দেওয়া হয় নাই অথচ বলা হচেছ বর্গাদারদের অধিকার দেয়া হয়েছে!! section 17এ কোন অধিকার দেয়া হয় নাই উল্লেখ না করে এটা উহ্য রাখলেও চলতে পারত। অথচ পরিষ্কার করে বলা হয়েছে যে কোন অধিকার দেয়া হল না; ১২ বছরও যদি একজন একটা জমি চাষ করে তাতেও কোন অধিকার স্বীকার হয় নাই, তা

সত্ত্বেও বলা হচ্ছে তাদের অধিকার দেয়া হয়েছে।। তারপরে মজুর কৃষক বলে কি বুঝিয়েছেন জানিনে। যদি landless কৃষকদের বুঝে থাকেন তবে তাদের সম্বন্ধে একটা কথাও এতে নেই। ভূমিহীন কৃষকদের জন্য কিছুই বলা হয় নাই। অতএব নিশাপতি বাবুর চুপ থাকাই ভাল ছিল। তারপরে উনি বলেছেন officerরা যদি বর্গাদারদের দিকে টেনে চলেন তাহলে নাকি কিছু লাভ হবে। কিন্তু নিশাপতি মাঝি মহাশয় বেশ জানেন যে ২২ মণ তেলও একত্র হবে না রাধাও নাচবে না। প্রকৃতির নিয়ম অনুসারেই জমিদারদের মধ্য হতে যারা এই বিল move করেছেন তাদের দ্বারা বেশী কিছু হতে পারে না। তার থেকে বরং বলা উচিত ছিল,—আমরা আজকে এর চেয়ে বেশী কিছু পারব না, কারণ আমাদের মধ্যে tug of war চলছে partyর মধ্যে; পার্টিতে জমিদারও আছে ভূমিহীন লোকও আছে। রায় চৌধুরীও রয়েছেন নিশাপতি মাঝিও রয়েছেন। একটা জিনিষ বিশেষ করে চোখে পড়ে যে বর্গাদার এবং যে মালিক তারা সমান সমান পাবে। কেন সমান সমান পাবে? এই দিকে বলা হচ্ছে land to tillers—ঐ দিক থেকে অনেকেই বলেছিলেন আমরা চেষ্টা করছি কৃষক-প্রজা-রাজ প্রতিষ্ঠা করতে—মাননীয় প্রদেশপালও তার বক্তৃতায় প্রসঙ্গত এটা বলেছিলেন—classless সমাজব্যবস্থার কথার, তাতে জমি কৃষকদের দেওয়া হবে বলা হয়েছে। অথচ এখানে যে শর্ত দেওয়া হয়েছে তাতে জমির মালিক সে নয়—মালিকের সঙ্গে সে সমান সমান পাবে এই মাত্র। কেন তা পাবে? এই যে মূল নীতি স্বীকার করে নেওয়া হয়েছে—অনেকেই আপনারা তা মানতে পারেন কিন্তু আমরা সেটা মানি না। এই মালিকের প্রশ্নটা এখানে আসা উচিত ছিল। আজ আমাকে এই কথা হয়ত বলতে হত না যদি select কমিটিতে এটা দেওয়া হত। তারই প্রয়োজন ছিল। সেটা বোঝা যায় আজ যখন short-notice amendment আসছে মাননীয় সুশীল বাবুর কাছ থেকে। যেমন তিনি amendment দিয়েছেন..........। এ সম্বন্ধে amendment already রয়েছে। কোনটা দিয়েছেন কানাইলাল দে মহাশয়, কোনটা শ্যামাপদ ভট্টাচার্য্য মহাশয়, কোনটা বা চারুচন্দ্র ভাণ্ডারী মহাশয়। তা সত্ত্বেও সুশীল বাবু amendment দেন কেন? তিনি নুতন কিছু বেশী বলছেন এর মানে তা নয়। এর মানে এই Bill যারা frame করেছেন, ভাল করে চিন্তা করে করেন নি। চারু ভাণ্ডারি মহাশয়ের amendment স্বীকার করে নিলেই ত হত। কিন্তু সুশীলবাবুকে boost করা দরকার তাই তার throughতে এই amendment হচ্ছে কিনা জানিনা।

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: এটা statement of fact.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: চিরদিন মিথ্যা কথা—lie বলেছেন। আজও—

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: যত ইচ্ছা চেঁচান আমার গলা তার অনেক উপরে।

চারু চন্দ্র ভাণ্ডারি মহাশয়ের নামে যে amendment আছে, সেটা মেনে নিলে সুশীলবাবুর পক্ষে এমনি কি মহাভারত অশুদ্ধ হয়ে যেত? আর শ্যামাপদবাবুর amendmentর মতই একই ভাষায়, একই wordingএ হচ্ছে। তা সত্ত্বেও--

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: আপনি প্রকৃত কি বলতে চাচ্ছেন--তাই বলুন না কেন?

Sj SIBNATH BANERJEE: আমার বলার কথা হচ্ছে যে ভাল করে চিন্তা করে এটা করা হয় নি যদি অন্ততঃ ১৫ দিনের time নিয়ে একটু চিন্তা করে করতেন, তাহলে এটা হত না। এই রকম দ্বিধা হত না। তাই এই যে amendment এসেছে, তা ভাল করে চিন্তা করার জন্য একটা কমিটী—তাতে আমাকে ডাকার দরকার নেই।

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: চিন্তা করবার জন্য আপনাকে ডাকা দরকার নেই।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: যদি Select Committeeতে দেন, তাহলে আমাকে ডাকতে হবে। Select কমিটী হলে আমি যা ভাল বলে মনে করছি, সেগুলি আপনারাও মেনে নেবেন এবং এটা আর একটু presentable formএ আসবে।

তার পর বর্গাদারের representative ২ জন থাকবে। সেটা কিভাবে থাকবে? Nomination বা অন্য কিভাবে সেটা চিন্তার কথা। সেটা পরিষ্কার করা উচিত। বর্গাদার যাকে select করবে সেই হবে, তাহলে বোঝা যায়। বর্গাদারের representative যদি তাদের ঠিকভাবে নির্বাচন করার সুযোগ দেওয়া হয় তাহলে যারা আসবে, তারা তাদের নিজেদের কথাই বলবে। কিন্তু তার কোন উল্লেখও নেই, নির্দ্দেশও নেই।

তারপর আর একটা জিনিষ খুব অন্যায় বলে মনে করি। যদি award না মান্‌তে চায়—তার জন্য fine বা জেল—সম্পূর্ণ সাজা হোক কিন্তু তার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে তাদের জমি কেড়ে নেওয়া হবে কেন? জমি তাদের জীবন। সেই জমি কেড়ে নেওয়া হলে তার চেয়ে বড় সাজা আর কি হতে পারে—তার চেয়ে ফাঁসি—যাকে capital punishment বলা হয়—দেওয়ার বন্দোবস্ত হলেও হত। Fine এক শত টাকা, ক মাস জেল হোক—সেটা বেশী নয়। কিন্তু জমি কেড়ে নিলে ছেলেপুলে নিয়ে যে তারা মারা পড়বে। এই রকম বহু জিনিষ আছে অত্যন্ত আপত্তিজনক। তাই আবেদন জানাচ্ছি এটা select কমিটীতে দিন—৭ দিন ১০ দিনের জন্য এটা select কমিটীর ভিতর দিয়ে আসুক। তাহলে জিনিটা ভাল হবে। এই Billএর সঙ্গে বাংলাদেশের কৃষকদের সম্বন্ধ—তাদের ভাগ ১/৩ থাকবে বা ১/২ বা কি proportion তা স্পষ্ট বোঝা যায় না। কাজেই আপনারা তাড়াতাড়ি করবেন না। Pass করাতে ত বিশেষ অসুবিধা নেই। তার আগে এ সম্বন্ধে আরও চিন্তা করা দরকার।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, my friend Janab Jasimuddin Ahmed in his speech requested the Government to deal separately with the Sunderbans area because in his opinion that area differed fundamentally from the permanently-settled areas. But so far as cultivation by *bargadars* is concerned, that area does not differ materially at all from other areas. It may be quite true that that area is composed of lease-hold estates, whereas in the permanently-settled areas the zamindars enjoy their rights under Permanent Settlement, but that does not mean that so far as cultivation by *bargadars* is concerned, it is materially different from any other part of the Province. It is true that the conditions under which lands are cultivated under the *barga* system may differ from area to area, but that again does not mean that in the Sunderbans the *barga* cutivation is carried on altogether on a different principle of division of produce. That is not true. There also they share in the produce as in other parts of the district of 24-Parganas or neighbouring areas. The Sunderbans area differs in certain other material respects, namely, that in other parts of the Province under the zemindary system has grown up the large problem of sub-infeudation, large number of tenure-holders, undertenure-holders and others. That problem to some extent may be non-existent in the Sunderbans area. But my friend will also agree with me that in the Sunderbans area the *lotdars* settle their lands with the *chakdas*. Under the *chakdars*, and under the *raiyats* also there are *bhagdars*. So the Sunderbans area for the purpose of *barga* cultivation—I do not think—differs materially from other parts of the Province. But still having regard to the other special problems of the Sunderbans area, my friend will probably be glad to learn that, Government have already appointed a committee known as the Sunderbans Development Committee to deal particularly with the problems affecting that part of the Province. The report of the committee has just been published and if it is not already available in the market it will soon be. We are, therefore, attending to the problems of the Sunderbans area through a committee which the Government have appointed and we shall certainly take into careful consideration the recommendations which have been made by the committee.

Now, Sir, with regard to the other points that have been raised by different speakers, let me refer to the question that has been raised specially by Janab Mudassir Hossain. He congratulated us on a misconcieved idea of the Bill. He said that in the Bill all the previous agreements have been saved. That is not true, on the contrary, the previous agreements will not be enforced unless they conform to the provisions of the Bill. If honourable members will please turn to clause 18 of the Bill, they will find that the provisions of this Act and of any rules made thereunder shall have effect notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any other law, or any custom, usage, contract or instrument. That is, after the passage of this Act, this Act and this Act alone will govern the relations between the *bargadar* and the owner.

So far as clause 3(*1*) is concerned, where there is a reference to the agreement between the *bargadar* and the owner, the agreement in the sub-clause means agreement in settlement of dispute where a dispute has arisen. It does not mean any previous agreement but the agreement which has been reached between the parties in settlement of the dispute regarding division of crop or any such thing, which has already arisen.

Let me now refer to the points made by my friend Mr. Sibnath Banerjee. Mr. Sibnath Banerjee first of all argued that no right has been conferred by this Bill on the *bargadar* at all. It is true that no right to land or of tenancy has been conferred on the *bargadars*. But certain very material rights have been conceded to the *bargadar* by this Bill, viz., his right to cultivate and to continue to cultivate the land on delivery of a share of the produce. His right to cultivate is fully assured by the Bill. Only in certain cases that right may be terminated, and those cases have been specifically defined in clause 5 of the Bill. In those cases only he may lose the right to cultivate, otherwise he is assured of the right to cultivate the land on condition that he delivers the share of the crop specified in the Bill.

Sir, there is another point——

(At this stage the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: My friend Mr. Sibnath Banerjee has further made light of this Bill by observing that the *bargadars* will not profit in any way. Sir, that again, is not true.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: By way of personal explanation, let me say, Sir, that I did not say that they have not been given any right.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I have made it perfectly clear, Sir, what they are given and what they are not given by this Bill. They are given the right to cultivate the land. They are assured of the continuity of cultivation. All these have been provided for. You cannot deny that. If you look to clause 5——

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I do not deny that, but I am not satisfied——

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: You may not be satisfied, but then you cannot use a surgeon's knife for guillotine purposes. It is after all a surgon's knife and not the axe of the guillotine.

He referred also to the fact that the *bargadars* will only be penalised by this Bill and not the owner. That, again, is not true.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I did not say that, Sir. I only said that the *bargadar* will be punished twice, whereas the owner will be punished only once. The owner pays the fine or goes to jail and there is no jail in addition, whereas the *bargadar* pays the fine, goes to jail, and his land is taken away.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: After all the *bargadar* is not the owner of the land; it is not his land.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: As the Hon'ble Minister was referring to something that I did not say it was my right, Sir, to explain.

Mr. SPEAKER: That you have already done.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: The *bargadar* and the owner have been placed on the same footing so far as penalty for non-compliance with an award of the Conciliation Board is concerned.

If you turn to clause 14 you will find "Any person who fails to comply with an award or order made under this Act shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees or with both".

These are all the points that were raised in the discussion and I think I have answered them. A great gain which will accrue to the *bargadar* under this Act will be the enlargment of his share of the produce, see clause 3 where the *bargadar* is not only assured of one-third of the produce like the owner but much more than that, see the proviso in sub-clause (*b*) of clause 3 which says, "Provided that the *bargadar* shall receive a greater share of the balance of the produce, if he is entitled to such greater share under a written contract between himself and the owner or under any local custom or usage"; again the substance of sub-clause (*c*) is that much of the remaining one-third may go to the *bargadar* and in many cases, I am quite sure, the *bargadar* may get two-thirds or even more of the whole of the produce. I believe this is a sufficient enlargement of the share of the *bargadar* which was not conceded by any law up to the present moment.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: What about the further punishment prescribed to the *bargadar*?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I shall deal with it later.

Mr. SPEAKER: I find there are two amendments to refer the Bill to a Select Committee but we have not obtained the consent of the members proposed to serve on the committees and so both the motions fall through.

The motion of the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that the West Bengal *Bargadars* Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I beg to move that for clause 1(*2*) the following be substituted, namely:—

"(*2*) It extends to the whole of West Bengal."

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I accept the amendment.

The amendment was then put and agreed to.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of order, Sir. May I know how could Sri Sushil Kumar Banerjee's short-notice amendment having the same effect have priority over Sri Charu Chandra Bhandari's amendment which latter I think was given notice of earlier because it is printed while the other one is cyclostyled? Should not the amendment that came earlier have priority over the one that came later even if both came from members of the Government Party?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have understood you. The amendments are being moved in a particular order. An amendment which relates to an earlier line in a clause is to come first and then the amendment which relates to a later line.

The question that clause 1, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 2(*d*), line 2, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 2, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 3(*1*), line 2, after the word "agree" the words "in writing" be inserted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 3(*2*)(*c*), after the words "and manure" in the last line, the words "and to the cost of protection or irrigation of the land" be inserted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 3, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

The question that clause 4 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, with your permission, I beg to move the short-notice amendments that—

(*i*) in sub-clause (*1*) of clause 5 in line 2, the word "not" be omitted;

(*ii*) in sub-clause (*1*) of clause 5 in line 3, the word "except" be omitted;

(*iii*) at the end of paragraph (*c*) of clause 5(*1*), the word "or" be added;

(*iv*) at the end of paragraph (*d*) of clause 5(*1*), the word "or" be omitted;

(*v*) after paragraph (*d*) of clause 5(*1*), the following proviso be added, namely: —

"Provided that the cultivation of such land by a *bargadar* shall not be terminated on any of the above grounds except under the order of a Board"; and

(*vi*) paragraph (*e*) of clause 5(*1*) be omitted.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have not got any copy of the amendments. May I suggest that he should read them slowly, so that we can take them down?

Mr. SPEAKER: I wish to draw the attention of the Government to this fact that whenever such amendments are to be given, they must be given in time, so that we may be able to circulate them. There are at least six amendments and the members are entitled to know as to how the clause stands.

(When Mr. Speaker was going to put to vote short-notice amendment No. 1 of Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee.)

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a matter of privilege, Sir. We have not been able to understand it. It is absolutely unfair to us. The vote is always on that side. Let us at least understand what they are voting for.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am leaving clause 5 for the time being.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Thank you, Sir.

Clause 6.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 6(*1*), line 1, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 6(*2*), line 2, for the words "the Crown" the word "Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 6(*3*), lines 2 and 4, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 6(*4*), line 1, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in the proviso to clause 6, line 2, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in the proviso to clause 6, line 4, for the word "Crown" the word "Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: With your permission, Sir, I beg to move that in sub-clause (*4*) of clause 6, in line 3, after the words "dissolve any Board" the words "stating the reasons for such dissolution in the notification" be added.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of order, Sir. These are very important amendments and come at the last moment. If anybody wants to speak on the amendments, will he be allowed to do so?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes. As a matter of fact these amendments have been put to vote after they have been moved. As soon as they were moved, you ought to have risen. That was the proper time for you to rise.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I am speaking generally. There are other amendments on which I want to speak. What I want to say is that I want to draw your attention to the fact that before putting the amendments to vote at least you should see whether anybody stands up to speak or not. If anybody does not stand up, then you should put the amendments to vote.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: He is dictating to you!

Mr. SPEAKER: It is for the member to be alert and to stand up and say "I wish to say something". Otherwise if for every amendment I am to wait for two minutes in order to find out as to whether any member wants to speak or not, then the matter will be very much delayed. The ordinary procedure is that the members themselves must be alert. As soon as an amendment is moved, and before it is put to vote, any member who wants to speak must stand up and say "I wish to speak, Sir".

The question that clause 6, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, may I know if I can go back to clause 5 now?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: All right, Sir.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will you get directions from him?

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, I have got to look to the convenience of the members. The amendments were given at a very late stage and the members had no time to study them.

The motion of Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee that in sub-clause (*1*) of clause 5, in line 2, the word "not" be omitted, was then put and agreed to.

(When short-notice amendment No. 2 of Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee was going to be put to vote.)

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I wish to speak on the subject.

আমি যে কথা বলছিলাম যে বড়ই তাড়াতাড়ি করা হচ্ছে এবং যিনি mover তিনিই জানেন না কিভাবে move করা উচিত। এটা যে ভাবে আছে তার মানে পরিস্কার রয়েছে--একে আরও জটিল করার কোন প্রয়োজন দেখ্‌তে পাচ্ছি না--

> "The owner of any land cultivated by a *bargadar* shall not be entitled to terminate the cultivation of such land by the *bargadar* except, on one or more of the following grounds, namely:—"

এই ত যথেষ্ট রয়েছে। কিন্তু এতেও যাতে কোন রকম গোলমাল না হতে পারে—সেইজন্য বলা হয়েছে the *bargadars* shall be entitled. এটা কেন করা হচ্ছে—তার কোন যুক্তি তাঁরা দেখান নাই। যাঁরা draft করেছেন, তাঁরা বুদ্ধিমান বিচক্ষণ লোক, যাতে কোথাও কোন ফাঁক না থাকে তারই ব্যবস্থা তাঁরা করেছেন। এটা বোঝা খুবই সোজা। তারপর "shall be entitled to take it away" এটা খুবই offensive ভাবে put করা হচ্ছে।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, he has entirely misconceived the scope of all these amendments. We have taken out two words "in" and "except" from the opening portion of clause 5, but we have strengthened the rights of the *bargadar*. We have not reinforced the right of the owner at all. The new proviso that has been suggested by Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee runs as follows:—

> "Provided that the cultivation of such land by a *bargadar* shall not be terminated on any of the above grounds except on the order of a Board."

It is just to strengthen the position of the *bargadar* and to take away the right of the owner, not to interfere with the rights of the *bargadar* at his sweet will, that this proviso has been suggested. If Sj. Sibnath Banerjee has not been able to understand the scope of the amendments, of course he can thank only himself.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of order, Sir. The Hon'ble Minister is not speaking on the amendment. It is not yet before the House. At least the Hon'ble Minister should know it better. After the amendment is moved, he can then speak on the amendment.

Mr. SPEAKER: You see, Mr. Banerjee, all the amendments have been moved. They are before the House. The Hon'ble Minister who spoke just now has simply referred to the other amendment in order to

make the matter clear. Now, are you going to oppose the short-notice amendment No. 2? The moment the first amendment has been passed and the word "not" has been deleted, it is so to say a consequential amendment to delete the word "except". Otherwise it becomes meaningless.

The motion of Sj Sushil Kumar Banerjee that in sub-clause (*1*) of clause 5, in line 3, the word "except" be omitted was then put and agreed to.

The motion of Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee that at the end of paragraph (*c*) of clause 5(*1*), the word "or" be added was then put and agreed to.

The motion of Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee that at the end of paragraph (*d*) of clause 5(*1*) the word "or" be omitted was then put and agreed to.

The motion of Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee that after paragraph (*d*) of clause 5(*1*) the following proviso be added, namely:—

> "Provided that the cultivation of such land by a *bargadar* shall not be terminated on any of the above grounds except under the order of a Board."

was then put and agreed to.

The motion of Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee that paragraph (*e*) of clause 5(*1*) be omitted was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 5 as amended do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I want division.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already declared the result.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, you are depriving me of my right to ask for a division.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not a question of depriving any member of his right in this respect. He should rise in proper time for that.

Clause 7.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that to clause 7(*2*), the following explanation be added, namely:—

> "*Explanation.*—Where there is an agreement under clause (*1*) of section 3, a Board shall consider whether such agreement was made by the free consent of the parties thereto and shall disregard such agreement if it is satisfied that consent to such agreement was caused by coercion, undue influence, fraud, misrepresentation or mistake."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The question that clause 7, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 8.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that for clause 8, the following clause be substituted, namely:—

> Power of Board to cause crop to be harvested and thrashed.
>
> "8. Where a Board established for a local area within which the land the *bargadar* cultivates is situated is satisfied that necessary steps may not be taken by the *bargadar* or the owner, as the case may be, for harvesting or thrashing any crop in proper time, it may of its own motion or on the application of the aggrieved party cause such crop to be harvested or thrashed at the expense

of the defaulting party and may order such expense to be recovered from the defaulting party in such manner as may be prescribed."

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Have you any objection, Mr. Banerjee?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: There is objection. It should be only on the owner and not on the *bargadar*. That is my objection. The owner should have no right absolutely. He should be dispossessed as the Rajas and Rajpramukhs should be dispossessed, and the days for that are coming.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: We would be glad to accept it if Mr. Banerjee suggests that the right to harvest the crop should be vested in the owner and not the *bargadar*, and if the owner does not harvest the crop he should be punished. I would challenge Mr. Banerjee to move such an amendment.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, it is not my intention that the owner should harvest the crop. I am opposing it at every stage. Sir, a challenge has been thrown and it is only fair that I take it up. My challenge is that the *bargadar* only should have such right to thrash the crop and that the owner should have no such right. So long what has happened is that the *bargadar* has produced the paddy, has gone to the houses of the owners, has thrashed, and whatever the owner condescends to give him he has taken. That position has changed. It is, of course, your amendment that we are dealing with. If I move my amendment, I would make it specific. I would provide that the owner will have no right; only the *bargadar* will harvest the crop, thrash it, divide it and give a share to the owner; or in course of time, he will give nothing to the owner. If you want a challenge, you can accept a short-notice amendment on this line from me and let us have discussion and voting on it.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Here is a motion. There is no other amendment, and there is no question of challenge.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, when the Hon'ble Minister is challenging——

Mr. SPEAKER: You have already answered the challenge.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Having known the rules, why does he challenge, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: He has given you the challenge and you have answered.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir,——

Mr. SPEAKER: Either you oppose this amendment or oppose the clause.

The motion of Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee that for clause 8, the following be substituted, namely:—

"8. Where a Board established for a local area within which the land that a *bargadar* cultivates is situated is satisfied that necessary steps may not be taken by the *bargadar* or the owner, as the case may be, for harvesting or thrashing any crop in proper time, it may, of its own motion or on the application of the aggrieved party, cause such crop to be harvested or thrashed

Power of Board to cause crop to be harvested and thrashed.

at the expense of the defaulting party, and may order such expense to be recovered from the defaulting party in such manner as may prescribed."

was then put and agreed to.

Clause 9.

The question that clause 9 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 10.

The question that clause 10 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 11.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I beg to move that in clause 11, lines 2 and 3, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was put and agreed to.

The question that clause 11 as amended do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 12.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I beg to move that in clause 12(*1*), line 1, for the word "Procedure" the word "procedure" be substituted.

The motion was put and agreed to.

The question that clause 12 as amended do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 13.

The question that clause 13 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 14.

The question that clause 14 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 15.

The question that clause 15 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 16.

The question that clause 16 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 17.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: clause 17 সম্বন্ধে কথা এই যে শ্রীনিশাপতি মাঝি বক্তৃতার মধ্যে বলেছেন বর্গাদারদের কোন অধিকার দেওয়া হচ্ছে না, এটার যে provisionটা করা হচ্ছে তাতে তাদের অধিকার পাওয়ার পথে একটা বাধার সৃষ্টি করা হচ্ছে, সেই জন্য আমার মনে হয় এই provisionটা তুলে দেওয়া উচিত।

The question that clause 17 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 18.

The question that clause 18 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 19.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move the short-notice amendment that in clause 19(*2*)(*b*), in line 2, for the words and figure "from the *bargadar* under section 8", the words and figure "under section 8 from the defaulting party" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 19(*1*), line 1, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 19, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 20.

The question that clause 20 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Mr. SPEAKER: There is one thing which I wish to mention. In clause 1 there was an amendment (No. 3) changing the words "Provincial Government" to "State Government". Unfortunately, Mr. Banerjee stated that he did not want to move that.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: That portion was altogether eliminated because it is extended to the whole of the Province. Therefore the question does not arise. Those words have been deleted. It extends to the whole of West Bengal.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal *Bargadars* Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The West Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Special Courts) Amendment Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Special Courts) Amendment Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Special Courts) Amendment Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and graeed to.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Special Courts) Amendment Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The West Bengal Maternity Benefit (Tea Estates) Amendment Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJI: Sir, I beg leave to introduce the West Bengal Maternity Benefit (Tea Estates) Amendment Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJI: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Maternity Benefit (Tea Estates) Amendment Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

The object of this amendment, Sir, is to remove an apparent error in section 11(*b*) of the West Bengal Maternity Benefit (Tea Estates) Act, 1948. Section 3 of that Act prevents an employer from employing a woman in a factory or plantation during six weeks immediately following the day of her delivery. But section 11(*b*), as it stands in Act XXXIII of 1948, does not prevent employment in any establishment after four weeks. To remove this obvious difficulty, this Bill has been sought to be introduced in this House.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJI: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Maternity Benefit (Tea Estates) Amendment Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The 24-Parganas District Board Dissolution (Temporary Provisions) Amendment Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to introduce the 24-Parganas District Board Dissolution (Temporary Provisions) Amendment Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: I beg to move that the 24-Parganas District Board Dissolution (Temporary Provisions) Amendment Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 2, in the penultimate line, for the words and figures "15th day of November, 1950" the words and figures "15th day of December, 1950" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 2, as amended, do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to move that the 24-Parganas District Board Dissolution (Temporary Provisions) Amendment Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The West Bengal District Boards (Amendment) Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal District Boards (Amendment) Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal District Boards (Amendment) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal District Boards (Amendment) Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 6-50 p.m. till 3-30 p.m. on **Monday,** the 13th February, 1950, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 13th February, 1960, at 3-30 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Deputy Speaker (Sj. ASHUTOSH MALLICK) in the Chair, 9 Hon'ble Ministers and 48 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Relief measures taken by Government for persons affected by arson at Khori, 24-Parganas

*20. **Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Relief and Rehabilitation Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that there was an arson at Khori in the district of 24-Parganas?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of families affected;

(*ii*) the number of houses burnt;

(*iii*) the amount of free house-building grant made by Government per family; and

(*iv*) the measure of relief undertaken and proposed to be undertaken by Government for the rehabilitation of the distressed?

MINISTER in charge of the RELIEF and REHABILITATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*)(*i*) 115.

(*ii*) 203.

(*iii*) At Rs.250 per family.

(*iv*) The following measures were taken by Government for the relief and rehabilitation of the affected persons:—

(1) One hundred and seventy maunds of rice, 5 tins of kerosene oil and 300 pieces of blankets were distributed at Government cost;

(2) a total sum of Rs.1,800 was distributed as cash grants to 115 families at rates varying between Rs.10 and Rs.25 per family, according to the immediate needs of each family, for purchasing domestic requisites;

(3) a total sum of Rs.2,000 was distributed to 10 families at Rs.200 per family as interest-free loans for house-building purposes;

(4) a total sum of Rs.19,750 was distributed as free grants for house-building purposes to 79 families at Rs.250 per family;

(5) a sum of Rs.1,050 was distributed to 70 families at Rs.15 per family for purchase of paddy-husking pedals;

(6) a grant of Rs.200 was made to one family in order to enable him to purchase a pair of bullocks;

(7) a grant of Rs.522 was made to one family in order to enable him to purchase one sewing machine and two pair of scissors.

(8) a grant of Rs.475 was made to nine families of carpenters in order to enable them to purchase tools and implements;

(9) a sum of Rs.790 was sanctioned for distribution of grants to 79 families at Rs.10 per family in order to enable them to purchase ducks and hens for starting poultry business; and

(10) a sum of Rs.100 was sanctioned to one family for purchase of bullock-cart.

Suburban train service in Sealdah Division of East Indian Railway

*23. **Janab SERAJUDDIN AHAMMAD:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Transport) Department be pleased to state if it is a fact—

(*i*) that the travelling passengers of the suburban railway services of the Sealdah Division of East Indian Railway have increased considerably nowadays;

(*ii*) that there is no local train in the main line of the Sealdah Division for some stations between 7 and 9 hours at night;

(*iii*) that certain local trains are not allowed to stop at some stations due to overcrowding; and

(*iv*) that some Down local trains that carry office passengers to Calcutta in the morning do not often run to time?

(*b*) If the reply to (*a*) is in the affirmative, does the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of moving the Railway authorities—

(*i*) to increase the number of trains in the suburban train services to relieve the congestion; and

(*ii*) to make arrangement so that Down local trains which carry office passengers may run to time?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE on behalf of the Minister in charge of the Home (Transport) Department (the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy): (*a*)(*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) Yes. But one local train scheduled to leave Sealdah at 20 hours for Naihati has been added from 1st April, 1949.

(*iii*) Yes, there are two such fast locals.

(*iv*) No.

(*b*)(*i*) Yes. But due to the shortage of stock and power prevailing at present it is not practicable to augment the services further until these resources improve.

(*ii*) Does not arise.

Number of Muslims in the Calcutta Police

*24. **Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the total number of Muslims in the Police Force under the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta;

(*b*) the strength of Police Force under the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta;

(*c*) the number of policemen recruited since the 15th August, 1947, and the number of them who are Muslims; and

(*d*) whether Government have laid down any policy in the matter of recruitment of Muslim minority in the Police Force of the City of Calcutta?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE (on behalf of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy): (*a*) 732.

(*b*) 11,873.

(*c*) 2,652; 116 Muslims.

(*d*) The present policy of Government regarding filling up of the vacancies in the West Bengal Public Services is that there is no communal reservation either where recruitment is by open competition or in cases of promotion. When posts are filled by direct recruitment on a non-competitive basis there is reservation for the communities as indicated below:—

Communities.		Percentage of vacancies reserved.
(1) Non-Muslims excluding Scheduled Caste Hindu	...	65
(2) Scheduled Caste Hindus	... ...	15
(3) Muslims	... ...	20

This policy is followed in the matter of recruitment in the Police Force of Calcutta City.

Destruction of crops by cattle in Chapra and Tehatta thanas in the district of Nadia

*25. **Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI:** (ক) মাননীয় স্বরাষ্ট্র সচিব মহাশয় অনুগ্রহপূর্বক জানাইবেন কি যে, নদীয়া জেলার চাপড়া থানার ১নং হাতিশালা ইউনিয়ন এবং তেহট্ট থানার পাথরঘাটা ইউনিয়ন হইতে এরূপ অভিযোগ আসিয়াছে কি না—

(১) যে স্থানীয় গোয়ালারা গরু-মহিষ ছাড়িয়া মাঠের ফসল নষ্ট করিয়া থাকে;

এবং

(২) যে উহার বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদ করিয়াও কোন ফল হয় নাই?

(খ) যদি 'ক' প্রশ্নের উত্তর 'হ্যাঁ' হয়, তাহা হইলে মন্ত্রীমহাশয় জানাইবেন কি যে, উক্তরূপে ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত চাষীদের মধ্যে অধিকাংশ মুসলমান কি না?

(গ) মন্ত্রীমহাশয় জানাইবেন কি যে, এই সম্পর্কে কর্তৃপক্ষ ১নং হাতিশালা ইউনিয়ন বোর্ডের প্রেসিডেণ্টের এক পত্র এবং পাথরঘাটা ইউনিয়ন এর কতিপয় মুসলমানের স্বাক্ষরিত অভিযোগ পত্র পাইয়াছেন কি না?

(ঘ) 'গ' প্রশ্নের উত্তর 'হ্যাঁ' হইলে, মন্ত্রীমহাশয় জানাইবেন কি যে, সরকার এ বিষয়ে কোন তদন্ত বা ব্যবস্থা করিয়াছেন কি না এবং না করিয়া থাকিলে ইহার প্রয়োজনীয়তার কথা সরকার বিবেচনা করেন কি না?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE (on behalf of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy): (ক)(১) পাথরঘাটা ইউনিয়ন হইতে এরূপ অভিযোগ আসিয়াছে।

(২) ইহা সত্য নহে। যে স্থানে নির্দ্দিষ্ট অভিযোগ পাওয়া গিয়াছে সেই স্থানে প্রতিকারমূলক ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করা হইয়াছে। যে স্থানে অভিযোগ সাধারণ আকারের যথা, "স্থানীয় গোয়ালারা গরু-মহিষ ছাড়িয়া মাঠের ফসল নষ্ট করিয়া থাকে", অনিষ্টকারী গরু-মহিষের মালিকের নাম-ধাম ইত্যাদি উল্লেখ নাই, সেস্থানে অভিযোগের প্রতিকার করা সম্ভবপর হয় নাই।

(খ) এই অনুমান সত্য নহে। অনুপাতে ⅓ অংশ হিন্দু এবং ⅔ অংশ মুসলমান ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হইয়াছে।

(গ) কেবল পাথরঘাটা ইউনিয়ন হইতে কতিপয় মুসলমানের স্বাক্ষরিত অভিযোগ পাওয়া গিয়াছে।

(ঘ) তেহট্ট থানার ভারপ্রাপ্ত কর্মচারীকে যথাবিহিত ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করিতে আদেশ দেওয়া হইয়াছে। থানার ভারপ্রাপ্ত কর্মচারীকে সময়ে সময়ে অতর্কিতভাবে মাঠে ছাড়া গরু ও মহিষ চড়াও করিয়া মালিক নিরূপণকরতঃ Cattle Trespass Actর বিধানানুসারে মোকদ্দমা দায়ের করিবার জন্য নির্দ্দেশ দেওয়া হইয়াছে এবং তাহার ফলে এযাবৎ চাপড়া থানার এলাকা হইতে মোট ২৯টী মোকদ্দমা দায়ের হইয়াছে। তন্মধ্যে বিচারে ১১টী মুসলমান এবং ৩টী হিন্দুর প্রত্যেককে ২০৲ (বিশ টাকা) হইতে ৩০৲ (তিরিশ টাকা) পর্য্যন্ত জরিমানা করা হইয়াছে। বাকী মোকদ্দমাগুলি বিচারাধীন আছে এবং তন্মধ্যে ৫টী মুসলমানের বিরুদ্ধে।

এই প্রসঙ্গে ইহা উল্লেখ করা যাইতে পারে যে এই প্রকার উপদ্রব দমনের জন্য সরকার উপযুক্ত অতিরিক্ত আইনগত ক্ষমতা লইবার কি ব্যবস্থা হইতে পারে তাহা বিবেচনা করিতেছেন।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয় বলবেন কি—এই যে উত্তর দিয়েছেন "কেবল পাথরঘাটা ইউনিয়ন হতে কতিপয় মুসলমানের স্বাক্ষরিত অভিযোগ পাওয়া গিয়েছে" এই অভিযোগ সম্পর্কে তদন্ত করা হয়েছিল কি?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Notice চাই।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: তদন্ত হয়েছিল কিনা এ অতি সাধারণ প্রশ্ন, এতে আবার noticeএর কি দরকার? মাননীয় পার্লামেণ্টারী Secretary জানাবেন কি এই যে তিনি বলেছেন "থানার ভারপ্রাপ্ত কর্মচারীকে সময়ে সময়ে অতর্কিতভাবে মাঠে ছাড়া গরু ও মহিষ চড়াও করিয়া মালিক নিরূপণ-করতঃ Cattle Trespass Actর বিধানানুসারে মোকদ্দমা দায়ের করিবার জন্য নির্দ্দেশ দেওয়া হইয়াছে" আমার প্রশ্নের মধ্যে আছে যে "স্থানীয় গোয়ালারা গরু-মহিষ ছাড়িয়া মাঠের ফসল নষ্ট করিয়া থাকে" এবং এই নিয়ে যখন মারামারি লাগে তখন দারোগারা কি ভাবে সাহায্য করতে পারে জানাবেন কি?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: তা বিবেচনা করা হচ্ছে।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আমার প্রশ্ন কিরকম ভাবে সাহায্য করতে পারে, এতে বিবেচনার কি আছে? (Laughter.) যে রকম বিবেচনা হচ্ছে সেই আইন কবে আসবে?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: ঠিক বলা যায় না তবে যত শীঘ্র হয় তা আসবে।

"Lok Seba Sibir" at Bara Andulia in Nadia district

*26. **Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI:** (ক) মাননীয় স্বরাষ্ট্র সচিব মহাশয় জানাইবেন কি—

(১) যে নদীয়া জেলার অন্তর্গত চাপড়া থানায় ১নং হাতীশালা ইউনিয়নের বড় আন্দুলিয়া গ্রামে "লোকসেবা শিবির" নামক কোন প্রতিষ্ঠান স্থাপিত হইয়াছে কি না;

(২) হইয়া থাকিলে ঐ প্রতিষ্ঠানের উদ্যোক্তা কে বা কাহারা;

(৩) ঐ প্রতিষ্ঠানের উদ্দেশ্য;

(৪) স্থানীয় জনসাধারণের নিকট হইতে কোন সাহায্য প্রতিষ্ঠান গঠনে পাওয়া গিয়াছে কি না; এবং

(৫) পাওয়া গিয়া থাকিলে ঐ সাহায্যের কত অংশ স্থানীয় জনসাধারণের নিকট হইতে পাওয়া গিয়াছে?

(খ) মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অবগত আছেন কি—

(১) ঐ শিবিরে আগুন লাগিয়াছিল; এবং

(২) ঐ প্রতিষ্ঠানের কতকগুলি কর্ম্মীকে গ্রেপ্তার ও ফৌজদারীতে সোপর্দ্দ করা হইয়াছিল?

(গ) যদি (খ) প্রশ্নের উত্তর হ্যাঁ হয়, তাহা হইলে মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় জানাইবেন কি—

(১) অগ্নিকান্ডের জন্য দায়ী কে;

(২) এরূপ অভিযুক্ত ব্যক্তিগণের মধ্যে কতগুলি মুসলমান সম্প্রদায় ভুক্ত;

(৩) স্থানীয় সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে ত্রাসের কারণ হইয়াছে কি না;

(৪) এই সম্পর্কে স্থানীয় ইউনিয়ন বোর্ডের প্রেসিডেন্টের নিকট হইতে এবং সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের নিকট হইতে নদীয়া জিলা ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেট্ কোন আবেদন পাইয়াছেন কি না; এবং

(৫) ঐ গ্রেপ্তার ও ফৌজদারী সোপর্দ্দের পশ্চাতে স্থানীয় কোন লোকের ষড়যন্ত্র আছে এবং পুলিশ ঐ ব্যাপারে সহযোগিতা করিয়াছে বলিয়া কোন অভিযোগ সরকার পাইয়াছেন কি না?

(ঘ) যদি (গ) প্রশ্নের (৩) ও (৪)এর উত্তর হ্যাঁ হয় তাহা হইলে সরকার এ বিষয় কি ব্যবস্থা করিবার কথা বিবেচনা করিয়াছেন?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: (ক) (১) হ্যাঁ, হইয়াছে।

(২) যতদূর জানা যায় শ্রীযুক্ত বিজয় লাল চট্টোপাধ্যায় মহাশয়।

(৩) উদ্দেশ্য লোকসেবা বলিয়া কথিত হইয়াছে।

(৪) হ্যাঁ।

(৫) স্থানীয় নহরালী মণ্ডল জন-সেবার জন্য দুই বিঘা জমি দান করিয়াছেন।

(খ) (১) হ্যাঁ, লাগিয়াছিল।

(২) প্রতিষ্ঠানের কোন কর্ম্মীকেই গ্রেপ্তার বা ফৌজদারীতে সোপর্দ্দ করা হয় নাই।

(গ) (১) জানা নাই।

(২) কোন ব্যক্তিকেই অভিযুক্ত করা হয় নাই।

(৩) এরূপ কিছু বুঝা যায় নাই।

(৪) কোন আবেদন পাওয়া যায় নাই।

(৫) ঐ ব্যাপারের পশ্চাতে স্থানীয় কতিপয় লোক ছিল এবং ইহাতে থানার ভারপ্রাপ্ত কর্ম্মচারীর সহায়তা ছিল বলিয়া অভিযোগ পাওয়া গিয়াছিল। এই অভিযোগ সম্পর্কে যথাবিহিত তদন্তও করা হইয়াছে।

(ঘ) এ প্রশ্ন উঠে না।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: ৫নং প্রশ্নের উত্তর সম্পর্কে মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয় এই যে বলেছেন "ঐ ব্যাপারের পশ্চাতে স্থানীয় কতিপয় লোক ছিল এবং ইহাতে থানার ভারপ্রাপ্ত কর্মচারীর সহায়তা ছিল বলিয়া অভিযোগ পাওয়া গিয়াছিল। এই অভিযোগ সম্পর্কে যথাবিহিত তদন্তও করা হইয়াছে" সেই তদন্তের ফল কি হয়েছে জানাবেন কি?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: আর একবার প্রশ্নটা বলেন ত।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: এই যে আপনি বলছেন "এই অভিযোগ সম্পর্কে যথাবিহিত তদন্ত করা হইয়াছে।" এই সম্পর্কে তদন্ত করে কি পাওয়া গিয়েছে?

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Notice দিলে জানাবো।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আমার প্রশ্নের ভিতরেই essential জিনিষ আছে। এই সম্পর্কে এত notice দিতে হলে—এই রকম কোন প্রশ্নের উত্তর পেতে হলে Assemblyর Session পার হয়ে যাবে।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I cannot compel the Parliamentary Secretary to answer in a particular way; I can only request him to answer the question. If he wants notice to your question, I am helpless.

Requisition of lands and buildings at Behala, 24-Parganas

***27. Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Land and Land Revenue Department be pleased to state if it is a fact—

(*i*) that some homestead lands and buildings were requisitioned at Behala, 24-Parganas (Alipore airfield), for military purposes in 1941-42;

(*ii*) that requisition was made with definite understanding that the properties would be restored within 6 months from the date of termination of the war; and

(*iii*) that it has since been notified by Government that those lands and buildings will be acquired permanently by the Land Acquisition Department?

(*b*) If the reply to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of persons who have become homeless;

(*ii*) if any representation was made by the local people praying for restoration of their lands and buildings; and

(*iii*) whether any compensation was paid to the persons affected?

(*c*) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of restoring the lands and buildings to the respective owners immediately?

MINISTER in charge of the LAND and LAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra Sinha): (*a*)(*i*) and (*ii*) and (*b*)(*ii*) Yes.

(*iii*) Some portions of the lands with the buildings thereon have since been acquired for the Central Government in accordance with the statutory provision of rule 75A(*2*) of the Defence of India Rules.

(*b*) (*i*) Eight families.

(*iii*) Yes, partly.

(*c*) This does not arise as there is no land or building left to be restored.

Village Kadihati on the eastern side of Dum Dum Air Port

***28. Janab SERAJUDDIN AHAMMAD:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Land and Land Revenue Department be pleased to state if it is a fact that the village Kadihati on the eastern side of Dum Dum Air Port was requisitioned for military purposes?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the population of the village;

(ii) the number of—

(1) dwelling houses—

(A) pucca, and

(B) otherwise,

(2) schools—

(A) high English,

(B) primary,

(C) lower primary, and

(D) girls', and

(3) charitable dispensaries within the said village;

(*iii*) the length of road of the village—

(1) metalled, and

(2) unmetalled;

(*iv*) total area of the village; and

(*v*) the road distance of the village from—

(1) the nearest railway station, and

(2) bus route No. 30 by Jessore Road at the time of requisition?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that a major part of the said village has been derequisitioned?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether there is any passage of entry in the said village;

(*ii*) the present road distance of the village from—

(1) the nearest railway station, and

(2) Jessore Road;

(*iii*) whether the people of the said village have not yet repatriated due to want of road entry; and

(*iv*) whether representations were made by the people of the village for a road?

(*e*) If the reply to (*d*)(*iii*) and (*iv*) is in the affirmative, do the Government consider the desirability of—

(*i*) constructing a road from Jessore Road to the said village; or

(*ii*) permanently acquiring the whole village?

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: (*a*) Yes.

(*b*)(*i*) 500 approximately before the war.

(*ii*)(1)(A) 300.

(B) 200 (*kutcha*).

(2)(A) One.

(B) Upper primary—One.

(C) and (D) Nil.

(3) One.

(*iii*)(1) 5 roads—2 miles in length.

(2) 2 roads—½ mile in length.

(*iv*) 289·88 acres.

(v)(1) Two miles from Narainpur colony, the nearest railway station.

(2) One mile from Jessore Road.

(c) Yes.

(d)(i) Yes (village pathway).

(ii)(1) Two miles from Narainpur colony railway station.

(2) About 2½ miles from Jessore Road.

(iii) Majority of the people are trying to repatriate without road entry.

(iv) Yes.

(e)(i) It has been decided to improve the existing Gopalpur-Kaikhali Road passing through the area to link up Sir Ramesh Mitter Road with the Jessore Road at Dum Dum. The work of improvement will be carried out by the Government of India at their own cost through the Central Public Works Department.

(ii) No.

Evacuation of villages at Panagarh, Burdwan, as a result of an explosion in the ammunition dump at Panagarh

***29. Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Land and Land Revenue Department be pleased to state if it is a fact—

(i) that as a result of an explosion at the ammunition dump at Panagarh, Burdwan, on 2nd November, 1945, the villagers of Sandhipur, Tatarbandh and Goghra were asked to vacate their homes and lands at a short notice;

(ii) that they were assured by the District Magistrate, Burdwan, of proper compensation for damage to their lands and houses;

(iii) that they have been ordered after two months to come back; and

(iv) that no compensation was paid to them?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, do the Government consider the desirability of prompt payment of the compensation mentioned in (a)(ii)?

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: (a)(i) Yes, for the safety of the villagers themselves.

(ii) Yes.

(iii) When the danger passed away, the order of evacuation was withdrawn and the people were allowed to return in about two months' time.

(iv) This is not correct. A sum of Rs. 55,862-13 as. was already paid and Rs. 11,936-2 as. is expected to be paid very shortly to the villagers of Sandhipur, Tatarbandh and Goghra.

(b) Does not arise.

GOVERNMENT BILLS.

The Bengal (Rural) Primary Education (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I beg to introduce the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

Sir, in requesting the House to take the Bill into consideration, I desire to point out that the Bill proposes to amend two sections only of the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act, 1930, viz., sections 34 and 56. Sir, it is well known that the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act, 1930, provides for the levy of an education cess and an education tax. The education cess is leviable on profits from land, and education tax on trade business and profession. Now, Sir, the education cess demand in the eleven districts of West Bengal excluding Midnapore and Darjeeling comes up to a total of nearly forty lakhs, and with the extension of the Act to Midnapore and Darjeeling, the education cess may go up to, say, Rs. 45 lakhs or 50 lakhs. But the education tax which is levied on trade and profession yields only near about Rs. 2 lakhs. That is because the word "profession" has been interpreted not to include any vocation, calling or employment. When the Primary Education Act of 1930 was passed, it was thought that the word "profession" would include any employment, calling or vocation, but, subsequently doubt was thrown on such a wide interpretation of the word "profession", and, therefore, it is necessary to amend section 34 so that the tax may be levied not only on profession in the strictest sense of the term but also on employment and calling. Sir, in a similar section of the Government of India Act, 1935—I mean section 142(*A*)—the words "calling" and "employment" appear. So also in section 276 of the new Constitution the words "calling" and "employment" appear. We, therefore, intend to bring this section under which tax is imposed on trade and profession into a line with the similar section of the Constitution Act.

Not only that, Sir, but in the realisation of the tax some difficulties are felt. The tax is assessed after the union rate assessment list has been prepared by the Board. Now, the section provides that the tax will be realised as if it were chaukidari or union rate. Now, under section 16 the chaukidari or union rate has got to be realised within a year from the time when it becomes due, otherwise it becomes time-barred. So, a large portion of the education tax is time-barred because after the assessment of the union rate the education cess is assessed and before the end of the year the whole of the education tax, as assessed, cannot be realised. The relevant sub-section that the arrear of the tax should be realised as if it were chaukidari or union rate is therefore going to be amended by adding a proviso that the tax may be realised within three years from the time when it becomes due. These are the amendments that are going to be made to section 34 of the Act.

As regards section 56—the section which provides for the introduction of compulsory primary education—it runs as follows: "If the Provincial Government, after consulting the Board concerned, is satisfied that there is adequate provision for primary education in any area for which a Union Committee or Panchayat has been constituted, it may by notification declare that primary education shall be compulsory within such area." That is, even if a part of a union board area and not the whole area under a Union Committee be well provided with primary schools, even in respect of that part, compulsion cannot be introduced or notification introducing compulsion cannot be promulgated. But there are areas in Bengal comprised within a union board which are well provided with primary schools and where compulsion may easily be introduced but cannot be introduced because the area does not coincide with the whole area under a union board. We are, therefore, going to amend this section—I mean section 56—just to provide for the promulgation of the notification under section 56 in respect of a smaller area than a union board area. If we can do that, it will be possible for us to introduce compulsory primary education

in those areas where there is a sufficient number of primary schools. It is to facilitate the introduction of compulsory primary education that this amendment is going to be made to section 56. This is all that I have to say in support of my proposals to amend the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act.

The motion of the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Amending) Bill, 1950, will not be taken up just now.

The Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) Amendment Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to introduce the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) Amendment Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to move that the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) Amendment Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

Sir, the Corporation of Calcutta was at first superseded for a year up to 31st March, 1949, under the provisions of the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) Act, 1948, which was originally to be in force up to 31st March, 1949. Almost simultaneously a Commission, namely, the Corporation of Calcutta Investigation Commission was set up to investigate into the affairs of the Corporation and recommend steps to be taken including changes in the Constitution for improvement in its administration. It was considered desirable that election to the Corporation for its reconstitution should take place after necessary changes in the Constitution including extension of franchise have been effected so as to ensure return of the right type of persons for its proper functioning. Government awaited the recommendations of the Commission in this respect. When it was realised that the recommendations of the Commission with regard to the Constitution of the Corporation would not be received in time for the desired reconstitution of the Corporation by 31st

March, 1949, the Act was amended by an amending Act (Act VI of 1949) to extend its life up to 31st March, 1950, on the expectation that elections for reconstitution of the Corporation by that date would be possible after effecting desired changes in the Constitution. Unfortunately the expectation has not been realised. The recommendations of the Commission were received in June, 1949. Opinions of public bodies interested in the administration of the Corporation were then called for. After consideration of the recommendations of the Commission and the opinions received Government propose to introduce a change in the Constitution of the Corporation and extend the franchise. This will require amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923, and it is proposed to introduce a Bill in the current session of Assembly for the purpose.

It takes about 7 or 8 months to complete the elections, from the time the preparation of rolls is taken up. It is therefore proposed to extend the life of the Act till 31st December, 1950, to allow holding of elections for the reconstitution of the Corporation.

The provision in the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) Act, 1948, that property vested in the Corporation shall, during the period of supersession, vest in His Majesty for the purpose of the province, has given rise to difficulties in the matter of filing of suits by or against the Corporation as the provision requires Government being made a party in every such suit. Accordingly on the advice of the Advocate-General, provisions have been made in the Bill for deletion of the said provision in the Act and for making an explicit provision that suits, prosecutions, etc., shall be instituted, defended or continued in the name of the Corporation.

The motion of the Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath Panja that the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) Amendment Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

The question that clause 4 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to move that the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) Amendment Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The West Bengal Land Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1949.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, I beg to present the report of the Select Committee on the West Bengal Land Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1949.

Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Land Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1949, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration.

Sir, you will remember that in the last session of this Assembly this Bill was introduced to afford protection to those tenure-holders who were being evicted because of the harsh operation of the provisions of the West Bengal Revenue Sale Law. It was felt that in many cases there were no *bona fide* land revenue sales and at least in certain districts of West Bengal efforts were being made to oust the tenure-holders by collusive revenue sales, so that the tenures might be leased afresh. It was also felt that because of certain judicial decisions the original meaning of the tenant was much more restricted than perhaps desirable. So it was deemed necessary to bring in this amending Bill. The Bill was referred to the Select Committee and an assurance was given to the House that for the purpose of pending suits and pending evictions, there will be an Ordinance which will stop all those pending evictions. Sir, in pursuance of that assurance an Ordinance was promulgated by the Government and that Ordinance has been laid before this Assembly. Now, the Select Committee considered this Bill and has reported on it. Sir, the Select Committee has made several changes as has been pointed out in its report. One of the main considerations of the Select Committee was that there might be collusive settlement of tenures, so that Government revenue might be jeopardised. It was essential to put in some safeguard against this possible jeopardy to the Government revenue and, therefore, clause 2 has been recast for that purpose. It has been laid down by the Select Committee that wherever a tenure has been settled at a low rent, that rent can be assessed and re-assessed and brought up to a fair rent. Now what should be taken as low rent? The Select Committee has said that any rent which is lower than what has been entered in any record-of-rights prepared and finally published under Chapter X of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885, before the commencement of the Bengal Land Revenue Sales (West Bengal Amendment) Act, 1949, shall be presumed to be a low rent; or, in other words, where the rent will be found to be much lower than the settled rent in the neighbouring area, that will be presumed to be a "low rent". There have been certain other alterations in other clauses also, but they are mostly formal and consequential.

These are the main points considered by the Select Committee and now it has been sent to the House by the Select Committee and I hope, Sir, it will be passed without any division of opinion.

The motion of the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra Sinha that the West Bengal Land Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1949, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, with your permission I beg to move a short-notice amendment which is informed and consequential, namely:—

> In clause 1(*1*), in line 2, for the figures "1949" the figures "1950" be substituted.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: I accept the amendment.

The motion of Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee that in clause 1(*1*) for the figure "1949" the figure "1950" be substituted was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 1, as amended, do stand part of the Bill then put and agreed to.

Clause 1A.

The question that clause 1A do stand part of the Bill was then pu and agreed to.

Clause 1B.

The question that clause 1B do stand part of the Bill was then pu and agreed to.

Clause 2.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, with your permission I beg to move a short-notice amendment which is formal and consequential namely:—

In clause 2, in proposed sub-section (2) of section 37, in paragraph (b) line 6, for the figures "1949" the figures "1950" be substituted

The motion was put and agreed to.

The question that clause 2, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

The question that clause 4 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill was then and agreed to.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Land Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Bengal Medical (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to introduce the Bengal Medical (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Medical (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

Sir, under the Bengal Medical Act, 1914, any registered practioner, whether he is a citizen of India or not, or whether he resides or carries on his profession in India or not, might stand as a candidate and vote in an election to the West Bengal Council of Medical Registration. But in consequence of the partition of Bengal, complications arose regarding such election, as many registered practitioners are residents outside the Indian

Union. By the Bengal Medical (West Bengal Amendment) Ordinance, 1950, the Bnegal Medical Act, 1914, was amended to the effect that only a citizen of India who carried on his profession or resided or was employed in West Bengal, would be entitled to stand as a candidate or vote in an election to the Council. It is now proposed to pass an Act incorporating the provision of that Ordinance. The term of office of the members of the West Bengal Council of Medical Registration which was constituted after the partition of Bengal expired on the 30th September, 1949. The term was extended up to the 31st March, 1950, by the West Bengal Council of Mdical Registration (Extension of Term of Office of Members) Ordinance, 1949. As the preparation of the electoral roll under the amended provision of the Act and the holding of an election will take some time, it would not be possible to complete the election before the 31st March, 1950. It is, therefore, proposed to extend the term of office of the existing members of the Council up to the date on which the West Bengal Council of Medical Registration formed under the amended Act enters upon office.

Sir, this is the reason why this Bill is introduced in the Assembly.

The motion of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy that the Bengal Medical (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

The question that clause 4 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to move that the Bengal Medical (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 4-23 p.m. till 3-30 p.m. on Tuesday, the 14th February, 1950, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 14th February, 1950, at 3-30 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 53 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Financial sanction in respect of purchases not provided for in the Budget

***21. Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Finance Department be pleased to state whether the previous sanction of the Finance Department is necessary for any purchases to be made by any department which are not provided for under contingencies in the Budget allotment?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether there has been any deviation from this rule since January, 1948; and

(*ii*) the particular cases where there has been such deviation, if there has been any?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY on behalf of the Minister-in-charge of the Finance Department (the Hon'ble Nalini Ranjan Sarker): (*a*) For any purchase not provided for in the Budget, the previous sanction of the Finance Department is necessary except in the following cases:—

(*i*) when the expenditure does not exceed Rs. 200 on any one item;

(*ii*) it is not on account of item of Contract Contingencies;

(*iii*) it does not involve any debit against the Budget of the ensuing year;

(*iv*) the expenditure can be met by reappropriation from a lump provision for charges of the same nature; and

(*v*) there is nothing novel, doubtful or irregular in the character of the charge.

(*b*) (*i*) Government are not aware of any case of deviation from the rule since January, 1948.

(*ii*) Does not arise.

Allowances drawn by the Hon'ble Ministers and the Parliamentary Secretaries

***22. Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Finance Department be pleased to state what amounts other than their salaries the Hon'ble Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries have individually drawn up to 31st December, 1948, by way of travelling and other allowances?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY (on behalf of the Hon'ble Nalini Ranjan Sarker): A statement is laid on the Table.

Statement referred to in reply to starred question No 22, showing travelling and other allowances drawn up to 31st December, 1948, by the Hon'ble Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries

	Period to which the charges relate.	Travelling allowance.	Motor car allowance.	Sumptuary allowance.	Total.
HON'BLE MINISTERS.		Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
1. The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy ..	23-1-48 to 31-12-48 ..	10,311 8	2,822 9	5,645 2	18,779 3
2. The Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarker ..	Ditto ..	1,594 4	2,822 9	2,822 9	7,239 6
3. The Hon'ble Sri Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri	Ditto ..	80 0	2,822 9	2,822 9	5,725 2
4. The Hon'ble Sri Bimal Chandra Sinha ..	Ditto ..	2,265 4	2,822 9	2,822 9	7,910 6
5. The Hon'ble Sri Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar ..	Ditto ..	3,519 14	2,822 9	2,822 9	9,165 0
6. The Hon'ble Sri Kalipada Mukherjee ..	Ditto ..	2,787 7	(a)822 9	2,822 9	6,432 9
7. The late Hon'ble Mohini Mohan Barman ..	23-1-48 to 6-5-48 and again from 29-6-48 to 31-12-48.	484 9	2,387 10	2,387 10	5,259 13
8. The Hon'ble Sri Hem Chandra Naskar ..	Ditto ..	2,447 8	2,387 10	2,387 10	7,222 12
9. The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati Majumdar ..	23-1-48 to 6-5-48 and again from 12-5-48 to 31-12-48.	3,966 0	(b)322 9	2,782 4	7,070 13
10. The Hon'ble Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen ..	23-1-48 to 31-12-48 ..	2,414 10	2,822 9	2,822 9	8,059 12
11. The Hon'ble Sri Nikunja Behari Maity ..	Ditto	690 0	(c)822 9	2,822 9	4,335 2
12. The Hon'ble Sri Jadabendra Nath Panja ..	Ditto	2,955 12	2,822 9	2,822 9	8,600 14
13. The late Hon'ble Kiran Sankar Roy ..	5-3-48 to 31-12-48 ..	454 14	(d) ..	2,467 12	2,922 10

(a) No motor car allowance was drawn in March, 1948, and from June to December, 1948, as the Hon'ble Minister used a pool car during such period.

(b) No motor car allowance was drawn from March to December, 1948, as the Hon'ble Minister used a pool car during such period.

(c) No motor car allowance was drawn from February to September, 1948, as the Hon'ble Minister used a pool car during such period.

(d) No motor car allowance was drawn as the Hon'ble Minister was provided with a pool car.

	Period to which the charges relate.	Travelling allowance.	Motor car allowance.	Sumptuary allowance.	Total.
		Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARIES.					
1. Sri Dhirendra Narayan Mukherjee, Chief Government Whip.	17-6-48 to 31-12-48 ..	..	..	..	..
2. Sri Banku Behari Mondal	23-1-48 to 6-5-48 and again from 1-8-48 to 31-12-48.	841 10	..	..	841 10
3. Sri Krishna Prasad Mondal	Ditto ..	568 12	..	..	568 12
4. Sri Rajani Kanto Pramanik	19-3-48 to 31-12-48 ..	1,036 12	..	..	1,036 12
5. Sri Kanai Lal Das	13-3-48 to 31-12-48 ..	607 6	..	..	607 6
6. Sri Nishapati Majhi	19-3-48 to 31-12-48 ..	1,120 7	..	..	1,120 7
7. Sri Susil Kumar Banerji ..	23-1-48 to 31-12-48 ..	233 14	..	..	233 14
8. Sri Harendra Nath Doloi	31-5-48 to 31-12-48 ..	171 0	..	..	171 0
9. Sri Ardhendu Sekhar Naskar	23-1-48 to 6-5-48 ..	40 0	..	..	40 0

D. I. Fund hats in the Siliguri subdivision of Darjeeling district

*30. (SHORT NOTICE.) **Sj. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state whether ejectment orders have been served on some stall-holders of the Government D. I. Fund *hats* in the Siliguri subdivision by the *tahasildar* requiring them to vacate their respective stalls within 24 hours from the service of notice?

(*b*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons thereof?

(*c*) Is it a fact that there has been an increase in the rates of assessments on shops and stalls in the Government D. I. Fund *hats* in the Siliguri subdivision for daily toll from 10 pice to one rupee and for monthly toll from Rs.26 to Rs.180?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the rates of rent assessments, daily and monthly, for stalls in D. I. Fund *hats* for the years 1947, 1948 and 1949?

(*e*) If the answers to (*a*) and (*c*) be in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps he proposes to take in the matter?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra Sinha): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) The stall-holders committed a breach of the terms of the agreement executed by them by constructing permanent structures instead of temporary ones and by keeping them in an insanitary condition. It was decided to serve five stall-holders with notices to vacate their stalls within a week but the assistant *tahsildar* through oversight, served them with notices to remove their stalls within 24 hours. The assistant *tahasildar* concerned has been severely warned for this by the Deputy Commissioner and Administrator of Darjeeling Improvement Fund.

(*c*) No increase in the rate of monthly toll has been effected. But in the case of cloth stalls only the rate of daily toll has been increased from 10 pice to Re.1. This increase is due to two factors, viz., (*i*) the increase in the tolls of special class, and (*ii*) the raising of these stalls from class I to special class.

(*d*) A statement is laid on the Table.

(*e*) The cloth stalls have since been brought back from "special class" to "class I" under the sanction of the Divisional Commissioner and the scale of toll has now actually been increased from 10 pice to 4 annas only.

Statement referred to in reply to clause (d) of starred question No. 30.

D. I. FUND TOLLS SANCTIONED FROM TIME TO TIME BY COMMISSIONER, JALPAIGURI.

Stalls.	Toll on daily rate sanctioned, *vide* No. 3122M., dated 23rd November, 1942, prevailing in 1946.	25 per cent. increased, *vide* No. 202M., dated 30th December, 1947.	Present rate sanctioned, *vide* No. 1206R., dated 18th December, 1948.	Sanctioned, *vide* No. 3122M., dated 23rd November, 1942, prevailing in 1946.	25 per cent. increased, *vide* No. 202M., dated 30th December, 1947.	Present rate, sanctioned, *vide* No. 1206R., dated 19th December, 1948.	
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Per cent.
Special Class	0 6 0	0 7 6	1 0 0	0 3 0	0 3 9	0 8 0	
Class I	0 2 0	0 2 6	0 4 0	0 1 0	0 1 3	0 2 0	100
Class II	0 1 0	0 1 3	0 1 6	0 0 6	0 0 7½ say 9 pies.	0 0 9	50
Class III	0 0 6	0 0 7½ say 9 pies.	0 0 9	0 0 3	0 0 3¾ say 3 pies.	0 0 4½ say 6 pies.	50

RATES FOR SEASON TICKETS TO BE PAID BY STALL-HOLDERS FOR HATS SITTING TWICE IN THE WEEK (MAJOR HATS).

	Original rate.			25 per cent. increased rate.			Present rate.			
	Three months.	Six months.	One year.	Three months.	Six months.	One year.	Three months.	Six months.	One year.	
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Per cent.
Class I	3 2 0	6 3 0	11 12 0	3 14 6	7 11 9	14 11 0	6 4 0	12 6 0	23 8 0	100
Class II	1 9 0	3 2 0	5 14 0	1 15 3	3 14 6	7 5 6	2 5 6	4 11 0	8 13 0	50
Class III	0 0 0	1 9 0	3 0 0	0 0 0	1 15 3	3 12 0	0 0 0	2 5 6	4 8 0	50

RATES FOR SEASON TICKETS TO BE PAID BY STALL-HOLDERS FOR HATS SITTING ONCE A WEEK (MAJOR HATS).

Class I.	1 9 0	3 2 0	5 14 0	1 15 3	3 14 6	7 5 6	3 2 0	6 4 0	11 12 0	..
Class II	0 13 0	1 9 0	3 0 0	1 0 0	1 15 3	3 12 0	1 3 6	2 5 6	4 8 0	50
Class III	0 0 0	0 13 0	1 8 0	0 0 0	1 0 0	1 14 0	0 0 0	1 3 6	2 4 0	50

(1) Cloth stalls have been included in special class and a daily toll of 10 pice has been increased to Re.1.

(2) No monthly rate of tolls has been fixed for stalls.

Sj. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: D. I. Fund sanctioned from time to timeএর statement—এই যেটা দেয়া হয়েছে, তাতে দেখতে পাচ্ছি class Iএ 1946এ toll ছিল ৶০ আনা; সেখানে করা হয়েছে ৷৷০ আনা। এটা কি খুব বেশী হয় নাই?

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Which class is the honourable member referring to?

Sj. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Special class. Class IIতে এক আনা ছিল সেখানে ছ'পয়সা করা হয়েছে এটা না হয় মানলেম কিন্তু যেখানে ৶০ আনা ছিল সেটা ৷৷০ আনা করা হয়েছে কি হিসাবে?

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: In terms of percentage the amount may seem to be very high, but in terms of actual payment it is not very high.

Sj. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয় কি বলতে চান যে, তিন আনার জায়গায় আট আনা দেয়াটা কিছুই বেশী হয় না?

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: But the special class shops deal with special types of things and their income is supposed to be greater than the income of other categories and, moreover, the sum, absolutely speaking, is not very high—it is only 8 annas per day.

Sj. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: "C"তে যে বলা হয়েছে—No increase in the rate of monthly toll has been effected—এটা কোন অর্থে বলা হয়েছে? পর পৃষ্ঠায় যে statement দেওয়া হয়েছে—original rate যেখানে ১৶০ ছিল, তিন মাসের জন্য সেটার present rate হচ্ছে ৬৷০ class Iএ। এই rate for season tickets কি করে এতটা বেড়ে গেল!

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: This is not for monthly tolls. These are for different categories—these are for season tickets.

Allegations against the Public Prosecutor, Alipore, in the case Emperor versus Wasil Khan and others

***31. Janab ABUL HASHEM:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) the name of the present Public Prosecutor, Alipore;

(*ii*) if an enquiry was made into the conduct of Government officials and Crown lawyers by the Enforcement Branch in connection with the case Emperor *versus* Wasil Khan and others which was tried at Barrackpore; and

(*iii*) if so, whether the conduct of the present Public Prosecutor was enquired into by the Enforcement Branch?

(*b*) If the reply to (*a*) (*ii*) and (*iii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the remarks, if any, made by the Enforcement Branch about the conduct of the present Public Prosecutor, Alipore, in their *interim* report of the enquiry; and

(*ii*) whether the said report was submitted before the appointment of the present Public Prosecutor, Alipore?

MINISTER in charge of the JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri): (*a*)(*i*) Sri B. C. Nag.

(*ii*) Yes.

(*iii*) There was no enquiry into the conduct of the present Public Prosecutor but in course of the enquiry into the conduct of the then Public Prosecutor an Inspector of the Enforcement Branch made some remarks.

(*b*) (*i*) The remark was that the present Public Prosecutor recommended that one accused should be made an approver and that the recommendation would make one believe that he had acted on somebody's request. He has made it clear that he meant no reflection on the Public Prosecutor but wanted to convey that the Public Prosecutor might have been misled by the investigating officer.

(*ii*) The above report was submitted to the Anti-Corruption Officer and it was not before Government. The Anti-Corruption Officer made no comments on the present Public Prosecutor's conduct. It appears that what the present Public Prosecutor actually said was that the authorities might in their discretion deal with a particular accused as they thought best as his evidence might be necessary to prove the whole conspiracy.

Traffic Jamming on Howrah Bridge and Howrah Bridge Junction, East

***32. SJ. RADHA NATH DAS:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Police) Department be pleased to state if it is a fact that there is frequent traffic jamming on the Howrah Bridge and at the Howrah Bridge Junction, East?

(*b*) If the reply to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of occasions per day of—

(A) partial jamming, and

(B) total jamming; and

(*ii*) the reasons for such jamming?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether licenses for passing of processions in connection with social or religious ceremonies are issued on the Howrah Bridge or at the Howrah Bridge Junction, East;

(*ii*) whether parking of vehicles is allowed on Strand Road near the Bridge Junction;

(*iii*) whether there is any restriction on the movements of hand-carts, hawkers' carts and bullock carts on the said two roads at the junction;

(*iv*) the reason why the order for one-way movement of traffic on Harrison Road which was in force in the past, has been relaxed; and

(*v*) whether there is any instruction on the traffic police to compel the bus or motor drivers to fall in line and not to encroach upon the tract of vehicles moving in the other direction?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the desirability of improving the traffic conditions on the Howrah Bridge?

MINISTER in charge of the HOME DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY): (*a*) Traffic jams do occur there.

(*b*) (*i*) (A) Daily between 12-30 p.m. and 6 p.m. due to heavy rush on the road, traffic in this area is greatly slowed down. It is not possible to give the number of occasions of such slowing down.

(B) Number cannot be definitely stated as no record has been kept.

(*ii*) Strand Road and Howrah Bridge, East, are the only connecting link with all parts of the city from Howrah and beyond. Due to breakdown of lorries and carts on the road and during festivals when offices are closed generally heavy traffic congestion takes place in this area and as a result total jamming sometimes occurs.

(c) (i) Licenses for processions in connection with religious and social ceremonies are issued.

(ii) Parking of vehicles at Strand Road and Harrison Road near the Bridge Junction in the immediate vicinity of the approach is not allowed but on account of the presence of the Katra on the north of Harrison Road, and of a number of shops to the south of the Bridge approach total prohibition of parking cannot be enforced in the interest of business.

(*iii*) No, because most of the merchants and businessmen use these types of vehicles for carrying their goods from shops to Howrah Station and *vice versa.*

(*iv*) The "one-way" scheme for the Barabazar area was withdrawn on 10th October, 1945, on representations from the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Bengal Bus Syndicate and some merchants of Harrison Road. The system has, however, been recently reintroduced.

(*v*) Yes.

(*d*) A sub-committee has already been appointed by the Traffic Advisory Board to devise some means for improvement of traffic conditions in this area.

Implementation of the provisions of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, in the State

***33. Sj. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Labour Department be pleased to state whether arrangements have been made to give effect to the provisions of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, in Bengal?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) be in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps does the Government intend to take in the matter?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any progress has been made in giving effect to the Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948?

MINISTER in charge of the LABOUR DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Kalipada Mookerjee): (*a*) Family budget enquiries have been started in rice mills for preparing cost of living index applicable to workers in rice mills. Similar enquiries in respect of family budgets of workers of other scheduled occupations will follow. Steps have been taken to set up committees to advise Government in fixing minimum wages of the employments mentioned in the Schedule to the Minimum Wages Act, as laid down in clause (*a*) of sub-section (*1*) of section 5 of the Act.

(*b*) Does not arise.

(*c*) The following chapters of the Employees' State Insurance Act have been enforced:—

Chapter I—Preliminary.

Chapter II—Corporation, Standing Committee and Medical Benefit Council.

Chapter III—Finance and Audit.

Chapter VIII—Miscellaneous.

Employees' State Insurance Corporation, its Standing Committee and Medical Benefit Council have been constituted. The draft rules have been framed and are under consideration before publication.

A survey of the medical benefit to be provided under the Act is in progress and will shortly be completed. On receipt of that report, the medical facilities to be provided will be considered by the Corporation. The Corporation propose to set up the Regional Committee also before long.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুগ্রহ করে বলবেন কি বাংলার বিভিন্ন জেলায় কল-মুজিকদের অতিরিক্ত বাজেট সম্বন্ধে অনুসন্ধান কবে থেকে আরম্ভ হয়েছে?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: অনুসন্ধানের কাজ চলেছে, ঠিক কবে থেকে আরম্ভ হয়েছে বলতে পারব না। বলতে হলে notice চাই।

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলবেন কি কোথায় অনুসন্ধানের কাজ কতদুর অগ্রসর হয়েছে?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: সেগুলি শীঘ্রই রিপোর্টে প্রকাশিত হবে।

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুগ্রহ করে বলবেন কি কোন এলেকার চাল করলে এ সম্বন্ধে অনুসন্ধান চলছে?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: নানান জায়গায় অনুসন্ধান চলেছে, particularly কোন্ areaয়, বলা সম্ভব নয়।

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুগ্রহ করে বলবেন কি টালিগঞ্জ এলেকায় অনুসন্ধান চলছে কি না?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: সে সম্বন্ধে এখন বলতে পারব না। Notice চাই।

Sj. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় জানেন কি Tea Associationএর Unionগুলির family budget enquiry complete হয়েছে?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Family budget এখনো প্রকাশিত হয় নাই।

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলবেন কি, এই Standing Committee এবং Medical Benefit Council এগুলো কখন formed হলো?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: Notice চাই।

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: এগুলো গঠন করবার সময় B.P.T.U.S.এর সঙ্গে পরামর্শ করা হয়েছিল কিনা মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুগ্রহ করে বলবেন কি?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: ঠিক বলতে পারব না, notice চাই।

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুগ্রহ করে বলবেন কি medical benefit কোন কোন এলেকায় দেওয়া হবে, এবং সে সম্বন্ধে survey হয়েছে কোন এলেকায়?

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: আসানসোল areaয়।

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলবেন কি এই ধরণের কোন চিঠি গিয়েছে কিনা যে Bengal Government এ সম্বন্ধে কিছুই করতে পারবেন না—এসব করবার জন্য যে অর্থের প্রয়োজন তা কেন্দ্রীয় গভর্ণমেণ্ট যদি না দেন।

The Hon'ble KALIPADA MOOKERJEE: আমাদের অর্থের অসচ্ছলতার জন্য আমরা Central Governmentএর কাছে সাহায্য প্রার্থনা করেছি।

Water-supply arrangements within Bally Municipality

*34. **Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state if it is a fact—

(*i*) that there is no arrangement for supply of filtered water in the Municipal town of Bally, Howrah;

(*ii*) that many representations are made to and correspondence made with the then Chairman of Bally Municipality by the public of Bally for starting waterworks without any result;

(iii) that the population of the said Municipality has increased to nearly 80,000;

(iv) that the number of tube-wells provided by the Municipality is inadequate;

(v) that most of the tube-wells remain out of order;

(vi) that they have to depend on unfiltered and dirty water from the Ganges and from neighbouring ponds; and

(vii) that many people die every year during summer of cholera and other epidemic diseases?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of making immediate improvement in supplying filtered water before summer sets in?

MINISTER in charge of the HEALTH and LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath Panja): (a)(i) There is no such arrangement.

(ii) There had been no public representations except occasional letters from certain individuals. The Municipal Commissioners are anxious to introduce filtered water-supply in the Municipal area.

(iii) The population has increased owing to influx of displaced persons. The actual number is not known.

(iv) Yes.

(v) Yes, for scarcity of pipes and fittings.

(vi) The scattered tube-wells in the Municipal area are the main source of supply of drinking water.

(vii) Percentage of deaths from cholera and other epidemic diseases is not higher than that in other parts of this Province. Thirty-one deaths from cholera and 13 deaths from enteric group of fevers during 1948 were reported. The corresponding figures for 1947 were 31 and 11 respectively and those for 1946 were 7 and 22 respectively.

(b) It is not possible to better the water-supply arrangement of the Bally Municipality immediately. A sketch project for supply of filtered water within the Municipality has been prepared. It is estimated to cost Rs.21,50,000 and is expected to supply water to eighty thousand people. The sketch project has been approved by the *Ad Hoc* Committee, set up for the purpose of consideration of Municipal projects for sewerage, water-supply and drainage (so long called the Sanitary Board). This Government have, however, decided to defer the Scheme for some time owing to general financial difficulties.

UNSTARRED QUESTION

(answer to which was laid on the table)

Suspension of District Engineer, Murshidabad

2. Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state if it is a fact—

(i) that in the month of May, 1948, the then District Engineer of Murshidabad District Board was placed under suspension on account of some allegations made against him;

(ii) that a sub-committee was set up by the said Board to enquire into the charges against the said Engineer and the outstanding dues to contractors and other parties;

(*iii*) that persons who are not members of the Board were taken in the sub-committee; and

(*iv*) that the said Engineer is still under suspension?

(*b*) If the anwser to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the findings of the said committee;

(*ii*) the name and emoluments including special pay, if any, of the present incumbent of the post;

(*iii*) the reason for the delay in finally disposing of the suspension case;

(*iv*) the amount of outstanding dues to the contractors for contracts executed in 1947-48;

(*v*) the procedure of payment of the outstanding dues to the contractors; and

(*vi*) whether there has been any contravention of rules of procedure?

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: (*a*)(*i*) The District Engineer of Murshidabad was placed under suspension on the 16th August, 1948, and not in May, 1948.

(*ii*) and (*iii*) A sub-committee was formed by the District Board on 30th March, 1948, to enquire into the actions of the District Engineer but it was dissolved and an Enquiry Committee was formed by a resolution passed at the Board's meeting held on 13th August, 1948, to make the necessary enquiries Two of the members of the said Enquiry Committee were not members of the Board and this Committee had nothing to do with the outstanding dues to contractors and other parties.

(*iv*) The District Engineer was under suspension till 11th April, 1949.

(*b*)(*i*) The Committee found the District Engineer to be guilty of most of the charges framed against him.

(*ii*) Sri A. C. Mitra, B.E., who acted as District Engineer during the period of suspension of Sri S. N. Mukherjee, drew Rs.400 per month *plus* Rs.100 per month as special pay.

(*iii*) It is reported by the District Board that it was mainly due to the delaying tactics of the District Engineer under suspension and to some extent by absence of one of the Enquiry Committee members from the station.

(*iv*) About Rs.57,000 which is reported to have been paid since.

(*v*) Payment is made on presentation of the work bills drawn up by the District Engineer and certified by the local members.

(*vi*) The District Board reports that there was no material contravention of rules of procedure.

Mr. SPEAKER: Questions over.

GOVERNMENT BILLS.

The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Amending) Bill, 1950.

Mr. SPEAKER: I understand that this Bill is to be taken out of the List and as to when it will be taken up a notice will be issued later.

The West Bengal Animal Slaughter Control Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal Animal Slaughter Control Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Animal Slaughter Control Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

Sir, recently there has been considerable agitation by leaders of public opinion, in the press as well as in the Legislature, against indiscriminate slaughter of cattle, urging that in view of the overall shortage of efficient cattle, their slaughter should be completely banned. In consideration of the situation the Government of India appointed a committee called the "Cattle Preservation and Development Committee" to go into the question of slaughter of cattle in all its aspects and to recommend a comprehensive plan of action for preservation and development of the cattle wealth of the country. The following recommendations of this Committee were accepted by the Government of India:—

(1) There should be total prohibition of slaughter of all useful cattle, such prohibition, however, not being applicable to—

(*a*) animals over 14 years of age and not fit for work and breeding, and

(*b*) animals of any age, permanently unable to work or breed owing to age, injury or deformity.

(2) Unlicensed and unauthorised slaughter of cattle should also be prohibited.

The Government of India commended the above recommendations to the Government of West Bengal for acceptance and suggested that these might be given effect to in this province by introducing necessary legislation. In pursuance of this suggestion of the Government of India, the Government of West Bengal have decided to assume powers by legislation to control the slaughter of bulls, bullocks, cows, calves, male and female buffaloes, buffalo calves and castrated buffaloes in the manner recommended by the Cattle Preservation and Development Committee.

The Bill has been framed with this object in view.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg to oppose the Bill. (Laughter from the Congress Benches.) It is not a matter of laughter, it is a serious matter. Of course if you do not hear me but begin to laugh, that is all right. But I would appeal to you through the Speaker to hear me patiently, and if after hearing me you are of opinion that it will do good to our country, good to our people and good to everybody, you will of course pass it. But if I can convince you that it is uneconomic, that it is wasteful, and that it will not help the economy of the country in any way, rather it would result in further deterioration of the economic condition of the country, then I hope you will soberly consider the matter whether you will pass such a measure. As I have already stated, our cry is a cry in the wilderness unless and until you give a patient hearing and calmly consider the matter and take into consideration all the facts and figures which I shall place before you through the Speaker. Therefore, I shall presently quote facts and figures to show that it will be extremely uneconomic, and that it will be wasteful to pass a measure such as this.

Sir, a great political thinker has said that unless and until we can free ourselves from religious and social superstition, we cannot run our modern state. Of course if it is not social superstition, if it is not religious superstition, you are perfectly welcome to enact any measure which you think will improve the economy of the country.

In the year 1946 there was an All-India Co-operative Registrars' Conference which was held at Bombay. (A MEMBER: That is held every year.) I do not know whether it is held every year, but I know that it was held in the year 1946 at Bombay, and there a resolution was passed by the Conference that a Committee should be appointed by the Government of India for the purpose of planning a co-operative movement. According to that resolution, the Government of India appointed a Committee of which the following persons were members:—

Mr. R. G. Saraiya, O.B.E. (*Chairman*), Chairman, Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank, Ltd., Bombay.

Rao Bahadur J. C. Ryan, Joint Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Madras.

Sir Madhavrao G. Deshpande, K.B.E., Managing Director, C. P. and Berar Provincial Co-operative Bank, Ltd., Nagpur.

Rai Sahib A. B. N. Sinha, Mithapur, Patna.

Mr. M. R. Bhide, I.C.S., Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Punjab, Lahore.

Mr. Siddiq Hasan, I.C.S., Registrar, Co-operative Societies, United Provinces, Lucknow.

Mr. S. M. Ikram, I.C.S., Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Province, Poona.

Dewan Bahadur Principal Hiralal L. Kaji, J.P., I.E.S. (Retd.), President, All-India Co-operative Institutes Association and Indian Provincial Co-operative Banks Association, Bombay.

Brigadier J. H. Wilkinson, Director of Resettlement, General Headquarters, Simla.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, M.L.A., Calcutta.

Prof. C. N. Vakil, Economist, Department of Planning and Development, Government of India, New Delhi.

Mr. Sher Jang Khan, Chief Officer, Agricultural Credit Department, Reserve Bank of India, Bombay.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi did not attend any of the meetings.

Sir, I read from Chapter IV, page 42 of the report of the Co-operative Planning Committee appointed by the Government of India on the recommendation of the Fourteenth Registrars' Conference, published at Bombay in 1946:—

"Animal husbandry has been defined as the art of producing, maintaining and disposing of all species of domestic animals and birds, and their products to the best advantage of man. The subject may be divided into many sections such as cattle husbandry, sheep husbandry, dairy husbandry, poultry husbandry, and such industries as those of wool, silk, eggs and hides and skins. India has a large livestock population consisting principally of over 200 million cattle, 100·5 million sheep and 190·7 million poultry, the number of cattle being the largest of any country and nearly one-third of the world figure. Cattle are reared in India not only for milk and meat but also for the plough and the cart."

I now come to paragraph 2—

> "The Royal Commission on Agriculture (1926) stated that India was maintaining an excessive number of cattle. 'Having regard to the very poor quality'........

Sir, this portion is from the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture—

> "Having regard to the very poor quality of the grazing available, and to the fact that it fails to afford adequate maintenance for cattle at the season of the year when fodder grown on cultivated land is scarcest, we are of opinion that this number of cattle is a heavy stock for land to carry."

Mr. SPEAKER: Why don't you come to the point? It is no use reading the excerpts.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: It seems, Sir, he has just begun with the definition.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: I do not mind being interrupted. It is of course a different matter if you do not like to hear me.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please come to the point.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: It is to the point, Sir. (Laughter from Congress Benches.) If you go on laughing in this way how can I proceed?

Mr. SPEAKER: According to practice here very long excerpts are not allowed. The subject here is this Bill. If you wish to say something on this point, please read that relevant passage which is absolutely necessary for your purpose.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: I am going to read the relevant passage and no more.

Sir, I am going to read that very passage and no more because this Report of the Co-operative Planning Committee extends [illegible] pages and the Report of the Royal Agricultural Commission extends over a thousand pages.

Mr. SPEAKER: How many pages are you going to read?

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I am going to read [illegible] or six lines out of a thousand pages.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: "Having regard to the very poor quality of the grazing available, and to the fact that it fails to afford adequate maintenance for cattle at the season of the year when fodder grown on cultivated land is scarcest, we are of opinion that this number of cattle is a heavy stock for land to carry." Sir, this is the line to which I wish to draw the attention of members through you—"If the cattle are to yield a profit which would be accepted as satisfactory in countries where stock-keeping is strictly economic, the bullocks would require to be fully employed, the cows to be of a heavy milking strain and the manure to be carefully conserved and returned to the land. The Commission further observed that cattle were not only excessive in number but also generally extremely poor in quality; a few good indigenous breeds existed in the country, but they too were affected by the process of deterioration that was at work. Since the Commission reported"—and, Sir, this is the remark of the Planning Committee—"conditions have not materially improved, and now a determined effort seems necessary to place the industry on a high level of efficiency."

Sir, it means that this country has got the largest number of cattle in the world and it amounts, as I have just now pointed out, to nearly one-third of the world figure. Further, it has been emphasized that the cattle of this country is the poorest in quality, and the strain of milk is very very low. I shall just point out that Mr. A. C. Das Gupta, who is the Chairman of Delhi Polytechnic Institute, says that the production of milk per head is only three ounces here, whereas the production in other developed countries is sixteen ounces on the average per head. Then, what has to be done? Sir, if we look to the interest of the country, if we look to the economy of the country, the thing we are required to do is to reduce the number of cattle—to reduce the number of excessive cattle—and replace them by cattle of high breed, by milch cow of high strain and better strain. Instead of slaughtering weak cow and weak bullock, if you keep them, then what will be the condition? The fodder which is now used for them will be scarcer and will not be available. In other words, even the good livestock will suffer from famine or starvation.

Sj. ANANDILAL PODDAR: Bring a Bill that 50 per cent of the cattle will be slaughtered in one year.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: No, Sir, that is not my suggestion. My suggestion is that weak cattle which are not of much use, cattle which do not yield that much milk and that standard of milk [illegible] should be done away with and replaced by milch cow giving milk of high strain, better strain and similarly the weak bullocks should be replaced by bullocks of better quality which can work all the year round. This is my proposition and it is not my proposition that all the cattle be removed and slaughtered. It is well known that increase of population produces scarcity of food. The same which applies to human beings also applies with the same force in the case of cattle or other animals. It is no good in keeping weak cattle, I mean weak bullocks and cows giving 1 ounce or 2 ounces or 3 ounces or 4 ounces it will do no good to the country, it will not increase the country's milk supply, it will not increase the [illegible] of the bullocks in any way. What you are required to do, as I have just now submitted, is to reduce the number of such weak and useless [illegible] stock to that extent that they are not of much use and in the sense that [illegible] not produce much milk commensurate with the expense was [illegible] maintenance and secondly we should not keep those [illegible] which are a burden on the household [illegible] by which the better cattle could be adequately fed to produce better results. This is my submission before you all and I [illegible] either preventing or rather prohibiting cow slaughter [illegible] the economy of our country [illegible] improve the economic [illegible] way add to the economic position of our country.

Then, Sir, another thing, manure [illegible] things. What do we do? What do our peasants or cultivators do? [illegible] the entire manure, the entire cow-dung by using it as fuel whereas the Royal Agricultural Commission said that they must be returned to the land. In other words the fodder which we have got [illegible] sufficient for the maintenance of the cows and bullocks which we have got in excessive number should also be conserved for better classes of cattle, better classes of cows which give milk of better quality, and better classes of plough cattle. That is my plea, Sir. If in spite of what I have pointed out to you from world figures, you consider that we must keep alive all sorts of cattle, whether they are economic or uneconomic, you may go on with your Bill and pass the Bill. But, so far as I am concerned, I am clearly of opinion, and sincerely of opinion that it will not do any good to the country. Another aspect of the thing is that it will reduce the food which we require for the country, for the health of the country. There may be sentiments or feeling against killing of cow or eating of beef but sentiment is of no

avail. If we think that it is economical, that it is most strength-giving to the community—of course for those who use it—that should not in any way be responsible for the diminution of the meat supply or food supply. In other countries, Sir, for example, Chile and Australia and other American and European countries which are advanced countries—I have got statistics which will go to show that the United States which possesses one-fourth of the total milch cow of India produces double the quantity of milk and milk is exported there. In Switzerland, in Denmark, in all other countries which are small countries, they not only export milk and milk products but they also use it for their own use; at the same time they eat beef as well. So, Sir, passing of this Bill will not in any way solve the economic problem of our country, but if you are convinced that I am wrong and you are right that it will do good to the country, it will improve economy of the country, then without pandering to the sentiments and whims or whatever it may be—I may call it superstition, another may not agree—you must pass the Bill. I would, however, submit that the Bill should be withdrawn and a more comprehensive Bill for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the cattle and increasing the milk supply and strength of high bred bull should be framed and placed before the Assembly for consideration. This Bill, as you say, will not in any way serve your purpose in supplying more milk or in supplying you with strong cattle for the purpose of carrying on with your agriculture.

Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED : মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, গো-হনন বন্ধ করা, গো-রক্ষা আর গো-জাতির উন্নতি—এই তিনটি পৃথক কথা। গো-হনন বন্ধ করার জন্য একটা sentiment থাকতে পারে, আবার গো-হননের বিপক্ষেও একটা sentiment থাকতে পারে। কিন্তু যদি এটা স্থির করা হয়, sentimentএর জন্য যে গো-হনন বন্ধ করা উচিত, তাহ'লে পরিষ্কারভাবে এইরূপ আইন হওয়া উচিত যে, গো-হনন্ বন্ধ হোক। এত বয়সের গরু হনন্ করা বন্ধ করা হবে আর এত বয়সের গরু হননে বাধা নাই—এই পন্থা কার্য্যকরী হবে বলে মনে হয় না। তবে এটা একটা আধাআধিভাবে, এই সমস্যার নিকট উপনীত হওয়ার একটা চিন্তা মাত্র।

যেভাবে এই আইনে বিধান করা হয়েছে যে, "এত বয়সের গোরু, মহিষ হত্যা করা হবে এবং এত বয়সের করা হবে না, তাতে হনন করার জন্য যেগুলি রাখা হয়েছে সেগুলি অতি নিকৃষ্ট। স্বাস্থ্যের দিক দিয়ে বলতে গেলে সেগুলিকে হত্যা করা উচিত নয়। এখানে যদি বলা হয় যে, এগুলি কাজের উপযুক্ত অতএব এগুলিকে রাখা হবে, আর এগুলি কাজের অনুপযুক্ত, বুড়ো, অখাদ্য, এগুলিকে হত্যা করা হবে তবে সেগুলিকে স্বাস্থ্যের দিক থেকেও হত্যা করা অন্যায় হবে। রাষ্ট্রের দিক থেকে আইন করে বন্ধ করে দেওয়া উচিত যাতে সেগুলি মানুষে না খায়। Total prohibitionএর পক্ষেও যেমন একটা বিরাট জনমত আছে যে, একেবারেই বন্ধ করা হোক, তেমনি কতিপয় লোকের ধারণা আছে যে, একেবারে বন্ধ করলে তাদের মনে আঘাত দেওয়া হয়। আমি মনে করি যদি সরকার এইটাই সিদ্ধান্ত করেন যে, আমাদের কৃষির ও দুধের উন্নতির জন্য গো, মহিষ বধ বন্ধ করা উচিত তাহলে সরাসরি একটা বিল আনা উচিত যে গো, মহিষ, এগুলি হত্যা বন্ধ করা হোক। তা যদি না করেন, তাহলে তাঁরা খানিকটা একটা দলকে সন্তুষ্ট করা আর অপর দিকে, আর একটা দলকে অসন্তুষ্ট করা—এই মাঝামাঝি মধ্য পন্থা গ্রহণ করা শ্রেয় নয়। এই বিলে যে সমস্ত ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে সেগুলি কার্য্যকরী পন্থা হবে বলে আমি মনে করি না। আমি একটু আগেই বলেছি স্বাস্থ্যের দিক থেকে এই অপ্রয়োজনীয় জিনিষ বা পশুকে বধ করতে প্রশ্রয় দেওয়া একেবারে অনুচিত। অপর পক্ষে বলব যদি গো-জাতির প্রকৃত উন্নতি করতে হয়, দুধ বেশী পরিমাণে বাড়াবার যদি প্রকৃত পন্থা করতে হয় তাহলে ফুকো প্রথাকে বন্ধ করার জন্য এই আইনের সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই আর একটা বিধান করা উচিত ছিল। বেশী বয়সের গো, মহিষ অকেজো হয় সত্য, কিন্তু ফুকোতে যে সমস্ত গরু, মহিষ আসে, সেগুলির দুধ দেবার শক্তি থাকা সত্ত্বেও জোর করে দুগ্ধ হরণ বা বন্ধ্যা করে দেওয়া হয়। সেটাকেও এই আইনের কবলে আনা উচিত ছিল। তারপর এই সমস্ত অকেজো গরু, যাদের গ্রামের লোকেরা এত ভালবাসে, এবং আমাদের দেশের মধ্যে এমন অনেক লোক আছেন যাঁরা গরুকে দেবতা বলে মানেন, যাঁরা গো-রক্ষার জন্য বেশী হৈচৈ করেন, তাঁদের বাড়ীতে গরু প্রায় নিশ্চিহ্ন, কেউ গরু বা গাভী পোষেণ না। তাঁরা মনে করেন গরু পুষে বাড়ীতে রেখে দুধ খাওয়ার চেয়ে বাজার থেকে দুধ কিনে খাওয়া ঢের সস্তা ও ভাল। এই যে uneconomic মনোভাব ও sentiment, এই দুয়ের মাঝে যদি অকেজো গরুগুলিকে ছেড়ে দেওয়া হয় তাহলে সেগুলিকে কে রাখবে বা পালবে? তাহলে অনেক অকেজো গরুই বা মানুষে খাবে না সেগুলি

হয়ত মানুষকেই খাবার উপক্রম করবে। এদিকে লক্ষ্য করে এই বিলটা করা উচিত ছিল। অকেজো গরুগুলিকে চিরকালই কি মাড়োয়ারী সমিতি রক্ষা করবে? এদের রক্ষার কি ব্যবস্থা হবে? আমি আর সময় নেব না; আমার বক্তৃতার দ্বারা, এদেশের পারিপার্শ্বিক অবস্থায় এ বিলে বাধা দিতে চাই না; তবে এ কথা বলতে চাই যে মুসলমান সম্প্রদায় এই বিল এই অবস্থায় পাশ হওয়ায় একটু ক্ষুণ্ণ। তবে আমার শেষ কথা এই, যদি দেশের মধ্যে মুসলমানদের ধর্মীয় স্বার্থ রক্ষার ব্যবস্থা কোরে তাদের এখানে বসবাসের নিরাপত্তার ব্যবস্থা করতে পারেন তাহলে তাহারা সম্মত আছেন কিন্তু যেখানে মানুষকে বাঁচান সম্ভব নয় সেখানে গরু বাঁচানোর প্রচেষ্টা প্রহসন মাত্র।

Sj. KANAI LAL DASS : মাননীয় সভাপাল মহাশয়, এই বিল আমি সম্পূর্ণরূপে সমর্থন করি। এই বিলের দ্বারা বাংলাদেশে যে দুধের অভাবই ঘুচবে তা নয় তার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে চাষের জন্য যা দরকার পল্লীগ্রামের চাষীদের ষাঁড় ও বলদের supply অনেকটা বাড়বে। আমার পূর্ববর্তী বক্তা যে সমস্ত কথা বলেছেন তার দ্বারা তিনি এ সম্পর্কে হয়ত সঠিক মত দিতে পারেন নাই। তিনি আগে বলেছেন ফুকা দেওয়া সম্বন্ধে, কিন্তু প্রথার বন্ধ না করলে সেটা চলতে পারে না। যদি আমরা আইন করে প্রথার বন্ধ করতে পারি তাহলে ফুকা দেওয়াটাও বন্ধ করতে পারব। আরেকজন বলেছেন manure সম্পর্কে, আমি বলতে পারি গরুগুলিকে যদি বাঁচিয়ে রাখতে পারি, তাহলে আমাদের সারের অভাব হবে না, compost সার তাহলে অনেক করা যাবে খাওয়ার জন্য যদি গরুগুলিকে মেরে ফেলা হয় তাহলে সেটা পারব না। পূর্ববর্তী বক্তাকে জানাতে চাই এই যে আইনটা হচ্ছে তার section 12এ যে ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে সেই জন্য তাঁদের ভয় পাবার কিছু দেখিনে।

Mr. Speaker, Sir, আর একটা কথা আপনার through দিয়ে জানিয়ে দিতে চাই, যদি আমরা একটা হিসেব নিই, কত গরু বাইরে থেকে আমাদের পশ্চিমবঙ্গের সহরে আসে—যথা পশ্চিম পাঞ্জাব প্রভৃতি প্রদেশ থেকে বহু গরু আমাদের কলকাতা সহরে এসেছে যদি তার দশ বছরের একটা হিসেব নেওয়া যায় তাহলে দেখা যাবে কত অসংখ্য গরু এখানে আমদানী হয়েছে প্রতি বছরে। যদি সেগুলিকে আমরা বাঁচিয়ে রাখতে পারতেম তাহলে আশা করা যায় যে, সহর অঞ্চলে দুধের অভাব মোটেই হতো না। কিন্তু আমরা দেখতে পাচ্ছি কলকাতা সহরে এবং অন্যান্য সহর অঞ্চলে যে সমস্ত গরুর ব্যবসায়ী আছে তারা পশ্চিম থেকে গাভী কিনে নিয়ে এসে বছরের মধ্যে ছ'মাস বাঁচিয়ে রেখে সমস্ত দুধ নিঃশেষে দোহন কোরে নিয়ে গাভীগুলি বিক্রয় করে। যখন দেখা যায় যে একেবারে dry হয়ে গেছে তখন last drop of milk বার কোরে নিয়ে সেগুলোকে বিক্রয় কোরে দেয়, তার কারণ ব্যবসায়ীরা বোঝে যে গরুকে যদি বাকী ৬ মাস বসিয়ে খাওয়ায় তাহলে তার লোকসান হবে। সেই জন্য দুধ ছেড়ে দিলে সে বিক্রয় কোরে দেয়, এর ফলে পশ্চিমবঙ্গ প্রদেশে বাইরে থেকে যতগুলি গরু আনা হয় সেগুলি তারা নষ্ট কোরে ফেলে এবং এই আইনটা হোলে সেই সমস্ত গরু আমরা বাঁচাতে পারব।

আরেকটা কথা এই আইনটা সহর অঞ্চলেই শুধু প্রযোজ্য। যারা এই আইনের বিরোধিতা করছেন তাদের বিশেষ কিছু ভাবনার আছে বলে আমি মনে করি না। আরেকটা কথা এই যে যারা গরু নিয়ে আসে তাদের একটা statistics রাখা দরকার। কলকাতা সহরে কত খাটাল আছে তারও একটা statistics রাখা দরকার, এবং যখন গরুগুলি dry হয়ে যায় তখন যাতে বিক্রয় কোরে না ফেলে সেই জন্য গোয়ালাদের গরুকে খাওয়াবার যে সমস্ত জিনিষের দরকার সেগুলি যাতে সস্তা দরে তারা পেতে পারে তার ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত। আমরা সেই জন্য আমাদের পশ্চিমবঙ্গে হরিণঘাটায় যে scheme করা হয়েছে এবং তাহার ফলে যে milk করার কথা হচ্ছে, গরু এখান থেকে সেখানে নিয়ে যাবে যখন তারা dry হবে। তখন চীপ্ রুডার খাইয়ে তাদের জীইয়ে রাখা হবে, এবং ভাল ষাঁড়ের ভাল breeding করা চলবে তার ফলে আমরা প্রচুর milk পাব এই বলে আমার বক্তব্য শেষ করছি।

The motion of the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen that the West Bengal Animal Slaughter Control Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 1(3), line 2, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 1, as amended, do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

SJ. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 4(*3*), lines 5 and 6, for the words "both the Veterinary Assistant Surgeon and the Veterinary Officer are" the words "the Veterinary Officer is" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

SJ. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I beg to move that in clause 4(*4*), lines 3 and 4, the words "Veterinary Assistant Surgeon and endorsed by the" be omitted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

SJ. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I beg to move that in clause 4(*5*), line 4, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted

The motion was then put and agreed to.

SJ. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I beg to move that in clause 4(*5*), line 5, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to

SJ. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I beg to move that in clause 4(*6*), line 1, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to

The question that clause 4, as amended do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to

Clause 5

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 6

The question that clause 6 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 7.

The question that clause 7 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 8

The question that clause 8 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to

Clause 9.

The question that clause 9 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 10.

The question that clause 10 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 11.

The question that clause 11 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 12.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 12, line 1, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was put and agreed to.

The question that clause 12, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 13.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 13, line 1, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was put and agreed to.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 13, lines 2 and 3, for the words "the Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted

The motion was put and agreed to

The question that clause 13, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to

Clause 14.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 14(1), line 1, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted

The motion was put and agreed to

The question that clause 14, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to

Schedule

The question that the Schedule do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Animal Slaughter Control Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed

মাননীয় স্পিকার মহাশয়, যে বিল আমি উত্থাপন করেছি তাতে কারও ধর্মে হস্তক্ষেপের কথা নাই। আমরা শুধু চাই যে, যে সমস্ত গরু মহিষ কার্যের উপযোগী, যাদের কাছ থেকে আমরা দুধ পাই, অন্যান্য কাজ পাই তাদের slaughter আমরা বন্ধ করবো। আমরা total prohibition করছি না। এতে কারও কোন আপত্তি করার কারণ নাই। পশ্চিমবঙ্গে প্রতি বৎসর ৬ লক্ষ গরু মোষ হত্যা করা হয় খাবার জন্য।

৬ লক্ষের মধ্যে কাজের এবং অকেজো দুই রকমই গরু আছে। আমাদের এই বিলের দ্বারা যে সমস্ত অকেজো গরু আছে তাদের হত্যা বন্ধ হবে না। শুধু যে সমস্ত গরু কাজের তাদেরই হত্যা বন্ধ করতে চাই। এই সমস্ত গরুগুলি যাতে দুধ বেশী দেয় তার চেষ্টা করা হবে। এবং যাতে ভাল গরুর সংখ্যা বাড়ে তার ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে। আপনারা জানেন যে পশ্চিমবঙ্গে বাইরে থেকে—পূর্ব্ব পাঞ্জাব থেকে এবং অন্যান্য প্রদেশ থেকে প্রতি বৎসর হাজার হাজার গরু, মহিষ, ষাঁড় আমদানী করা হয়। আমরা সেগুলি আর বেশী করে আমদানী করতে চাই না। আমাদের যে গরু আছে তাই যথেষ্ট। আমরা ইচ্ছা করলেই তাদের যথেষ্ট উন্নতি করতে পারি। এই বিলের একমাত্র উদ্দেশ্য হচ্ছে গো-জাতির উন্নতি করে চাষের কার্য্যের উন্নতি এবং বেশী করে দুধ উৎপাদনের ব্যবস্থা করা। কারও ধর্ম্মে হস্তক্ষেপ করা এই বিলের উদ্দেশ্য নয়।

The motion of the Hon'ble Pratulla Chandra Sen that the West Bengal Animal Slaughter Control Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed, was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 4-37 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Thursday, the 16th February, 1950, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the *provisions of the Constitution of India.*

The Assembly met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 16th February, 1950, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 63 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Theft cases within Khardaha police-station, 24-Parganas.

***35. Mr. JASIMUDDIN AHMED:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) how many theft cases have occurred within Khardaha police-station, 24-Parganas, within the periods—

(1) from 1st November, 1947 to 15th February, 1948, and

(2) from 1st November, 1948 to 15th February, 1949;

(*ii*) how many of the cases referred to in (*i*) (2) have occurred within the area of Panihati Municipality;

(*iii*) in how many of the cases referred to in (*i*) (2)—

(1) the culprits have been traced out,

(2) stolen properties have been rescued, and

(3) the persons who have been burgled are residents of the locality for a period less than one year from the date of thefts; and

(*iv*) the strength of (1) police constables, (2) Assistant Sub-Inspectors, (3) Sub-Inspectors, and (4) others of the said police-station as it stood on 1st January, 1949?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that there is no police sub-station of the said police-station on the eastern side of the main Railway lines?

(*c*) If the reply to (*b*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of—

(*i*) increasing the staff of the said police-station; and

(*ii*) opening a new police sub-station on the eastern side of the Railway lines within the said police-station?

MINISTER in charge of the HOME DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy): (*a*) (*i*) (1) 76.

(2) 78.

(*ii*) 46

(*iii*) (1) 16.

(2) 8

(3) Of the persons whose houses were burgled, 16 had been residing in the area for less than a year from the date of the theft.

(*iv*) A statement is laid on the Table.

(*b*) It is not a fact that there is no town outpost on the eastern side of the main Railway lines. There is one, known as Sodepore Town Outpost

(*c*) Does not arise. But it is stated for information that the question of expanding the staff of the police-station is being considered in the new set-up of the West Bengal Police.

Statement referred to in clause (a)(iv) of the reply to starred question No. 35.

	Sanctioned				Actual.			
	Sub-Inspectors	Assistant Sub-Inspectors.	Head Constables.	Constables.	Sub-Inspectors	Assistant Sub Inspectors	Head Constables	Constables.
Khardah police-station	2	1		8	2	1	.	7
Khardah out-post.	T S.-I. 1	.	2	18	T. S.-I. 1	..	2	13
Sodepore out-post.			2	12		.	2	10
Panihati out-post		.	2	16	.		2	14
Total	3	1	6	54	3	1	6	44

N.B.—The force shown in the Table under the head 'Actual' is as it stood on 1st January 1949.

Arrest of Srijut Pulin Roy, the founder-organiser of Annapurna Byayam Samity, Howrah

***36. Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state

(*i*) the reason why Sri Pulin Roy, a prominent Congress leader of Howrah, was arrested on 12th March, 1949 last, and detained as security prisoner, and

(*ii*) the reason why along with the above person arrests under Security Act have been made of the members of Howrah Annapurna Byayam Samity?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of instituting a thorough enquiry into the matter?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sri Pulin Roy and five others of Howrah had to be arrested under the West Bengal Security Act as a preventive measure during the second week of March when a dangerous situation was created by a threatened Railway and general strike. Information was received that the members of the Annapurna Byayam Samity, of which Sri Pulin Roy was the founder-organiser, and Bijli Fouj had collected firearms, ammunition and explosives and were committing various acts of oppression in the locality. There were reasons to apprehend that these members would resort to lawlessness and subversive acts during the anticipated disturbance in connection with the Railway strike and some of the leading members were arrested as a precautionary measure. As the trouble is over orders have been passed for their release and they have since been released.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when this question was tabled?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: The honourable member should tell me what date it was when he sent the question.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state for how many months it has been remaining with him awaiting an answer.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Let him calculate.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Can I have a proper answer, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: If the Hon'ble Minister does not want to answer in a way that you would like to have, I cannot compel him.

I understand that just after the last session a Pending List of Questions remaining unanswered was circulated from which you can find out whether this question was there or not, and also calculate the time.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: একটি suggestion আমি অনেক দিন আগে দিয়েছিলাম। Questionটা কোন্ তারিখে দেওয়া হয়েছে, তার answerটা যদি দেন তাহলে যে departmentএর Question তার efficiency খানিকটা বোঝা যায়। এতে লেখা আছে "released" হয়েছে অনেক দিন আগে, মার্চ মাসের ব্যাপার এখন বলা হচ্ছে।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Is he objecting to their being released?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I am objecting to the inadequancy of the answer; he should have given the date of their release. When a question is asked, some definite answer should be given.

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, if there is any ambiguity in the answer, you can have it cleared up by supplementaries.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I am thankful that the honourable member is not the judge of the efficiency of my department.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: We are the judges after all. এই যে বলা হয়েছে রেলওয়ে strike এর জন্য—তার date কবে ছিল?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I want notice.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: [illegible] Railwaymen's Federation অনেক আগেই বলেছিল তারা strike করবে না।

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, if you already know some information, then there is no use of asking for the same information by putting supplementary questions. It is not a cross-examination that you are entitled to.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: The position is that the plea that has been taken up is absolutely silly and therefore I want to expose it——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I do not think you are entitled to use the word "silly".

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: If so, Sir, I shall say it is very unwise, shows want of wisdom, and all the rest of it.

Mr. SPEAKER: You cannot comment upon an answer which has been given by the Hon'ble Minister. Supplementary questions are allowed not for the purpose of commenting upon the answers but for the purpose of elucidating the answers or eliciting information.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Thank you, Sir. তাঁরা যদি ঠিকমত informationটা না দেন cross-examination করবার আমাদের right আছে।

Mr. SPEAKER: No cross-examination can be allowed. The only thing is that if a member wants some information from the department concerned, he can get it.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: ৯ই তারিখে strike হ'ল না। তারপর যে তারিখ কমুনিষ্টরা advertised করেছিল, তারপরেও ১২ তারিখে তাঁকে arrest করবার কারণটা কি?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I do not want to give any further answer than what is given here; it is not in the interest of the State.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of privilege, Sir. I cannot understand how can a question of public policy come in here. The Hon'ble Minister says that they were arrested on the 12th because they were likely to take part in the railway strike, but the railway strike was advertised to take place on the 9th which, however, did not take place. Why then they were arrested on the 12th? The Hon'ble Minister should certainly give further explanation for this.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, you are an experienced legislator, and you know supplementary questions are asked only for getting elucidation of the answers given or for further information. And I have repeatedly told you that you cannot comment upon the anwsers given. If you want to move any resolution in protest, that course is, of course, open to you.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলবেন কি যে Railwaymen's Union বা Federationএর সঙ্গে বা কোন organisationএর সঙ্গে পুলিশ যায় ও ঐ পাঁচ জনের কোন সম্বন্ধ ছিল কি?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I want notice.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Is it not showing disrespect to the Chair, Sir, if the Hon'ble Chief Minister goes on replying sitting?

Mr. SPEAKER: I believe that he did rise, but perhaps he might not have risen to his full stature.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Perhaps he is overworked and let him reply sitting, but let him reply properly.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: You have got your answer from Mr. Banerjee.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলবেন কি দু'জনের সঙ্গে Railway strikeএর সঙ্গে কোন সম্বন্ধ ছিল না, এদের সঙ্গে Parliamentary Secretary, Home Departmentএর সুশীল ব্যানার্জীর সঙ্গে ঝগড়া ছিল, সেই জন্যই এদের arrest করা হয়েছে?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: On a point of order, Sir. Interpellations are meant for eliciting information but not for eliciting that information which is within the knowledge of the interpellator.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Let me speak on this point of order, Sir. The ordinary form is "whether it is a fact............". I want corroboration of the report that I have got by putting questions.

Mr. SPEAKER: There is always a method for putting questions, but the moment you are making a statement yourself, you cannot put questions.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I am not making a statement, Sir; I am asking whether it is a fact. আমি এটা জিজ্ঞাসা করেছি যে এটা fact কি না যে Railway Union বা Railway strike-এর সঙ্গে তাদের কোন সম্বন্ধ নেই। যেমন Dr. Roy-এর সঙ্গে কোন সম্বন্ধ নেই। কিন্তু সেখানকার কংগ্রেস প্রেসিডেণ্টের সঙ্গে ঝগড়া ছিল। সেইজন্যই তাঁরা arrested হয়েছিলেন, এটা সত্যি কি না?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I do not know.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় এ সম্বন্ধে enquiry করে আমাদের জানাবেন কি?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I have already said that I am not prepared to give any more information on this question than what is put in the answer papers; it is not in the interest of the State.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: জানি না যখন বলছেন তখন জেনে, enquiry করে ত তা জানাতে পারেন।

Mr. SPEAKER: The Hon'ble Minister has already stated that it is not in the public interest to state other than what he has stated in this paper itself. What can I do? It is for the Hon'ble Minister to decide as to whether a particular answer is in the public interest or not.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: He did not stick to that answer. Had he done that, I knew I was helpless. But he knows and I have the right to ask if he sticks to that position or not

Mr. SPEAKER: At first what he stated was "I do not know", but later on he did say that it was not in the public interest to answer further than what has been stated in this answer.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: But in between I have put supplementaries.

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot discuss Next

Realisation of subscription to Hyderabad Fund at Char Narendrapur, district Murshidabad.

*37. **Sj. KUBER CHAND HALDAR:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) if he is aware that a section of Muslims of Char Narendrapur, police-station Raghunathganj, district Murshidabad, are collecting subscriptions to what is known as the Hyderabad Fund and that the Hindus of the said locality are being threatened by them on refusal to contribute to the fund; and

(*b*) if he is aware that one Chamtkar Saha of Char Narendrapur on being so threatened sent information to police-station Raghunathganj and that no steps were taken?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: No information regarding (*a*) and (*b*) is available.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if a false case was instituted against the Mussalmans which has been dismissed since by the Magistrate of Jangipur?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I do not know.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he has enquired as to the materials on which the honourable member representing Jangipur has built up his fantastic story of villification?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I did not hear his question.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he has enquired whether the honourable member representing that particular constituency had made sure of the materials on which he built up his fantastic story?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: How can I know whether he made sure or not?

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to enquire into such irresponsible statements which are calculated to worsen the communal relations in the country?

(*After a pause.*)

Sir, has he followed me? Shall I repeat my question?

(*No answer.*)

Mr. SPEAKER: No answer, I should take it.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Is the Premier aware that all this collection to the alleged Hyderabad Fund has been sent to the Rajpramukh of Hyderabad?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: He seems to know more than most of us do. I do not know the destination of the money that has been raised.

Mr. SPEAKER: Questions over. Government Business—Financial—Budget of the Government of West Bengal for 1950-51.

BUDGET FOR 1950-51.

Finance Minister's Statement.

The Hon'ble NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, may I have your permission to read my Budget Statement sitting in the chair?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think the House will have any objection on account of his illness.

(There was no objection.)

The Hon'ble NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Thank you, Sir. I shall not be able to continuously read my statement. My friend Mr. P. C. Sen will complete it.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right.

The Hon'ble NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, I beg to present the Budget Estimates of the State of West Bengal for the financial year 1950-51. It was indeed a great privilege that was given to me to carry the arduous responsibility of the financial stewardship of this State during the last two years. These years were years of deep anxiety when the country was shaken by the impact of moving events in the nation's history. The current of events was at times so bewilderingly swift and powerful as to jeopardise all our hopes and aspirations for a bright and cheery future. Fortunately for us, and thanks to the statesmanship of our leaders and the inherent resilience of our pepole, we may now claim to have turned the corner and come nearer the path of progress and prosperity. India became free in August, 1947, and today she is the youngest Republic in the world with one of the oldest civilisations. Our emergence as a Republic not only places us as an equal partner in the comity of free nations, but, what is of greater significance, it adds considerably

to our status and stature as a nation. I feel a natural pride and [illegible] ness that I have been spared by merciful Providence to present [illegible] the Budget of the State of West Bengal as an integral part of the Republi of India.

Sir, may I ask my friend to read it now?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: The past 12 months have been crowded with events which will leave a lasting impress on the chequered history of India as a whole and West Bengal in particular. In the all-India context, the great historic event which creates a new constitutional precedent in the history of the Commonwealth is India's alignment as a free Republic within the Commonwealth of Nations. This gives a new elasticity to the concept of the Commonwealth which may well have a far-reaching consequence to the age-long search for an appropriate organisational device to give concrete form to the idea of world federation. Much has been said for and against this decision within India. But I shall content myself with expressing my firm confidence that history will prove the great wisdom of the decision. This will confer great economic and moral advantages which cannot but be of lasting benefit to our country and to the great cause of freedom. The increasing importance of India in the foreign trade of the Commonwealth has already given a concrete shape to the advantages of a close tie with the Commonwealth on the basis of full sovereignty.

The year has also seen the end of the arduous labour of the makers of our Constitution. By framing the Constitution of the Republic of India, with examplary expedition and undeterred by powerful distractions, national and international, they have set a unique example in the constitutional annals of the world. It is not my purpose here to dilate on the nature and contents of the Constitution; all I may submit is that it reflects the hopes and aspirations of the people and truly can it be said that the Constitution has been framed for the people by the people and reflects the quintessence of our aspirations for the orderly and progressive realisation of our democratic political ideals. The year has also seen the final integration of the former Indian states so that for the first time in the history of India, we have achieved political unity of the country. This unity, it is hoped, may, before long, blunt the edge of sectional and regional prejudices and bring about a greater unity of purpose in the people of the country as a whole. During the year the first Indian Governor-General and the last in the distinguished line of the holders of that exalted office, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, laid down the reins of his office. Although Sri Rajagopalachari retires into private life to enjoy a well-earned rest, he sets before us an example of plain living and high thinking and of wise statesmanship which will long inspire his countrymen. The assumption of office by Dr. Rajendra Prasad as the first President of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India is one of the most outstanding events of the year. We, in West Bengal, are proud to feel that this State has so many personal links with the distinguished President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. As the House is aware, he was brought up in the cultural and intellectual atmosphere of Bengal in the formative and early professional period of his life and Bengal can claim him as her own as much as Bihar can. I am sure, I express the sentiment of the House when I say that we feel extremely happy to have him as the first President of the Republic because by virtue of his honesty, integrity, personal character and intellectual eminence he so admirably fits this exalted office.

During the year the Prime Minister of India created history by his voyage of discovery of America. His forthright enunciation of India's foreign policy and the *role* of India in the international sphere has considerably enhanced the prestige of our country in the Western Hemisphere. In fact, his visit has made America India-conscious. I hope and trust

that this visit will open up an era of collaboration and understanding between the two countries. In the international sphere, the most significant event which may have profound influence on the disturbed history of the Far East is the inauguration of the People's Democratic Republic in China under Communist auspices and the emergence into history of the United States of Indonesia as a free political entity. These are great events in the history of the Far East and, being close neighbours, we cannot but be affected at many points by the impact of these developments. As a sympathetic neighbour interested in the progress and development of Asiatic countries, India looks forward with a genuine spirit of goodwill to the final establishment in these countries, after all the bloodshed of recent times, of a new era of freedom, peace and progress in which their peoples may enjoy the fruits of peace and stability and make the fullest contribution to the progress and prosperity of mankind.

On the home front things have been less cheery. Throughout the year West Bengal in general, and Calcutta in particular, have been the scene of sporadic outbreaks of violent activities on the part of a section of the people. A general spirit of indiscipline and restlessness and a too easy surrender to a spirit of lawlessness displayed by a class of people complicated the already deteriorating situation of the State in which the Government could hardly find a congenial atmosphere to plan and work. It must, however, be recognised that for the last few years West Bengal, and more particularly the city of Calcutta have passed through one crisis after another; her people have known no peace of mind or those amenities which a normal and even tenor of life fosters. That West Bengal is the "Problem Province" is now an overworked phrase. The exciting experiences following the war years, preceded by the years of political frustration, have left a trail of bitterness in the minds of her people. With Partition, the life of the Bengalees has been shaken to its very roots. It caused a social cataclysm of a far-reaching character. On top of this, the fast-deteriorating economic situation completely shattered the social moorings of normal life. All this has had a disturbing effect on the pepole and made them bitter and sour. Neither the psychological nor the material fruits of freedom have come to the people of West Bengal with any message of hope or good cheer. The result for many in this State has been a sullen aloofness on their part, born out of frustration and despair. Yet, fundamentally, the problem of West Bengal is economic and it is on the economic front that the problem has to be tackled first. Unless West Bengal can be helped out of her economic difficulties, a psychological change helpful on the positive side can hardly be expected. The middle class in West Bengal forms the core of her social life; that middle class is today facing disruption. It is this class in particular that has paid the price of Partition dearly. West Bengal and East Bengal have in the past formed a single economic unit. The disruption of that unity has affected the normal life of the people of both the parts. In fact, thousands of families have been cut into two by Partition and while culturally still united, politically and economically they are cut asunder. With the slump in business conditions, the scope of employment has been considerably reduced. On the other hand, as a result of Partition and the recent stoppage of normal business activities between the two Bengals, which formed an economically and culturally integrated whole, West Bengal faces a reduced market to sell her goods; the pressure on the employment market has already become extremely heavy. What West Bengal and her people, therefore, need is not only sympathy but also something more in the shape of concrete help. The vast refugee population, floating despairingly mostly in urban areas, provide the delicate fuse of explosion. West Bengal today is to bear so much of the burdens as belong to the rest of India and India can never remain in peace when West Bengal suffers in agony. It is, therefore, natural that West Bengal should expect every consideration from other parts of India. Nor, morally, are these the problems

be tackled by herself alone. It is not merely because Partition, which the root of many of her maladies, is an all-India responsibility, but also because the resources requisite for the task of this magnitude are to be found only in the Centre and only the Centre can secure the necessary co-operation of other States for this purpose. Having regard to these objective factors, the problem of West Bengal is as much a problem of All-India. A downward slide in West Bengal's condition cannot but have its repercussion throughout India, because, apart from being a border State, West Bengal is still the pivot of India's industrial structure. That the Government of India fully realised the seriousness of the situation was evident from the visit of the Prime Minister to Calcutta in the middle of the year and of the Deputy Prime Minister towards the end. Both of them went into the problems of the State with the deepest sympathy and understanding. They assured us of whole-hearted all-India support and assistance to West Bengal which was bearing the brunt of the major problems for no particular fault of hers. The recent statement of the Prime Minister is indeed very heartening for us and, I hope, we can now look forward to a more sympathetic approach to our problems by the Centre as well as by the neighbouring States of the Union. Now that the policy of the Union Government *vis-a-vis* West Bengal has been so clearly set forth by the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister that the problem of West Bengal is also a responsibility of the Centre, it will indeed put heart into the drooping spirit of West Bengal if concrete action quickly follows these cheering sentiments.

Unfortunately, just when we were expecting a positive gesture from the Centre for financial justice, which was the minimum we demanded in order to rescue us from chronic financial disability, the Deshmukh Award comes to us as a shock and a disappointment. As the House is aware, after the Partition, the Government of India passed, without consulting the State Government, an order on the allocation of income-tax and jute duty which was highly iniquitous to West Bengal. We did all that was possible to place our point of view before the Central Government with incontrovertible facts and arguments for redressing a financial iniquity which was a sore point with us. The Government of India had agreed in the earlier part of the year to institute an expert enquiry into the question so that a revised allocation could be given effect to in 1950-51 subject to such provisions as may be made in the Constitution. Sri Chintaman Deshmukh, lately the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, was entrusted with the task and it was agreed that Sri Deshmukh's recommendations would be in the nature of an award binding on us. It was most unfortunate that Sri Deshmukh did not go into the question *de novo* and based his award on the earlier decision of the Government of India. What adds to our disappointment is that we were assured on the highest authority that the question would be considered *de novo* and an equitable basis formulated in the light of the changes that had taken place in the meantime. It has been suggested that the Finance Commission which, in terms of the Constitution, is to be appointed within two years of the coming into force of the Constitution, is to go into the question of these allocations finally. This, I submit, does not carry us far. The first two years of the Constitution are the most vital for us during which period we have many things to do and our resources are inadequate, and, it is not known what the terms of reference of that Commission are going to be. There is the further apprehension that the earlier decision of the Government of India as well as the Deshmukh Award will be there to operate as a dead-weight against us in any subsequent examination of the question. I shall have a few more things to say later on in course of the Budget Statement regarding this question, and if I make a passing reference to it in my opening remarks, it is only to emphasise that we have been badly let down and our case has not been objectively treated.

In this otherwise depressing picture the only ray of light that enlivened the people of West Bengal with new hopes was the decision of the Government of India to integrate Cooch Behar with West Bengal with which her natural ties are many. The House will recall that many unmerited aspersions were hurled at this Government for our alleged failure to convince the Government of India of our claim to Cooch Behar. The ultimate merger of the state with West Bengal is proof positive of our endeavours, made without fuss and with determination. It shows that unthinking agitation taken recourse to by a section of the people without leaving matters to be dealt along constructive and constitutional channels does not help. In delicate matters like these involving relations between one State and another, or between the States and the Centre, more can be gained by a statesmanlike approach and patient work than by mere agitation which only acerbates feelings and thereby tends to defeat the object. We are indeed grateful to the Government of India for recognising our just claim. We welcome Cooch Behar within our fold to contribute her best to the progress and development of the State of West Bengal to which she so justly belongs, and also share in the common prosperity.

This, then, is the general background against which the financial picture is to be set. The economic difficulties, which West Bengal has sooner or later to surmount, if she is again to find her feet, do not make it easy to greet the year with that hope and cheerfulness which ancient custom enjoins. The hard facts of the present condition cannot be dismissed with polished words or wishful thinking. The problems which before freedom loomed in the distant horizon, have now by irresistible force of events been brought into the forefront. Their solution hardly brooks delay. Many of the economic advantages we had in the past are no longer there; the Partition has shaken the economy of the country; many essential commodities are in short supply; business is at a standstill. These may easily cause pessimism. Yet pessimism has never led any cause or nation to triumph over difficulties The adverse facts never tell the whole of a story. When full account is taken of both favourable and unfavourable features of the economic situation, it will be found that extreme pessimism is harder to justify than buoyant optimism. But optimism should be tempered with a realistic appreciation of the formidable difficulties that must be overcome if we are to achieve peace and prosperity for India and West Bengal.

Turning now to the general economic situation in the country, the period of one year which has elapsed since I made my last Budget statement has been one of considerable stress and strain, though it has no doubt been relieved by a good deal of solid achievement in various sectors of the national economy. In spite of some setbacks, there was much in last year over which one can take a measure of pride. The inflationary situation in the country has been, on the whole, kept under control; in any case, it did not worsen in the way that such a situation is generally known to worsen. During the first three months of 1949, trend of prices was generally downward, though later, influenced by unfavourable crop reports, prices tended to rise to some extent. Over the year as a whole, the rise in the average general price-index, as compared with the average in the preceding year, was inconsiderable, amounting to about 4 per cent. After devaluation, the upward pressure upon prices was again high for some time, due largely to the operation of some speculative forces, but the Government met the situation quickly and with determination. The Eight-Point Programme which they put into operation in this connection aimed at bringing down the prices of essential commodities, manufactured goods as well as foodgrains, by about 10 per cent., either by a reduction of ex-farm or ex-factory prices or by a curtailment of distribution costs and incidental charges, or by both. The implementing of this new policy

had a salutary effect and by November, prices were again falling. In December, the food index had fallen by over 32 points from their peak level of 406·8 in October, that is to say, immediately following devaluation. The increase in the average price-level in 1949 over the average in the preceding year was, as already indicated, of not much consequence.

While thus the price-level was kept more or less under control, the goal of stabilising the prices, and that preferably at a somewhat lower level than where they stand now, remains still at some distance. High, or even rising, prices during a period when money supply was actually falling, as it was last year when there was a net fall in both notes in circulation as well as in bank deposits, naturally puzzle many observers. The fact of the matter is that so long as food and cloth—the two primary needs of the people—remain in short supply, monetary factors are not in themselves powerful enough to correct the situation and to bring to the common man a sense of relief. As is quite natural, the general price indices give to food and cloth, the demand for which is highly inelastic, a special weight, and a slight change in the prices of food and cloth, therefore, affects the general price-level to a considerable extent. Even great improvements in other sectors of the economy may thus fail to make their influence felt on the general price situation so long as the common man struggles hard with his basic problems of food and cloth.

Disappointment in one or two sectors of the economy—however important they may be—should not make us blind to, or unappreciative of, the encouraging progress in other sectors that took place last year. In fact, the last year as a whole brought us more successes than failures. In a large number of sectors, such as iron and steel, cement, paper, coal, tea, transport, and others, not only was the total output maintained, but there were considerable improvements over the levels reached in 1948. Improvement in the output of the basic industries such as iron and steel, coal and cement, and also in transport which, until recently, was one of our major despairs, is highly gratifying, specially in view of the setbacks some of them had received during the preceding year. Nevertheless, the present level of production, in many cases, is still below the installed capacity of the industries, and compares unfavourably with their own performances during the war. Needless to say, our present levels of output are also inadequate to meet our growing requirements in the context of an increasing standard of living which we want to achieve. This only shows that the improvements that have been attained on the production front during the recent past should not create in us any sense of complacency, but renewed efforts should be put forth for bettering our past records as far as possible. There must also be new expansion of productive capacity in many directions. During the current year, every major industry has been given a production target, with reference to its installed capacity and other factors controlling production and every endeavour must be made to achieve these targets.

Last but not the least important has been the improvement in the labour situation. It is worth recalling that since the Industrial Truce Resolution of December, 1947, the relation between labour and management has, on the whole, steadily improved. The rate of loss of man-days in 1949 was about 66·74 lakhs as against 78·37 lakhs in the preceding year and 165·63 lakhs in 1947. The improvement in the labour situation was indeed most gratifying and it augurs well for the future, but one still looks in vain for an increase in labour productivity. Latest available reports indicate that, so far as productivity of labour is concerned, there has been a further decline in the most important sectors of the economy. Last year, I mentioned specifically the declining productivity in the cotton textile and coal industry; this year the iron and steel industry offers an instance to the point. It is authoritatively stated in respect of one of the

largest units in this industry that while (between 1942 and 1948) the bill for wages, salaries and amenities to labour had increased by 164 per cent., production had decreased by 15 per cent. Production per head had fallen from 142 tons to 78 tons, which is equal to 45 per cent. The number of employees had increased from 3,600 to 5,500, that is by 52 per cent.

Notwithstanding some major laches here and there, the effect of the general economic improvement is bound to make itself felt sooner or later. But, as has been already stated, while changes in the supply of consumer goods, especially necessaries of life, make their effect felt almost immediately, improvement in producers' goods such as cement, coal and steel, can be appreciated only after a time-lag. It is for this reason that in the consciousness of the consuming public, food, cloth, mustard oil and sugar make a stronger impress than cement, iron or coal or even tea, which has limited consumption.

✓ Unfortunately, there are no similar gains in the food front. On the other hand, the total area under foodgrains in 1948-49 was 174·6 million acres as compared with 179·0 million acres in the preceding year and 185·2 million acres in 1946-47. The fall in acreage was roughly 1·5 per cent. and it was shared by all varieties of crops except gram and barley which showed slight increase. Not only acreage, but the total yield also fell. It is no wonder, then, that imports of foodgrains from abroad have been rising from year to year. The total estimated import in 1949 were 3·5 million tons as compared with 2·8 million tons in the previous year. These food imports, as is well known, have been fast eating away our reserves of foreign exchange. The total cost of food imports in 1948 was Rs. 130 crores. In 1949 they must be considerably higher.

The new Food Policy of the Government of India announced in March, 1949, envisages self-sufficiency for India by the end of 1951. According to this policy the country will not import any foodgrains after 1951 except to meet a grave emergency, such as a widespread failure of crops or for the purpose of building up a Central reserve. The Prime Minister of India, in a nation-wide broadcast in August, 1949, announced the acceptance by the Government of India of the recommendation of Lord Boyd Orr to treat food on a war basis. Details of the Food Plan, as worked out later, envisage an increase in the production of foograins during 1950 and 1951 by 4 million tons which is approximately the annual deficiency in home production. The increased output is to be obtained partly through intensive cultivation, partly through the reclamation of weed-infested and other waste lands by means of tractors and tube-well irrigation, and partly also through diversion of acreage under other crops to foodgrains.

Before the war, undivided India used to import about 5 lakh tons of foodgrains annually while we now import, after Partition, six to seven times as much. Indeed, Partition itself has greatly complicated our food position for we have been left with less food-growing areas proportionately to our population. The constant influx of refugees from Pakistan also makes the problem more and more difficult. Besides, the natural growth of population, and our failure to increase either the acreage or the productivity of land devoted to the production of food crops have further added to the complication. Unless and until we achieve self-sufficiency in food, we shall not regain our economic health. This year the Government of India do not propose to import more than 1·5 million tons of foodgrains, and much store is set by increased production and better procurement to help us tide over the crisis at least to enable us to balance our external payments position. For, we have been living upon our capital for too long a time, and have considerably run down our external savings.

The House will be glad to know that the West Bengal Government are making their due contribution towards the solution of this problem. Last year the area under rice in our State was raised from 9·11 million acres to 9·35 million acres, and the yield per acre also went up from 8·7 to 9·9 maunds in the case of *aus* and from 9·9 to 11 maunds in the case of *aman* crop.

Next to food is cloth; and production last year in this sector had a set-back. The output of the textile mills decreased due to a variety of causes, such as, shortage of cotton, the closure of a number of mills because of paucity of funds and inability to dispose of stocks of cloth and yarn. The difficulties of the textile industry were also increased by the freezing by the Pakistan Government of imports of Indian textile goods. Another important industry to receive a set-back was jute. Irregular and interrupted supplies of raw jute from Pakistan was the main cause of the set-back in the industry. The production of sugar for 1948-49 (November-October) also declined, one of the causes of the reduction being a large-scale diversion of cane to the manufacture of *gur*.

The deteriorating economic relation with Pakistan had added to the anxieties of our already complex economic situation. In fact, it may well be said that in many respects Partition became fully effective only during last year. The many structural changes in our economy necessitated by the political division of the country hit us with their full, if delayed, impact. In previous years, there was much ground for hope that the harmful effects of Partition might be considerably mitigated, if not largely avoided, by each country regarding the other as complementary to itself in the economic sense. It was with this object in view that a large number of trade and monetary agreements were concluded between the two countries in an attempt to keep the old channels of trade and commerce functioning as far as possible. The events of the last year have, however, largely belied these hopes and it now seems clear that the two countries may have to live separate, not only politically but economically also. The relations between the two countries came to a head with devaluation when they almost parted company. Just at present, a virtual deadlock prevails in our economic relations with our neighbour. The force of circumstances has already had important effects upon our economic policy and we have been driven to seek self-sufficiency in respect of two raw materials, viz., jute and cotton, for which we have depended so long largely on Pakistan territory. When this self-sufficiency has been attained, the political division of the country will also have its economic parallel. It is not pleasant to contemplate such an eventuality, but it seems almost inevitable. In the present year it is proposed to grow jute on about 200,000 acres of cultivable *aus* land in certain districts of the State and the additional outturn is estimated to be 500,000 bales of raw jute. If seeds and other facilities are available, it may be even possible to double this figure. According to present estimates, India is expected to attain self-sufficiency in jute in the coming year. The target for jute production for the next year has been fixed at 5 million bales which will be supplemented by 1 million bales of mesta and other fibres, the production of which would also be intensified during the current year. The total raw material which is thus to be made available to the industry in the next year is 6 million bales, which will be fairly sufficient to meet its requirements at current level of production. Besides the four main jute-growing States—West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam—jute is now being grown in Tripura, Cooch Behar, Uttar Pradesh and Travancore. The acreage under jute in Uttar Pradesh has gone up recently from 5,000 to 13,000 acres, and Orissa has more than doubled its jute cultivation from 23,000 to 51,000. Further additions to acreage in all the areas including West Bengal are contemplated. Self-sufficiency in jute will have a tremendous effect upon our balance of payments position, and reduce expenditure of foreign currency by about Rs. 75 crores a year.

During the last year the general financial developments in the international sphere reached a further stage of adjustment to post-war needs; but the various trends indicate some conflicting developments. Recovery in production and trade, particularly in Europe, produced conspicuous results and to that extent has been able to check the inflationary pressure; still, inflation was not brought fully under control because of policies, such as the price-support programme in the United States and the discriminating prices or artificial price-pegging adopted by some countries in the wake of devaluation and the general upward pressure on prices and costs which devaluation itself has generated. In several countries there has been a retreat from cheap money policy indicated either by a formal upward revision of Central Bank discount rates or by a rise in the long-term yields on Government securities. The general pattern of maladjustment of the balance of payments relationships, particularly between the dollar area and the rest of the world, continues, and the situation was met only by the immense programme of American aid, and to a similar extent by the finance made available by the various financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund, the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The continued persistence of this problem and the growing fear that even after the period of Marshall Aid the countries of Europe and the sterling area may not still attain equilibrium in their international accounts led to closer Anglo-American financial talks and this led to a greater appreciation on the part of America of the unity of the problem of the balance of payments disequilibrium as between the European sector and the sterling area.

The remarkable progress achieved by the countries of Western Europe in post-war economic recovery has been largely the result of grants and credits received by them from other countries in a position to help. The United States Government, which has been the chief source of aid in the immediate post-war years, itself provided the rest of the world, by way of grants and loans, with dollars and dollar goods to the value of well over $5,000 million annually. The bulk of the American aid, however, has gone to the countries of Western Europe. First, there was the Anglo-American Financial Agreement of July, 1946, under which the United Kingdom was lent $3,750 million When this was exhausted, the chief medium of American aid to Europe became the European Recovery Programme under which the participants have received about $4,300 million till 30th June, 1949. The European Recovery Programme has helped European countries not only to maintain their trade with the Western Hemisphere but also to develop the trade between themselves by the operation of the Payments Scheme evolved within the framework of the programme. Under the scheme, the participating countries received, in addition to the direct aid from the Economic Co-operation Administration, additional dollars, as "conditional" aid to the extent of their creditor position *vis-a-vis* other participants, provided they give "drawing rights" to an equivalent extent in their own currencies to their debtors.

During these years of reconstruction India has received almost no aid from the United States nor was there any plan along the lines of the Intra-European Payments Scheme, for fostering her trade, in which she could participate. Hence, apart from any indirect benefits which accrued to her from the aid received by European countries and drawings amounting to Rs. 33 crores on the resources of the International Monetary Fund, her sterling assets constituted the main source of finance for meeting her balance of payments deficits. Between the end of 1945 and the end of 1949, these assets were run down by nearly Rs. 841 crores, of which, when allowance is made for capital and other extraordinary payments to the United Kingdom and the transfer of assets to Pakistan, over Rs. 300 crores could perhaps be attributed to the deficits on current account. These assets which amounted to about Rs.826 crores at the end of 1949 will have to be

the chief source from which the import requirements of the several developmental projects of the country will have to be financed, unless in the meantime, foreign assistance is forthcoming on any significant scale.

By far and large, devaluation of the rupee, announced by the Government of India, on September 18, 1949, remains the most outstanding event of the year in the monetary and financial field. When India joined the International Monetary Fund a few years ago, sterling ceased to be the sole determinant of the external value of the rupee, but it was nevertheless decided to maintain the existing par value of the rupee which, based on the rupee-sterling rate of 1*s*. 6*d*. and the London-New York parity of 4·03 dollars to the pound, worked out to Rs.330·852 per $100. On the basis of the United States Treasury's buying rate for gold $35 per fine ounce, the gold content of the rupee became equivalent to 0·268601 grammes.

The *status quo* was thus maintained. But it did not mean that the true purchasing power parity of the rupee could be thus maintained. For the movement of prices in India and the rest of the world had been largely divergent since the beginning of the World War II, and particularly since the end of the war. As a result, the rupee came to be more and more over-valued. It has been, in fact, over-valued both in terms of pound-sterling and the dollar, but the over-valuation in terms of the dollar was the more serious. Compared with the pre-war level, the wholesale price-index in the United States of America moved to 184 by the end of March, 1949, as compared with 370 in India. The price-index in the United Kingdom stood somewhere midway at 203. The effect of the over-valuation of a currency is to make imports cheaper and exports dearer, but so long as the seller's market prevailed, this could do little harm. Until recently, the world was so hungry for all sorts of goods that any country could in fact export to the full limit of its surplus. In recent months, however, the seller's market has been gradually yielding place to a buyer's market. Our overseas purchasers are becoming more and more price-conscious, and, in fact, our goods have been already priced out of some markets. In the next place, our capacity to absorb foreign goods has a limit set by our export surplus and by our reserves of foreign exchange. Since the end of the war, due largely to increasing food imports, we have been experiencing an import surplus and to finance these imports we have been forced to make heavy drafts upon our large, but limited, stock of foreign exchange. We have also had to borrow more and more from the International Monetary Fund to balance our external position. This will be evident when we consider the rate at which our external deficit has been increasing. Our deficit on current account which amounted to nearly Rs. 36·4 crores in 1946 shot up to Rs.154·0 crores in 1947 and it amounted to Rs.122·5 crores in 1948. As a consequence the foreign assets of our banking system, including the sterling assets of the Reserve Bank of India, have been steadily falling. The amount of depletion was Rs.56·9 crores in 1946, Rs.107·5 crores in 1947 and Rs.327·0 crores in 1948. Of course, the phenomenal fall of assets in 1948 was due largely to the payment of a sum of Rs.224·0 crores to the Government of the United Kingdom by the Government of India for the purchase of an annuity to meet the annual pension charges due to British nationals from the Indian Union.

Another cause of the heavy decline of the sterling securities in recent years has been the large transfers of these securities to Pakistan in terms of the Pakistan (Monetary System and Reserve Bank) Order, 1947, as amended in March, 1948. In terms of this order, out of the foreign securities held by the Reserve Bank of India, sums amounting to Rs.100·74 crores in the Banking Department and Rs.34·57 crores in the Issue Department were transferred to the State Bank of Pakistan on the 1st July, 1948. Further portions of these assets also have since been transferred against the return of India Notes in Pakistan. Assets transferred against such notes

up to the end of September, 1949, amounted to Rs.133·77 crores of which gold coin and bullion amounted to Rs.4·40 crores and sterling securities Rs.89·55 crores.

It was against such a background that devaluation in India was decided upon. Even so, devaluation was not India's free choice but was, in a sense, forced upon her by the prior devaluation by United Kingdom. For, our trade with the sterling area is still larger than that with any other single currency area, and the proportion of our trade with countries outside the hard currency areas amounts to nearly 70 per cent. of our total external trade. By devaluation, we have thus safeguarded the position of the bulk of our foreign trade. If, in addition, devaluation helps us to push our products in the world's market, it may indeed bring us some positive good and help us to correct our external position. That such hopes may not be entirely unjustified is indicated by the fact that in November and December last, we have already had a favourable balance of trade, for the first time in many months.

One of the immediate gains of devaluation has been to put a stop to the heavy flight from the rupee which was previously taking place. Now there is a flight in the reverse direction, and this has been no doubt an important contributory factor in our recent gains in sterling resources. During the first nine months of the last year, that is, up to the time of the devaluation, the Reserve Bank had lost foreign securities to the tune of nearly Rs.236 crores. During the period of three months and a half following devaluation, not only was this drain stopped, but the Bank gained nearly Rs.43 crores. Stoppage of external drain and new accretions of foreign resources are not only highly gratifying in the immediate context of our acute difficulties in respect of balance of payments, but they are likely to release a number of expansionist forces which will stimulate output and employment, and thus lead to more enduring benefits.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised, however, that devaluation, to be fully effective, has to be followed up by a number of other measures of a supporting character. The immediate effect of devaluation, it must not be forgotten, is to reduce the dollar return from existing exports, though not, of course, to the full extent of the fall in the dollar value of the rupee. This shows, however, that the physical volume of the dollar exports has to be largely expanded—by some 40 per cent. or so—before the total dollar earnings from existing exports are to be even restored to their pre-devaluation level. Our dollar exports—jute manufactures, oil-seeds, mica, etc. —are no doubt in great demand, but it does not necessarily follow that a cheapening of their prices as a result of devaluation will be followed by a more than proportionate increase in the dollar outlay on them. But unless there is an increase which is more than proportionate in this sense, there is no net gain in earnings of dollars. For achieving such a result, it will now be necessary for us to give far more attention than in the past to the study of foreign markets, and to improve the quality of our export goods. We have also to reduce our dependence on dollar markets, at least for such articles as foodstuffs, the supply of which should be expanded at home up to the full limit of our requirements. In the next place, we must also put an effective check on inflation, for so long as highly inflationary conditions prevail, our market remains a good one for selling to and a bad one for buying from, from the point of view of foreigners. If all these necessary measures are adopted and rightly implemented in time, devaluation may well begin to pay us good dividends at not too distant a future.

This brings me to the question of our balance of payments. I have already referred to the heavy drain on our external resources due to the excess of our imports over our exports. Our unfavourable balance of trade and of payments is, in essence, the external counterpart of our internal economic disequilibrium and it is a measure of our failure to put our house

in order. It is of the first importance that this lack of balance in our external position should be corrected. The prospect of our being able to do so in the near future is not at all discouraging. If we make good use of all the opportunities that are available to us, it may not be long before we are able to solve this vital problem satisfactorily. I would like the House, in this connection, to note the several favourable changes in our position in international trade and finance since the end of the war. The Home Charges of pre-war days have now entirely disappeared and it may be recalled that these used to constitute a large and highly inelastic annual levy upon our foreign exchange earnings. To this extent, therefore, our balance of payments position has become easier. In the next place, since the end of the last Great War, the terms of trade between agricultural and manufactured products have improved. It may be recalled that during the 'thirties when a sharp decline in agricultural prices had a most upsetting effect upon our balance of payments position, it could be stabilised only by heavy exports of gold. Lastly, in recent years, there have been some signs of our building up an export trade in manufactured goods also. Some of our manufactured goods—cotton textiles, sports goods, coir manufactures, etc., apart from jute manufactures in which we hold practically a monopoly—have met with a good response in several overseas markets, and they have been valuable earners of foreign exchange.

If the end of the war has thus brought us several favourable trends in our balance of payments position, it has also introduced some new complications. The greatest of these complications is the distinction between hard currencies and soft currencies. Before the war, a country needed to balance its overall external position, and it was not necessary to balance its position separately with reference to soft currency areas and hard currency areas, a distinction which, in fact, did not at all exist. Now, however, it is necessary to achieve balance in each of these two parts, and that makes balancing of a nation's external position much more difficult. Moreover, the war has also changed the pattern of trade in certain directions, and this has also had an adverse effect on us. Before the war, our trade with countries like the United States of America and Canada was such as to make it possible for us to enjoy a sizeable surplus in relation to them. As a result of the devastation of the war, we have, however, now to buy from them goods which we formerly imported from the United Kingdom, Burma and Thailand, viz., capital goods and food. This has consequently increased our demand for hard currencies.

Though our balance of payments problem is thus a formidable one, it is by no means insoluble. As already stated, our greatest weakness in our balance of payments position arises from our food imports, and these should entirely stop. A great deal, therefore, depends upon the success which attends the Government's plan to achieve self-sufficiency in food by the end of the next year. In the next place every attempt should be made to increase our exports—especially of jute goods and cotton textiles. Thus the internal drive for growing more food should be buttressed by the external drive for more exports. Already devaluation is lending us a helping hand in straightening out our balance of payments position, for it has already made dollar goods comparatively dear to us. The import licences for dollar areas are also mostly confined to capital goods and food. The new policy is already bearing fruits, and as already stated, in November and December last, there was a welcome change in our trade balance.

The question of foreign capital, to which reference was made in my Budget Statement last year, has now been somewhat crystallised by a fuller policy-statement by the Hon'ble Prime Minister. The role of foreign capital in the economic development of India is now fully recognised and foreign capital has been assured all reasonable facilities, such as earning of profits, withdrawal of capital investment, and remittance of both overseas, subject, of course, to the consideration of foreign exchange. Foreign

undertakings are placed on the same footing as Indian, both to be governed by Government's *industrial policy. Because of their being foreign in origin —they will not be subjected to any special restrictions—they will be given a fair field to operate in, fair and equitable compensation* will also be paid, if and when a foreign enterprise is compulsorily acquired and all reasonable facilities will be given in such case for the remittance of the proceeds. While, as a rule, the major interest in ownership and effective control will be in Indian hands no hard and fast rule will be followed, and in exceptional cases the Government will not object to foreign capital having control of a concern for a limited period, if it is found to be in the national interest. Each individual case will, however, be judged on its merits.

These terms and conditions are as fair as they could be and should give a quietus to all the misgivings so long entertained in certain foreign quarters. These are not only in full accord with our new obligations as a member of the International Trade Organisation, but, in some respects, are better than the terms which our membership requires us to maintain. The assurance that no restrictions will be imposed on foreign undertakings which are not applicable to indigenous enterprises will, I am sure, be noted with special interest by the foreign entrepreneurs, when all that the Charter of the International Trade Organisation demands is an assurance that a capital-receiving country will not make a discrimination as between foreign investments.

The last year saw the first loans received by India from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. As these loans are made on commercial principles, they indicate that India is considered to be a good risk by the Bank. The first loan was received on the 18th August, 1949. It is for a sum of $34 million repayable in 15 years and carries an interest of 3 per cent. *plus* 1 per cent. special commission Its object is to help us to purchase some 650 locomotives from the United States of America and Canada. Our own contribution to the cost of the locomotives is $50 million. The second loan, received on the 29th September, 1949, is for a sum of $10 million. The loan is for a term of seven years and carries an interest of 2½ per cent. *plus* the usual commission of 1 per cent. This loan has been received for the purpose of reclaiming 3 million acres of weed-infested land in the Madhya Pradesh and Bhopal. It will take seven years to clear the whole area of 3 million acres, but even during this period of reclamation, 4 million tons of cereals will be available to the market, which will be worth more than the dollar cost of the loan. At the end of the seven years, the reclaimed land will supply about 1 million tons a year.

Loans from such foreign bodies as the International Bank should more properly be reserved for select Government-sponsored or large-scale schemes —a policy which is being followed in practice by the Government. In the private sector of the economy, aid should be sought from private investors or private industries in foreign countries, not only because the former type of loans will not be ordinarily available for these purposes but also because it is only loans from private bodies which can be expected to bring with them the requisite "know how" and technical skill of which we stand in as great need as of foreign capital goods. Private foreign industrialists are, however, still in a hesitant mood, but it is hoped that they will overcome this before long. As an argument for keeping off India, some foreign capitalists point to our high level of taxation, high cost of living, contemplated legislation by the Government to control industries, Government participation in industries, threats of nationalisation, profit-sharing schemes, etc. If Indian enterprise can hope to progress despite all this, I find no reason why, with its admitted resilience, foreign enterprise cannot be expected to flourish in this country. It has already had the clearest assurances from the Prime Minister in respect of equal treatment with Indians. This assurance should be considered as a sufficient guarantee against any discrimination or unfair treatment, for which apprehension

seems to linger with undue persistence. Certain aspects of Indian industrial and fiscal policies have not yet been finalised and one should not anticipate too many evils. Government participation in industry and Government intervention in industry have to some extent come to stay, in India, as in many other countries, but, in my opinion even making allowances for this, there will always be a wide and fair field for much private enterprise in India, both Indian and foreign, and those who are now prepared to take the risks will have no reason for regret.

The long-term capital market, as indicated by trends in the principal stock exchanges, had another long and dull year, and this must be regarded as one of our major disappointments of the past twelve months. Security prices, which tumbled down as a result of the fateful Budget of March, 1947, have not looked up again, and if now and then there have been signs of a returning confidence, such confidence tended to be chilled sometimes by an unfavourable wind blowing from directions—friendly and unfriendly. The economic recovery of the country depends in a large measure on the normal health and unimpeded functioning of the capital market. For, our economic well-being in the long run depends upon the rate at which we form new capital, and the position in this respect is reflected in the state of affairs on the stock exchanges which are truly regarded as the barometer of the capital market.

During the first six months of 1949, security prices continued on the downward slope, much in the same manner as in the previous two years and a half, and it seemed that the bottom had been knocked out of them. In the week ended July 2, 1949, they reached their nadir at 108·74 (1938 = 100 —New Series, Reserve Bank of India) which compares with 139·20 a year ago or even 128·95 at the beginning of the year. It may be recalled that in July, 1946, they had occupied the proud position of 289·55. Since July, 1949, however, when, as just stated, security prices touched their lowest point, many hopeful observers have noticed a slight bettering of the situation, and a tendency for prices to move up slightly and as this trend has now been sustained for six months or so, this may indeed be the turning of the corner. Perhaps, the reliefs in direct taxation granted to industry in the last year's Budget and the assurances of the Prime Minister to private enterprise have had something to do with this welcome change.

Our stock markets are, however, not yet out of the woods and the reasons call for scrutiny. The most important reason has certainly been the heavy penalty imposed on personal initiative and enterprise through the high rates of income-tax. In spite of some concessions in the rates, as just referred to, they remain, barring the United Kingdom, perhaps the highest in the world. Even in the richest country in the world, viz., the United States of America, where the taxable capacity of the people is much greater, the rates of income-tax are not so onerous as in this country. A few instances will make it clear. In India, the combined effective rates of income-tax and super-tax on an income of Rs. 30 lakhs is 92·2 per cent if unearned, and 85·7 per cent. if earned; whereas in the United States of America the maximum combined tax is 77 per cent., which is also the ceiling. Even if the income is wholly earned, a man of Rs. 1 lakh pays in India 48·2 per cent. in tax; in the United States of America an income five times as high ($100,000 which is roughly equal to Rs. 5 lakhs) pays less (45·64 per cent.) provided the assessee is a married person with two dependents. A man with an income of Rs. 3 lakhs pays 69·7 per cent. in tax in India, while his counterpart in the United States of America would have to pay approximately 35 per cent.

In the post-war period, rates of income-tax have been substantially modified in various countries with a view to stimulating trade and industry, and also attracting foreign capital, for it is quite obvious that other conditions remaining the same, foreign capital is attracted to that country where

the taxes are the least burdensome. Among such countries, special mention may be made of Canada, *Australia, Brazil and Argentina. All these are developing countries and therefore their economies are largely comparable to ours. It is understood that Australia* has reduced its taxes by approximately 23 per cent. in recent years, and the rate of tax on the highest slab of income is only about 67 per cent. In Canada, there have been successive reductions in income-tax since hostilities ceased. Late in 1945 there was a general reduction of 16 per cent. This was followed up by further reduction several times. The reductions in personal income-tax in that country last year ranged from 5 per cent. on the highest slabs on income to 100 per cent., that is, complete exemption in several cases.

In fact, fiscal policy has to be properly related to our existing stage of economic development, and it should approximate more closely to the policy pursued in such under-developed countries as Brazil, Argentina, Canada, etc., where income-tax rates are particularly low, than to the policy pursued in a fully developed and mature economy like that of Great Britain. The investment habit is as yet very inadequately developed in this country and it requires far greater encouragement and direct incentives than it does in other countries.

Too high rates of income-tax defeat their own purpose and ultimately bring less revenue to the public coffers. The springs that drive men are many and varied, but among them the desire for securing for oneself and for one's family an increasing standard of material welfare, occupies a very high place in the list. This is true of all men, and this has been true of all ages and countries. Those who work harder, risk more and undertake bigger responsibilities are rewarded by larger incomes, as compared with those who work less, avoid risks or shirk responsibility. The income differentials of persons belonging to the first group are necessary to compensate them for their more arduous, more risky and more responsible work. Progressive taxation which every one justifies within limits, reduces these differentials and thus the incentive for harder and more responsible work. If progressive taxation is pushed too far, a stage is reached where the earning of a higher income becomes a matter of indifference to the income-earner. At this stage, progressive taxation is a positive deterrent to the growth of initiative and it diminishes the volume of production. The exact limit beyond which progressive taxation becomes such a deterrent is not easy to figure out, but there is no doubt that in our country the limit has been exceeded by a fair margin. This aspect of the question is no doubt receiving the best consideration of the Finance Minister of India, and the future trend of the capital market will depend to a large extent on the decisions that he may be able to take and announce in the next few days.

Mr. SPEAKER: You will please resume your speech after the adjournment.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: It is too narrow a conception of fiscal policy to regard it merely as a means of revenue for the public exchequer. The much more important effects of taxation upon business initiative and enterprise should by no means be lost sight of. It is a well-known fact that the bulk of risk capital in a country comes generally from people in the upper income brackets, and tax rates which are levied on these classes have, therefore, to be considered also from the point of view of the effect they have on the savings made by them. It may be laid down as a general principle that rates of tax which reduce the total savings of the community are socially undesirable; and concessions in taxes

are not to be judged solely by their immediate effect upon the collections of the Government but by their long-term effects upon the level of economic activity of the country as a whole. A tax concession, though it may reduce by a little the revenue of the Government in the immediate present, may still release forces which before long may upgrade the whole economy, and benefit both the Government and the people. As people in the upper income brackets provide the bulk of the savings of the community, tax-relief to them is capable of bringing great advantages to the nation as a whole, such as a sizeable increase in new investment in industries and agriculture and a general rise in the tempo of business activity. The loss of revenue to the Government would be in that event purely temporary. For the total yield of a tax depends not only upon its rate but also upon the level of national income and output. If we assume a high level of income and output a lower rate may bring more revenue to the coffers of the Government than a higher tax tuned to a lower national income. Thus a reduced rate of the income-tax which may lead to an acceleration of the rate of national economic activity may be in the long run more desirable even from the narrow point of view of the tax-gatherer than a higher tax which keeps the national income low or even pushes it further downward. Not only does a lower tax lead to increased savings and investments, but its secondary consequences are also of considerable value. Increased savings and investment lead to more employment and output but these again lead to still higher levels of income and savings in the future. Thus a chain of actions and reactions are put into operation which in their cumulative effect lead to an increase in output and employment which is far greater than the direct increase following the initial increase in investment.

The high rates of income-tax and super-tax on business activity have so demoralised the capital market that in recent years there has been very little net increase in capital investment in the country. Even Government borrowing has come to a practical standstill, for very little new money can be borrowed, and last year the Government of India had to be content with only a few conversion operations, and could raise no new long-term capital. Businessmen have become so diffident that they have no heart to undertake any expansion, and they are barely carrying on. This can be seen from the annual increase in the paid-up capital of our industries during the last few years. During the period from 1939-40 to 1946-47 the total increase in the capital of our Joint-Stock Companies amounted to only Rs. 148 crores, that is, Rs. 21 crores per year in the average; this in spite of the supposed great savings and profits of the industries during the war. This figure also covers the conversion into rupee capital of a large number of sterling companies in recent years and to this extent it indicates no new productive capacity at all. Moreover, gross increase in paid-up capital does not make allowance for obsolescence of old capital. When such obsolescence is taken into consideration, it will be seen that there has been very little augmentation of productive capacity through the infusion of new capital in industries. Our industries have to depend for their expansion mainly on their reserves, but their reserve position also is not good. Unless new funds are invested in industry, we cannot hope for any real increase in our productive equipment.

If high income-tax rates are favoured for their supposed effects in redistributing income and thus raising the general standard of the people, it is well to point out that it is economic progress, better than anything else, which can provide the true and lasting basis for a good standard of living for all. In fact, in a poor country like ours, higher production and higher national income are far more important than any attempt to redistribute wealth, which would only mean redistributing poverty. Even in a highly prosperous country like England, it was recently calculated that a policy of redistribution of wealth would not pay. If it was decreed that

nobody in England should have an income of more than £550 net of tax a year, and the resulting surplus was distributed, and even if—and no doubt this is a big if—production were to remain as large as before, the addition to all other incomes would be quite small, some £25-30 a year, or about Rs. 32 a month. Even so, it is considered that if any such wholesale *redistribution were to be effected forcibly, production would not remain the same, but would be greatly undermined. The result of any such policy of redistribution in India would indeed be catastrophic. There can be absolutely no doubt that if we are to achieve rising living standards for* our people, including the working classes, we have to think less in terms of academic socialism and nationalisation of industry, and more in terms of economic progress which means creation of more wealth for the nation, collectively and individually.

If I have taxed the patience of the House by setting my picture against a wider canvas, it is because broad economic forces do not know any political or regional divisions. Under modern conditions, these forces act and react far more quickly on individual State spheres than ever in the past. The present-day conditions do not allow political, far less economic, isolationism and we cannot keep ourselves away from the main economic currents in India or in the world outside. Any ostrich-like attitude in our approach to the economic problems of our State would necessarily entail severe penalties and I have, therefore, felt it necessary to preface my financial statement of revenue and expenditure with a general review of the economic forces that operate today, particularly in India.

I will now discuss the Budget Estimates for the coming year together with the Revised Estimates of the current year. As the changed policy of the Government of India in regard to grants and loans for development schemes has vitally affected our financial position during the current year and the next, I will begin with a brief account of the same.

In 1945, the Government of India informed the States that they could draw up plans of development on the assumption that in the five-year period, beginning with 1947-48 they would receive by way of Central grants assistance of the order of 250 crores, being one-half of the estimated Central surplus of 500 crores during the period. The promised assistance in course of the five years was subsequently raised to 273·88 crores and the amount payable out of it to undivided Bengal was provisionally fixed at 69 crores in five years. In a highly optimistic vein the Government of India further informed the States that in order, that purely financial considerations might not stand in the way of adequate measures being taken, the Government of India had decided to offer the State Governments—

(*a*) loan to the extent necessary for financing productive development schemes, and

(*b*) payments to the extent desired by the State Governments during the years 1945-46 and 1946-47 for the execution of unproductive development schemes generally approved by the Government of India, the payments being treated as advances against the grants admissible to the States during the five years.

On this assurance of the Government of India, the Government of undivided Bengal drew up a five-year plan of development and started work on it from the beginning of the year 1946-47. Being ravaged by the war and seriously affected by Partition, this State could not accumulate any reserve fund and was wholly depending upon the grant to finance these schemes. Grants amounting to 4 crores 87 lakhs and 1 crore were actually made available by the Centre to cover the full expenditure incurred respectively by the Government of undivided Bengal and the Government of West Bengal during the years 1946-47 and 1947-48.

After Partition, the Finance Minister of India, in course of his Budget speech made in February, 1948, stated that he had carefully considered whether, in the altered circumstances, the Centre should reduce its assistance to the States but that he had come to the conclusion that in the larger interests of the development of the country as a whole, it would be unwise to do so, particularly as the States had framed their plans on the assumption that the promised assistance would be forthcoming. In connection with the Finance Ministers' Conference held in October, 1948, the Government of India reiterated its policy and stated that it had reached the conclusion that in the larger interests of the development of the country as a whole it was undesirable to reduce the scale of assistance on which the States had so far planned their schemes. In view, however, of the then financial position, the Government of India asked the States for a rearrangement of the schemes so as to spread the expenditure over a longer period than five years as originally contemplated. It was suggested by the Government of India that in view of the inevitable slowing down of work on most schemes due to shortage of man-power and materials this would, in any case, be unavoidable. It was stated that after allowing for the areas now located in Pakistan and on the same basis as was adopted for the distribution of the original commitment in respect of the States now forming part of the Indian Union, the grants admissible to the States would be 203.78 crores and West Bengal's share would be 23.02 crores.

In May, 1948, the State Government was asked to revise their development schemes with a view to reduce expenditure and there was placed on the development grant payable to the State in 1948-49 a ceiling of 1 crore 70 lakhs only as against a Budget provision of 6 crores 57 lakhs. The development programme of the year was, thereupon, curtailed drastically but as work was in progress in many cases, it was not possible to reduce expenditure from 6 crores 57 lakhs to 1 crore 70 lakhs. The provision in the Revised Estimate was reduced to 3 crores 32 lakhs and the actual expenditure was 3 crores 47 lakhs against which a grant of 1 crore 70 lakhs was only received.

In November, 1948, the Government of India informed the State Government that loans up to 4 crores 10 lakhs would be admissible to West Bengal for financing productive development schemes in 1948-49. Against this a loan of 1 crore only was actually given to the State.

Excluding the provision for the Damodar Valley Project, a provision of 6 crores 43 lakhs was made for productive development schemes in the current year's Budget. Subsequently the Government of India informed the State Government that, pending further scrutiny, they had made a Budget provision of 5 crores on account of loan payable to the Government of West Bengal for development schemes during the current year. This was in addition to a provision of 3 crores 40 lakhs payable on account of West Bengal's share of the cost of the Damodar Valley Project for 1949-50. Government of India had also informed the State Government in November, 1948, that the development grant admissible to the State during 1949-50 would be 2 crores 40 lakhs.

In August last, Government of India warned the State Government that the provisions for development grants and loans might have to be further reduced. The warning was followed up in October by a further communication intimating that for the current year a development grant of 2 crores only would be available to the State against 2 crores 40 lakhs promised before and that payment of development grant would be stopped completely from next year. As regards loans, the Government of India stated that besides the loan to be given for the Damodar Valley Project, they would give us a loan of 86 lakhs only on account of the Mayurakshi Project for the current year and no loan would be granted during the current year for any other scheme. The Government of India stated at the same time that

they could consider request for loans for the next year for projects under execution which were productive. But we have been subsequently informed that for the next year also no loans would be granted to this State for any scheme other than the Mayurakshi Project. As no definite amount was promised for the Mayurakshi Project till the time of going to the press, we have budgeted on the basis of our requirement of 2 crores during the next year.

These decisions of the Government of India upset the State Budget. A large number of development schemes were being financed from grants and loans received from the Centre on the basis of their promises made very liberally in 1945 and renewed from time to time after Partition. Schemes were drawn up on the basis of these promises and last year when the grants and the loans were reduced in the midst of the year the schemes were revised drastically and the expenditure was spread over a longer period than originally anticipated, as desired by the Government of India. It was, therefore, practically impossible to re-plan the schemes in most cases or to reduce expenditure on them on any appreciable scale when the mid-year decision of the Government of India referred to above was received this year. The provision for these schemes in the current year's Budget was 4 crores 82 lakhs against which a grant of 2 crores 40 lakhs was promised by the Government of India. It has not been possible to reduce this provision below 4 crores 11 lakhs in the Revised Estimates, against which a grant of 2 crores only has been sanctioned by the Government of India. Next year's Budget provision for schemes of this type is 3 crores 74 lakhs against which no grant will be received from the Government of India and the entire burden will be thrown on State resources.

It will appear that against the promised total grant of 23·02 crores to West Bengal, we shall be receiving, till the end of 1950-51, 4 crores 70 lakhs only consisting of 1 crore in 1947-48, 1 crore 70 lakhs in 1948-49, 2 crores in 1949-50 and nothing in 1950-51. Our expenditure on development schemes during the period will be 12 crores 84 lakhs consisting of 1 crore 52 lakhs in 1947-48, 3 crores 47 lakhs in 1948-49, 4 crores 11 lakhs in 1949-50 and 3 crores 74 lakhs in 1950-51.

As regards the productive development schemes, the Budget provision of 4 crores 80 lakhs in 1948-49 was reduced to 2 crores 99 lakhs in the Revised and the actual expenditure was 1 crore 96 lakhs against which a loan of 1 crore only was received from the Government of India. In 1949-50 the Budget provision was 6 crores 43 lakhs which has been reduced to 5 crores 57 lakhs in the "Revised" against which the loan receivable from the Centre is 86 lakhs being equal to the provision for the Mayurakshi Project. The provision is 6 crores 14 lakhs in the Budget for 1950-51, against which the provision for loan receivable from the Centre is 2 crores being equal to the provision for the Mayurakshi Project. The Budget provision of 6 crores 43 lakhs for the current year included a provision of 2 crores 50 lakhs for the Road Development Project. This provision has been reduced to 2 crores 35 lakhs in the "Revised" and the next year's Budget provision on this project is 2 crores 54 lakhs. Excluding the provisions for the Road Development Project and the Mayurakshi Project the balance of the provision amounts to 3 crores 18 lakhs in the current year's Budget, reduced to 2 crores 36 lakhs in the Revised Estimates of the current year and to 1 crore 60 lakhs in the Budget for the next year. These amounts include provisions for the Road Transport Scheme and North Calcutta Rural Electrification Scheme. The provision for these two schemes together is 97 lakhs in the current year's Budget, 95 lakhs in the current year's Revised and 99 lakhs in the Budget for the next year.

Thus for financing productive development schemes other than the Damodar Valley Project we shall be receiving from the Government of India till the end of the year 1950-51 a loan of 4 crores 26 lakhs (3 crores 35 lakhs

for the Mayurakshi Project and 91 lakhs for other schemes, including 40 lakhs received in 1947-48) against a total expenditure of 13 crores 89 lakhs, consisting of 22 lakhs in 1947-48, 1 crore 96 lakhs in 1948-49, 5 crores 57 lakhs in 1949-50, and 6 crores 14 lakhs in 1950-51.

Regarding the Damodar Valley Project, which is of particular importance to this State, the honourable members are aware that the scheme is financed jointly by the Government of India, Government of Bihar and Government of West Bengal, Government of West Bengal's share being the largest. Government of West Bengal's share, as determined on the basis of the Budget of the Damodar Valley Corporation, is paid by the Government of West Bengal on receipt of a loan of an equivalent amount from the Government of India. The Hon'ble Minister in charge of Irrigation will, in due course, present the Budget of the Damodar Valley Corporation before this House. The honourable members will notice that for our share of the expenditure, we made a provision of 3 crores 40 lakhs in the current year's Budget. This has been reduced to 2 crores 47 lakhs in the Revised and the next year's provision is 4 crores 61 lakhs.

The sequence of events which led the Government of India to impose these mid-year cuts of a rather drastic nature must have been very compelling indeed. By this, the Government of India practically abandon the programme of unproductive development schemes started with high hopes and great optimism in 1945 by co-operation between the Centre and the States. Their participation in the programme of productive development schemes started at the same time is also very much restricted. But these are hard facts which the State has to face.

Work on the Development Schemes was started on the distinct understanding that grant or loan would be available from the Government of India to cover the full expenditure on the schemes according as the schemes were unproductive or productive. But from 15th August, 1947, till the end of the year 1950-51, the gap between expenditure and receipts is 8 crores 14 lakhs in the case of unproductive schemes and 9 crores 63 lakhs in the case of productive schemes. It has thus been left to this Partition-torn State to bridge a total gap of 17 crores 77 lakhs of rupees in three and a half years.

The expenditure on relief and rehabilitation of refugees proceeds against three different Budget heads, namely, 57—Miscellaneous—Expenditure on Refugees, 82—Capital Account of other Provincial Works outside the Revenue Account—Expenditure on Refugees and a Debt head, namely, Loans and Advances by Provincial Governments—Loans and Advances to Refugees. For convenience of appreciation of the position as a whole, a new demand for grant comprising expenditure under all the three heads will be placed before the House this year.

All revenue expenditure is booked under 57—Miscellaneous. Under this head the Budget provision for the current year was 4 crores 28 lakhs out of which 4 crores 27 lakhs was to be recovered from the Government of India. The balance of 1 lakh was covered by miscellaneous receipts. In the Revised, the provision for expenditure and recovery from Government of India drops to 1 crore 46 lakhs and 1 crore respectively. Recovery of 29¼ lakhs on this year's account has been included in the next year's estimates under Receipts and there is provision for 6¼ lakhs under miscellaneous receipts. The balance of 10 lakhs is the net charge on the State.

The drop in the provision in the "Revised" in relation to the Budget is mainly due to smaller expenditure on relief. The Budget provision for the next year is for expenditure of 1 crore 67 lakhs and recovery of 1 crore 27 lakhs from the Government of India. Of the net expenditure of 40 lakhs, 29 lakhs is offset by receipt taken into account under XLVI—Miscellaneous. The balance of 11 lakhs is the net charge on the State.

Expenditure of a capital nature is booked under 82—Capital Account of other Provincial Works outside the Revenue Account—Expenditure on Refugees. The schemes actually being financed from this head are—

(1) direct building programme for housing refugees,

(2) scheme for colonisation of refugees,

(3) handloom schemes for rehabilitation of refugees, and

(4) other schemes for economic rehabilitation of refugees.

Under this head the provision was 1 crore 13 lakhs in the current year's Budget. It increases to 1 crore 63 lakhs in the Revised Estimates for the current year and to 2 crores 59 lakhs in the Budget Estimates for the next year.

Loans and advances to refugees proceed against the Debt head. Under this head the Revised Estimate for the current year is 1 crore 37 lakhs against a Budget provision of 2 crores for the next year. The capital expenditure and the loans and advances are met out of loans of equivalent amounts from the Central Government the provision for which will appear under "Loans from Central Government". The provision for such loans from the Central Government on those two accounts taken together is 5 crores 99 lakhs and 3 crores respectively in the Budget Estimates and the Revised Estimates for the current year and 4 crores 59 lakhs in the Budget Estimates for the next year. In addition to 4 crores 59 lakhs, 41 lakhs is included in the next year's Budget on account of expenditure in 1948-49.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to us all that the destinies of Cooch Behar should now be bound firmly and irrevocably with the destinies of West Bengal. On the 28th August, 1949, an agreement was entered into with His Highness the Maharaja by which he transferred the administration of the State to the Union Government from the 12th September, 1949. Since that date and till the 1st January, 1950, Cooch Behar was a Centrally-administered area. On this latter date by an order under section 290A of the Government of India Act, 1935, Cooch Behar came to be administered in all respects as though it were a part of the State of West Bengal. With effect from the 26th January, 1950, by virtue of an amendment to the Constitution, it now forms an integral part of the territory of West Bengal.

The House will not perhaps find some details regarding Cooch Behar unduly wearisome. It has an area of approximately 1,318 square miles with a population of 6·40 lakhs. It is an important tobacco and jute-growing area with about 40,000 acres under jute. Progressive and able Maharajas have ruled over Cooch Behar and to them can be ascribed the many good schools, colleges and hospitals that now exist. It will be the constant endeavour of this Government to maintain and augment the social services of Cooch Behar.

While Cooch Behar was administered Centrally, the Government of India were content to allow the old administrative organisation to continue. To ensure that the merger with West Bengal would cause the minimum dislocation, it was decided likewise to allow the existing posts with their present incumbents to continue until a new organisation could be devised and created. The administrative machinery in Cooch Behar will gradually have to be remoulded and made to conform to that of a normal district and steps have already been taken with this object in view.

Meanwhile, the employees of the former administration, numbering close upon 3,000 who are continuing as servants of this Government have been assured that subject to selection by a suitable agency and to the requirements of the public service they will be finally absorbed into service under the Government of West Bengal, or in the alternative, will be paid reasonable compensation. These employees are now continuing on their pre-merger

rates of pay though the system of *ad interim* increases and the rates of dearness allowance admissible to servants of this Government have been extended with effect from the 1st January, 1950, to the employees in Cooch Behar at an estimated cost of 5·6 lakhs per annum.

The Cooch Behar Budget for 1949-50 shows estimated receipts of 1 crore 13 lakhs and estimated expenditure of 1 crore 12·37 lakhs. The Budget when prepared naturally did not differentiate between Union and State subjects as such. It so happens, however, that the main sources of revenue come from what are now Union subjects such as Special Excise (41·08 lakhs), Export Duty and Land Customs (5·96 lakhs), Income-tax (2·25 lakhs) and the State Railway (9 lakhs). The main items of expenditure on what are now Union subjects include 12·05 lakhs for the Military Department, 4·15 lakhs for the Railway and 21·51 lakhs for the Special Excise Establishment and contributions payable to the Government of India under a former agreement. Leaving aside both receipts and expenditure on account of Union subjects, and making certain corrections based on the agreements entered into with His Highness, the budgeted receipts under the State heads for 1949-50 are estimated at 45 lakhs, and the corresponding expenditure at 67 lakhs including privy purse charges thus leaving a deficit of 22 lakhs. In the Budget for 1950-51, which deals only with State subjects, the revenue receipts in Cooch Behar are estimated at 43·77 lakhs and the revenue expenditure at 60·61 lakhs leaving a deficit of 16·84 lakhs which includes the estimated increase in costs likely to be incurred by the grant of *ad interim* increases of pay and dearness allowance at rates prevalent under the Government of West Bengal. The Civil List and privy purse charges amounting to 10·5 lakhs have not been taken into account in arriving at the deficit. This item is to be charged on and paid out of the Consolidated Fund of India but the President may determine what contributions if any are to be charged on and paid out of the Consolidated Fund of West Bengal.

It will therefore be seen that although the Cooch Behar Budget as a whole was if anything a surplus budget, it is heavily deficit in the State sector and surplus in the Union sector. It is hoped that the Government of India will soon formulate a general policy about the finances of merged States which will allow appropriation of the surplus in the Central sector to finance the deficit in the State sector for some time to come and at least until the State taxes can be fully developed in their application to the merged states.

In the Revised Estimates of receipts and expenditure of the State of West Bengal for the current year, all receipts and expenditure on account of Cooch Behar have been placed in a suspense head. The classifications followed in the former state of Cooch Behar are different from the classifications followed in West Bengal, and with the merger taking place late in the financial year, this expedient had to be resorted to. The provisions for Cooch Behar in the next year's Budget follow our classification and form integral part of the provisions under the appropriate heads of the Budget.

The original estimate of expenditure on Grow More Food schemes for the current year was 2 crores 7 lakhs (1 crore 64 lakhs on Agriculture, 38 lakhs on Fisheries and 5 lakhs on Irrigation). As the progress of the schemes has not been up to expectation, the Revised Estimate has been fixed at 1 crore 45 lakhs (1 crore 31 lakhs in the Agriculture Department, 10 lakhs in the Fisheries Department and 4 lakhs in the Irrigation Department). The next year's estimate has been fixed at 1 crore 75 lakhs (1 crore 57 lakhs in the Agriculture Department, 13 lakhs in the Fisheries Department and 5 lakhs in the Irrigation Department).

Against the above estimates of expenditure 89 lakhs and 1 crore 13 lakhs are included in the Revised and Budget Estimates of revenue receipts, being the amounts likely to be received in respect of these schemes on account of sale-proceeds of seeds, manures, etc. The balance, i.e., the net

expenditure is shared between the Central Government and the State Government according to certain agreed proportions. Besides the grant to cover the Central share of the expenditure, the Government of India also grant loans to the State Government to serve as working capital required to purchase seeds, manures, etc., distributable under the schemes. The loan is repaid as the sale-proceeds are realised. The Revised and Budget Estimates of loans from the Central Government include 1 crore 4 lakhs and 1 crore 23 lakhs respectively for loans for Grow More Food schemes. Similarly 80 lakhs and 1 crore 4 lakhs are included on this account in the Revised and Budget Estimates respectively of loans repayable to the Central Government.

Food Procurement Bonus of 87 lakhs was received in 1948-49 from the Government of India. The bonus is payable at the rate of 8 annas per maund of rice procured internally and is earmarked for expenditure on schemes having the effect of increasing food production and approved by the Government of India. The bonus payable in respect of the period from 1st January, 1948, to 30th September, 1948, could also be used to cover losses on distribution of locally procured food.

The bonus received in 1948-49 was booked under the capital head 85A—Capital Outlay on State Trading Schemes and provision of 77 lakhs on the same account was made under the same head in the current year's Budget. The Revised Estimate for the same is 81 lakhs and has been included in the Revenue Account under the head LI—Extraordinary Receipts. The same provision has been repeated in the next year's Budget. A number of schemes has been forwarded to the Government of India with the request to approve them as eligible for being financed from the bonus. The number includes a few schemes under execution since last year, for which the actual expenditure during last year was 57·29 lakhs and the Revised Estimates for the current year are 60·87 lakhs. The Revised Estimates for the current year include 42·74 lakhs and the Budget Estimates for the next year include a lump provision of 88·10 lakhs for schemes to be financed from the bonus. The expenditure on these schemes has been provided for under the heads Agriculture, Irrigation and Fisheries. Thus the provisions for receipt and expenditure on this account exactly balance over a period of three years, being 2 crores 49 lakhs on each side.

The cost of procurement of foodgrains such as rice, paddy, wheat and wheat-products, and the receipts realised from the sale of foodgrains are adjusted under the capital head "Capital Outlay on Provincial Scheme of State Trading" while the cost of various organisations maintained by the Food Department is recorded under the revenue head "Extraordinary Charges in India".

The control of sugar was lifted with effect from 1st December, 1947, but it has been reimposed with effect from 9th September, 1949. The transactions relating to the purchase and distribution of sugar have been included in the Revised Estimate for 1949-50 and Budget Estimate for 1950-51.

The value of stock of foodgrains in the beginning of the year was 6 crores 95 lakhs. During the current year we expect to purchase further stock of the value of 46 crores 54 lakhs. After deducting the subsidy of 75 lakhs, and the estimated sale-proceeds of 44 crores 86 lakhs during the current year, the net expenditure in 1949-50 comes to 93 lakhs. The stock at the end of 1949-50 thus comes to 7 crores 88 lakhs. The subsidy is paid by the Government of India to cover a part of the loss on the sale of imported foodgrains and is equal to three-fourths of the difference between the cost of imported foodgrains and the issue price in the State.

The cost of purchase of foodgrains during the next year is estimated at 45 crores 79 lakhs. The sale-proceeds of stock during the next year are

estimated at 44 crores 80 lakhs. As the price to be charged by the Government of India for supply of imported foodgrains to the State has been reduced no subsidy from the Government of India will be admissible next year. There will thus be a net expenditure of 99 lakhs next year. The stock at the end of 1950-51 will therefore be of the value of 8 crores 87 lakhs.

The transactions of the Road Transport Scheme are booked under two heads, namely, "82B—Capital Outlay on Road Transport Scheme outside the Revenue Account" and "XLVIA—Receipts from Road Transport Scheme".

The provision for capital outlay during the current year is 72 lakhs in the "Revised" against 76 lakhs in the "Budget" and the Budget provision for the next year is 75 lakhs. The drop in the "Revised" in relation to the "Budget" is due to smaller expenditure on purchase of land and construction of central workshop and garage offset by larger outlay on cost of buses.

Gross receipts and working expenditure are booked under the head "XLVIA". It will appear that the net receipts during the current year drop to 1·65 lakhs in the "Revised" against 8·50 lakhs in the "Budget". The drop is due to smaller receipts from passenger bus service in consequence of a smaller number of buses being put on the roads than was anticipated and to provision in the Revised Estimate for depreciation and interest not provided for in the "Budget". The estimated net receipt for the next year is 3·69 lakhs, inclusive of 40 thousand for Cooch Behar, after providing for depreciation and interest and is based on the assumption that a larger number of buses will be placed on the roads next year.

As the activity of the State expands to commercial and developmental fields, the form of the Government accounts has to be adjusted with a view to secure an adequate exhibition of the cash transactions involved in such activities. For separate exhibition of the transactions of the Road Transport Scheme, two new heads, viz., "82B" for capital expenditure and "XLVIA" for gross receipts and working expenses were opened last year. This year a few more new heads have been opened in consultation with the Accountant-General to exhibit the position of the multipurpose river valley projects and the electricity development schemes. The new head "80A—Capital Outlay" on multipurpose river schemes will henceforth record the capital transactions of the Damodar Valley Project and the Mayurakshi Project, which were so long recorded under the head "68—Construction of Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works". The interest charges on capital outlay on these two projects also have been transferred from "22—Interest on Debt and other obligations" to "51A—Interest on Capital Outlay on multipurpose river schemes". Similarly, capital transactions of the North Calcutta Rural Electrification Scheme and Diesel Electric Pool have been transferred to the new head "81A—Capital Outlay on Electricity Schemes outside the Revenue Account" from "72—Capital Outlay on Industrial Developments". These schemes are important enough to deserve specialised attention. It may be mentioned that the capital transactions of the Barrackpore Electric Supply Scheme and the Cooch Behar Electric Supply Scheme are being recorded under the new head "53—Capital Outlay on Electricity Schemes met out of revenue" and the gross receipts and working expenses of these schemes are recorded under the new head "XLI—Receipts from Electricity Schemes". A new head "52A—Other Revenue Expenditure connected with Electricity Schemes" has been opened to record the expenditure on the scheme of appointment of power engineers and staff for development of electricity. It is important to note that these heads record only cash transactions on the basis of the appropriations sanctioned by the House. The Hon'ble Minister in charge of each scheme will in due course give an idea of its financial results.

The year 1949-50 opened with a balance of 10 crores 19 lakhs as against 3 crores 65 lakhs anticipated in the Budget presented last year. This is

due to an actual revenue surplus of 2 crores 67 lakhs in the year 1948-49 as against the anticipated revenue deficit of 23 lakhs in the Revised Estimates for that year, outstanding debits of 2 crores 9 lakhs from the Government of India on account of the price of foodgrains supplied to this State and actual credit of a subsidy of 1 crore 29 lakhs in excess of the provision included in the Revised Estimate for 1948-49. The subsidy referred to above was to cover three-fourths of the difference between the purchase price of imported foodgrains supplied by the Government of India and the issue price thereof in the State. The revenue surplus is due to the non-utilisation of the provision of 1 crore for pre-partition payments, slower progress of expenditure under certain items and to improvement of revenue under a few heads.

The year 1949-50 shows a revenue surplus of 1 crore 47 lakhs according to the Revised Estimates as against a revenue deficit of 1 crore 11 lakhs anticipated in the Budget Estimates.

The total revenue receipts have improved from 31 crores 83 lakhs to 34 crores 73 lakhs. There is an improvement of 20 lakhs under Agricultural Income-tax, 30 lakhs under Sales Tax and 35 lakhs under Entertainment Tax—all due to the change made in these measures of taxation last year. Besides there is an improvement of 19 lakhs under Excise, 35 lakhs under Stamps and 17 lakhs under Forests and Registration. Receipts from our shares of Centrally levied taxes have improved by 12 lakhs in the case of the jute duty and 20 lakhs in the case of the income-tax. Amount transferred from the Road Fund Account has increased from 24 lakhs to 50 lakhs. There is also an increase of 20 lakhs under Irrigation due to arrear recoveries from the Government of India on account of the cost of remodelling the Damodar embankments, 17 lakhs under Miscellaneous due to lapse of larger amounts of unclaimed deposits in the courts than anticipated, 26 lakhs under Extraordinary Receipts on account of an unforeseen item, viz., 6 per cent. levy on textiles produced by West Bengal mills; and 13 lakhs spread over a number of heads.

The increase is offset by a decrease of 36 lakhs under Agriculture and Industries due to smaller receipts from sale-proceeds of seeds, manures, fish, etc., in connection with Grow More Food schemes and also a decrease of 40 lakhs under Extraordinary Receipts due to curtailment of Development grant by the Centre.

Receipt of 77 lakhs on account of food procurement bonus from the Government of India was included in the Budget under the capital head "85A—Capital Outlay on State Trading Scheme". The Revised Estimate of the bonus is 81 lakhs and the provision therefor has been included in the Revenue account under "LI—Extraordinary Receipts".

The total revenue expenditure for the current year is 33 crores 26 lakhs according to the Revised Estimate as against 32 crores 94 lakhs according to the Budget Estimates. The increase is small and is the net result of (1) increases due to provision for schemes financed from procurement bonus and for pre-Partition payments, increased provision for Road Fund works and increased expenditure on refugees due to short recovery of expenditure from the Government of India this year, and (2) decreases on account of Development schemes, Grow More Food schemes, new set-up, etc. The provision for Development schemes has decreased from 4 crores 82 lakhs to 4 crores 11 lakhs. There is a drop of about 62 lakhs in the provision for the "Grow More Food" schemes in the Irrigation, Agriculture and Fisheries Departments. The new set-up for which the House sanctioned a lump provision of 1 crore last year was not given effect to till 1st January, 1950, and certain modifications were also made while giving effect to the same. The bulk of the provision, therefore, remained unutilised during the current year.

The provision for capital expenditure during the current year is 13 crores 7 lakhs according to the Revised Estimates as against 13 crores 16 lakhs in the Budget Estimates. The provision for capital expenditure includes provision for Productive Development schemes including the Damodar Valley Project, provision for State Trading schemes and provision for capital expenditure for refugees. While variation in the total is negligible, there is considerable variation under individual items. The details will be found in the booklet showing the progress on Development schemes and the Red Book circulated in the House.

Under this head are recorded the transactions in regard to the loans taken by the State Government, the State Provident Funds, deposits and advances of various nature, including deposits of the civil, revenue and criminal courts, deposits of the local bodies, loans and advances by the State Government, etc.

Excluding the heads, "Loans from the Central Government" and "Loans and Advances by the State Government", the net result of receipts and outgoings in the Revised Estimates is the same as that in the current year's Budget. The Revised Estimate of loans from the Central Government is 7 crores 37 lakhs as against 16 crores 74 lakhs provided for in the Budget Estimates. The drop is due to curtailment of loans by 93 lakhs in the case of the Damodar Valley Project and by 5 crores 57 lakhs in the case of other Development projects The loans for rehabilitation of refugees has dropped from 5 crores 99 lakhs to 3 crores. The decreases under these three items sum up to a total of 9 crores 49 lakhs against which there is a rise of 14 lakhs for loans for "Grow More Food" schemes.

The Budget Estimates of revenue receipts for the year 1950-51 show a decline of 83 lakhs as compared with the Revised Estimates of revenue receipts for the current year. The decline is due to omission of the Development grant of 2 crores from the Central Government included in the Revised, drop of 28 lakhs under Excise, 12 lakhs under Stamps, 30 lakhs under Sales Tax and 21 lakhs under Irrigation, and is partly offset by increase of 56 lakhs in the aggregate on account of Jute Duty and Income-tax and 28 lakhs each under Land Revenue and Agriculture, larger transfer from the Central Road Fund account and larger receipts on account of refugees, being deferred credit in respect of expenditure of the current year. The total revenue receipts include 44 lakhs on account of Cooch Behar spread over various heads.

The increase under Land Revenue is due to inclusion of receipts for Cooch Behar, and that under Agriculture is due to increased receipts from "Grow More Food" schemes. Cessation of import of beer from overseas, restriction in the supply of opium by the Central Government and anticipated decline in the consumption of country spirit account for the decrease under Excise. The decrease under Stamps is due to the fact that receipts which are high this year on account of the relaxation of certain restrictions imposed on the registration of documents under the Transfer of Property (India) Ordinance, 1948, with a view to check evasion of income-tax are expected to return to normalcy next year. The decrease under Sales Tax is due to recession in trade conditions and restriction of imports. Omission of arrear recovery of the current year from the Government of India amounting to 20 lakhs on account of remodelling of the Damodar Embankment and investigations in connection with the Ganges Barrage Project accounts for the decrease under Irrigation.

The Budget Estimate of revenue expenditure is 35 crores 23 lakhs as against 33 crores 26 lakhs being the Revised Estimates for the current year. The increase is due to provision for the new set-up for the whole year, to a provision of 60 lakhs for Cooch Behar, increase in the provision by 10 lakhs and 27 lakhs under Irrigation and pre-Partition payments respectively, larger provision of 43 lakhs under Road Fund schemes, offset by decrease of 37 lakhs on account of Development schemes.

The revenue deficit during the next year is 1 crore 33 lakhs. But for the sudden stoppage of Development grant by the Central Government the year would have ended with a surplus.

The provision for capital expenditure is 14 crores 91 lakhs as against 13 crores 7 lakhs included in the Revised. The provision includes 4 crores 61 lakhs on account of this Government's share of expenditure on Damodar Valley Project, 2 crores for the Mayurakshi Project, 2 crores 53 lakhs for the scheme of development of Provincial roads, 39 lakhs for the Kanchrapara area development scheme, 2 crores 59 lakhs for various schemes of capital expenditure for the refugees, 75 lakhs for the Road Transport scheme and 1 crore 60 lakhs for net expenditure in connection with State Trading scheme of the Food Department.

Excluding the items "Loans from the Central Government", "Repayment of loans to the Central Government" and "Advances to Refugees", the Revised and Budget Estimates of the receipts and expenditure under Debt Heads almost balance each other. The provision for loans from the Central Government is 12 crores 84 lakhs as against 7 crores 37 lakhs included in the Revised Estimates of the current year. The loans are intended to finance the West Bengal State's share of the expenditure on the Damodar Valley Project, the Mayurakshi Project, the capital expenditure on refugees and the loans and advances to be granted to the refugees and the "Grow More Food" schemes. In comparison with the Revised Estimates of the current year, the next year's provision has increased from 2 crores 47 lakhs to 4 crores 61 lakhs in the case of the Damodar Valley Project, from 86 lakhs to 2 crores in the case of the Mayurakshi Project and from 3 crores to 5 crores in the case of the refugees. On the expenditure side provision has been made under "Loans and advances by the Provincial Government" for payment of a loan of 3½ lakhs to the Calcutta Corporation for improvement of unfiltered water-supply, 20 lakhs for advances to cultivators, 8 lakhs for payment of crop loans to cultivators through co-operative societies, 3 lakhs for co-operative land mortgage banks, 5 lakhs for *beel* fisheries and 4 lakhs for the scheme of increased provision for aid to industries. The provision for the last item was made under a capital head in the Budget of the current year but, as the aid will be given in the form of loans, the provision has been included in Debt heads in the Revised Estimates of the current year and also in the Budget Estimates of the next year.

The State has no public debt, funded or floating. Our total debt to the Government of India at the end of the current year stands at 12 crores 18 lakhs and will increase to 23 crores 98 lakhs at the end of the next year. This debt includes an advance of 2 crores 50 lakhs granted by the Government of India to help us clear half of the debit balance with the Reserve Bank of India left by the Government of undivided Bengal, the other half of which was cleared by the Government of East Bengal. The balance of 21 crores 48 lakhs consists of 8 crores on account of rehabilitation of refugees, 7 crores 99 lakhs on account of the Damodar Valley Project, 3 crores 35 lakhs on account of the Mayurakshi Project, 91 lakhs for other Development schemes and 1 crore 23 lakhs for "Grow More Food" schemes.

There has been circulated to honourable members a printed booklet entitled "The West Bengal State Rupee: From where it comes and where it goes". It shows the relative importance of our sources of revenue, the cost of collection of State taxes, the proportion of our revenue receipts we are spending on each subject, etc.

According to the Revised Estimates, the current year is expected to close with a revenue surplus of 1 crore 47 lakhs but with a deficit of 8 crores outside revenue account. The large deficit outside revenue account will be financed from the revenue surplus and from our balances and the year will close with a balance of 3 crores 54 lakhs as against the opening balance

of 10 crores 19 lakhs. According to the Budget Estimates, the result of working of the year 1950-51 will be a revenue deficit of 1 crore 33 lakhs and a deficit of 4 crores 28 lakhs outside revenue account. The balances are inadequate for financing these deficits for the next year also and the year 1950-51 is therefore to close with a negative balance of 2 crores.

The State of West Bengal was born with practically a nil balance, and with all the shattering consequences of the Partition to tackle. As I have stated in course of the statement, by the end of 1950-51, the State of West Bengal will be spending 26 crores 73 lakhs on development schemes out of which 12 crores 84 lakhs represent expenditure on unproductive schemes and 13 crores 89 lakhs represent expenditure on productive development schemes, including the road development project. These schemes were planned on the distinct understanding that expenditure on them will be fully financed by grants and loans from the Government of India. I have told the House how by two mid-year decisions of the Government of India, the bulk of the expenditure was left to the State to meet as best as it could. Thus by the end of 1950-51, the State will have to find 8 crores 14 lakhs for unproductive schemes and 9 crores 63 lakhs for productive schemes. Considering the magnitude of the amounts and the element of suddenness with which we were called upon to re-plan our financial programme, there is legitimate cause for satisfaction with the large measure of success that we have been able to attain.

The question remains how we propose to cover the negative balance of 2 crores at the end of 1950-51. We do not intend to curtail our development programme which we have placed before the House. Our Revenue Budget causes no anxiety. In the Revised Estimates for the current year there is a revenue surplus and the revenue deficit in the Budget Estimates of the next year is not large. Our difficulty has arisen mainly because we cannot get the loans in anticipation of which we planned a good deal of productive capital expenditure and we do not possess any reserve, which other States have. It would be perfectly justifiable from the strictly financial point of view to go in for loans to finance capital expenditure on productive schemes like the Road Transport, the North Calcutta Rural Electrification, etc., which were actually intended to be financed from loans. We have undertaken a rather ambitious road development programme expected to cost about 26 crores in six years. Many of these roads are under execution. We have a revenue of about 1 crore from motor vehicle tax and motor spirit sales tax. It would be in order to capitalise this revenue for financing the road development project and a scheme for capitalisation of this amount for financing the road development programme is under consideration of this Government in consultation with the Government of India.

I may, however, state for the information of the House that Government in the various departments have undertaken to explore all avenues of economy and to reduce expenditure to the minimum consistent with efficiency. We have already introduced a scheme of compulsory cut in pay in the case of the highest-paid Government servants and a compulsory saving by contribution to the Provident Fund in the case of Government servants of certain other categories. We have not provided for any loan in the Budget Estimates to cover the negative closing balance of the year 1950-51, as we do not propose to go in for loans without making an effort to do without them, however legitimate such loans may be for financing productive capital expenditure.

I have separately circulated to the honourable members a memorandum containing the comments of the State Government on the Deshmukh Report on allocation of income-tax and jute duty to which I have referred before in course of my statement. It will appear that Sri C. D. Deshmukh refrained from working out a reallocation *de novo* in a scientific and equitable manner and therefore did not consider the detailed memorandum

submitted by this Government. He accepted the decisions of the Government of India, themselves in dispute, as the starting point of his enquiry and made his recommendations accordingly. The Report, as I have said, has been most disappointing to West Bengal.

We urged in vain that Partition, which does not affect the non-partitioned States either in respect of collection or population should not be a source of profit to them at the expense of the partition-torn West Bengal. The relative position of the States has undoubtedly changed after Partition and West Bengal had no objection if new ratios were worked out on the basis of this new relation in a perfectly scientific and equitable manner, having regard to the principles formulated after careful and long research in other Federations of the World, viz., Canada and Australia, and also in accordance with the principles of Federal Finance. The case of the Government of West Bengal was that either every State should continue to receive after Partition the same or similar amounts as it used to receive before Partition, or in the alternative, new ratio should be worked out on the basis of new relations. If the first alternative were adopted the losses of collection in territories going over to Pakistan should in equity be borne rateably by all States but West Bengal was prepared to bear the loss of the whole of the collection lost in East Bengal and also to bear the rateable share of the losses of collection in other parts of the country going to Pakistan. But it was decided that every other State should receive something at the expense of West Bengal and Sri C. D. Deshmukh has merely rounded off the slice to be cut off from West Bengal and has distributed that slice among the States on population basis, suggesting that the amount to be distributed in this case, being in the nature of a windfall, is appropriately distributed on that basis. The size of this windfall is to be measured by the fact that 7½ per cent. which Deshmukh initially takes from Bengal amounts to about 3 crores against the loss of a few lakhs in East Bengal. Deshmukh is good enough to return to West Bengal 1 per cent. out of the portion taken away from her. By the Government of India's decision, our share was fixed at 12 per cent. against 20 per cent. fixed by Niemeyer for Bengal. By the Deshmukh Award, West Bengal will improve her position from 12 per cent. to 13½ per cent. The effect of the Deshmukh Award on our finances is that in the case of the jute duty we shall be receiving 1 crore 5 lakhs next year as against 1 crore 35 lakhs during the current year, i.e., a net drop of 30 lakhs, and in the case of the income-tax, the additional 1½ per cent. that has been given to us will bring us about 70 lakhs during the next year on the basis of the present estimates. Thus the net effect of the Deshmukh Award is a net gain of about 40 lakhs next year.

I have just given you a brief account of our Revised Estimates for this year and the Budget Estimates of the coming year. I do not for a moment claim that these provisions are sufficient by themselves or commensurate with our vast and varied needs. Yet, having regard to our limited resources in comparison with our needs, these merely indicate that we have taken one more step forward, despite heavy odds in our way. It will be realised that the opening years of freedom were years of nerve-racking anxiety and the sudden impact of problems, internal and external, was so portentous of evil consequences that sometimes breakdowns stared us in the face. That we have not yielded to these adverse circumstances and have been able to repel the many-sided assault on our economy with some amount of success, no doubt justifies optimism for the future. If, however, we are marking our steps with caution and deliberation, it is because our resources in men, materials and money are severely limited and do not allow us the luxury of frittering these away in costly experiments. Therefore, whatever steps we take must be according to a proper sense of priority, taking first things first, so that we may not commit the folly of beginning on too many fronts and succeeding in none; undue hurry may even mean less speed. With the inauguration of the Republic, the picture is now finally set and a new epoch begins. We must now approach our task with becoming modesty

and a sense of reality without falling a prey to the method of hit-or-miss which, however, much it can be excused in an early transitional phase of political change-over, cannot be pursued without serious detriment to our national well-being at this stage. For, a nation born in adversity must mature in reality and learn to avoid pitfalls.

Despite all our limitations, we are yet in a position to do a lot for the people and make a success of our freedom in the fullness of time, provided the atmosphere is congenial for planning wisely and acting properly. National development is an art of peace. Planning and execution of schemes for national progress need, as all big efforts do, a peaceful atmosphere. The need for such a congenial atmosphere seems to be still inadequately realised by the people. In the present atmosphere of distrust and indiscipline, the attention of the Government is continually diverted from the more important and constructive tasks in hand and a part of the resources, which could be conserved for more enduring purposes, has to be devoted to the thankless task of maintaining law and order. A restlessness and aversion to stability and order seems to be the order of the day. People who easily surrender their judgment to anti-social forces must make up their minds finally whether to seek the redress of their grievances through peaceful, constitutional and democratic means or through the cult of violence which impairs the unity of our thoughts and action. It is poor logic to demand too many things intoo short a time and, at the same time, create an atmosphere in which nothing can even be attempted. Obstructing the Government, and that by violent or undemocratic methods, ultimately recoils on the people themselves who become victims to the general insecurity and to the crippling set-back to national progress. If we are to make a success of democracy in this country, we must observe its rules and lend our good sense and judgment to the cause of stability and progress.

As I have indicated, West Bengal stands altogether on a different footing in respect of the magnitude of her problems. It is for the people of West Bengal to keep their heads cool and to think seriously as to how best to lift the State from its present unhappy condition and instal her in the position of glory which was once hers. Unfortunately, the present atmosphere does not encourage one to feel that the situation is properly appreciated even by her own people. They seem still to be lost in a maze of confusion and seeking salvation in fancy phrases and conflicts. This is most unfortunate when what is required is clear thinking and a constructive approach to our problems. The youth of this State, in particular, have reason to take note of this otherwise depressing situation inasmuch as they will be called upon to make good for this grim inheritance. They must realise the hard fact that the world no longer goes easy for them; it is a relentless, competitive world that they have to conquer by their brain and brawn. It is for them now to train themselves so as to enable them to make their way in fresh fields, such as Engineering, Technology, Trade, Commerce, etc., and spread over the whole country without concentrating in the city and thereby adding to their own problems as well as those of the Government.

As I have pointed out, there are several favourable factors which, if taken advantage of with a plan and determination, are capable of helping a definite stride forward. It is not at all encouraging that there should still be whispering doubts as to whether our future is to be one of prosperity and progress, or whether the best that can be looked forward to is an indefinite period of frustrated plan and frozen hopes.. It can be said with a feeling of assurance that in spite of the time which has been lost, and the errors which have been made, the opportunity for us to move into a future worthy of its past is still within our grasp. Serious problems confront us no doubt—extremely serious problems—but none of them is insoluble. If we fail to handle them properly, it will be so, not because we lack the material ingredients of prosperity nor because we are faced with problems

which make a depression inevitable; but mainly because the people, *individually and collectively lack the courage and the wisdom and the faith, and, above all, the will to utilise the opportunity which lies before them.*

At the moment the greatest handicap of the Government is that large sections of the people are reluctant to reflect calmly on the needs of the present position. They are only too ready to regard each imperfection as a powerful argument for indulgence in or sympathy for violent activities. Their minds flit all too quickly from the present grievances to a contemplation of an imaginary perfection. In this formative phase of our political and social evolution, nothing can be more fatal. The people must do hard thinking on what they want, what is feasible and how best to achieve it. They must think out what in the present conditions is compatible with and conducive to progress and what is not. It is by such methods, and not by varying degrees of sympathy for or connivance at violence, that the aims and the needs of the common people can be realised.

It is an admitted fact that what we need today is a rising standard of living for our people. This postulates certain well-defined means and methods which do not allow any quack's specific to do the trick. For, prosperity does not pour like the gentle rain from heaven in benign abundance. It has to be worked for through well-planned channels. For instance, the raising of the standard of living of the people requires improvement of agriculture and industry which, again, depends upon various other factors, some immediate and others remote. For its expansion and improvement, agriculture needs major and minor irrigation schemes, soil conservation, proper manuring, improvement of seeds, etc. These cannot be done all at once and must inevitably be a gradual process, particularly because for many of these we are dependent upon other countries for equipment. Even if agriculture can make the desired progress in our country, it cannot sustain the population which is everyday growing and which is more than it can bear. It is, therefore, universally recognised that the shift to industries should receive every stimulus if we are to get over the present stalemate in our economy. Unless balanced industrial development of the country, by which I mean the development of large-scale as well as cottage and small-scale industries on sound lines is achieved, neither can more wealth be created by more production, which alone tends to increase the standard of living of the people, nor can employment be ensured in the desired manner. It is of the utmost national importance that conditions are created in the country in which industry may find a propitious field to grow and thrive. For, unless this can be done, there can be no other way to secure the required measure of economic prosperity. This, in its turn, requires proper incentive to capital to play its part in the productive process. The decisive factor which is so important in the productive capacity of a nation is the willingness of investors to take a chance with their savings in the hope of getting a satisfactory return. As I have already pointed out, there are at present some major handicaps in the capital market which tend to retard this flow of capital. But the underlying willingness and urge to provide the needed capital for an expanded economy is still present and, given the proper incentives, the economic system of the nation has yet sufficient scope for development and expansion backed by private capital and enterprise. It is essential that incentive should be there to gear up the productive process leading up to more employment and a rising standard of living. To obscure this clear path of the natural economic well-being of the people by ideological obsessions would be the height of folly at this stage. If the people want more employment and more goods and those at cheaper price, they must recognise that production must be speeded up and they must produce more to consume more.

A main cause of the present unsatisfactory state is the misconception that in the productive process there are only two factors that count, viz.,

Capital and Labour; not unoften is it based on the feeling that capital is an undiluted evil. Behind this conception, there is an unconcealed plea for the redistribution of wealth which, today, seems to be the raging passion. This, as it appears to me, is like putting the cart before the horse. That the production of wealth is the greatest desideratum at the present moment admits of no doubt. But in the practical approach to our economic problems, a section of the people seems to assign a higher priority to distribution than to production forgetting that if everyone desires to have a bigger slice of the cake, its size must first be increased. At the moment, all our energies must be pooled to produce more to bring the country thereby to a certain level of prosperity. It is only when we reach such a stage that we can sit together and think out the method and means of how to secure a just distribution of wealth for promoting social justice. The scope of distributive justice, it is to be recognised, has a certain well-defined limit in any given economic set-up and for our present state of production, we have already reached the limit.

It should, at the same time, be recognised that productive capacity alone does not assure either the prosperity of a nation or the well-being of its citizens: there must also be a willingness on the part of the various groups in the economic life to work together for common good. As it is, the absence of this willingness is obviously a cause for concern. Many of our current difficulties flow from the conflict as between various groups in the economic life which urge policies expressed in terms of special benefits to its own group, forgetting that this is contrary to the interest of the general public; and that no segment of the public can long remain prosperous unless all groups are prosperous.

In reality, the productive process has four parties to it, viz., the consumers, the workers, managerial personnel and technical experts, and the stock-holders, all of whom have claims to share in the fruits of enterprise. Industrial progress, if it is to lead to the greatest good of the greatest number, should be operated for the benefit of all the four. Every one in the economic system has an ethical claim to a fair share. And apart from ethics, the continued existence and prosperity of business requires that all should benefit equitably and that the gains of business should not go all in one direction. In the past there have been instances of over-emphasising individual claims in favour of either *entrepreneurs* for their profits or stock-holders for their dividends or labour for wages or even consumers in the form of reduced prices. The problem is to reconcile all these interests and distribute the gains of industry in such a way as to encourage investors to risk their money, enthuse managers to be bold and contribute to technological advance, create a contented labour force and minimise the burden on the consumer. At present, the issue is being fought as if it were a tug-of-war between two parties, viz., labour and management. The larger social implications and significance are being increasingly obscured. The whole question is so important for the future economy of the country that we should ensure greater attention for the larger and broader considerations explained above. And if that is done, the day may not be far off when all the four parties in the productive process, instead of being driven into mutually hostile camps, as at present, will be able to find a common meeting ground where each would try to understand the other, and the machinery of production would work unhampered and unobstructed. In the absence of such synthesis and harmony, increasing conflicts between economic groups are inevitable. The economic wastes and the political and social costs of this mounting group-warfare are enormous. Such conflicts must ultimately tend to undermine all our institutions, our entire national life, our economic progress and our aspirations to the greater prosperity of the people.

Bande Mataram.

APPENDIX.

West Bengal Budget, 1950-51.

(The figures are in thousands of rupees.)

	Budget, 1949-50.	Revised, 1949-50.	Budget, 1950-51.
Receipts.			
Opening Balance	3,65,33	10,19,18	3,54,02
Revenue Receipts	31,83,04	34,72,71	33,89,86
Receipts from Debt Heads	1,03,87,53	1,08,12,95	1,07,95,10
Total ..	1,39,35,90	1,53,04,84	1,45,38,98
Expenditure.			
Revenue Expenditure	32,93,95	33,25,64	35,22,87
Capital Expenditure	13,16,16	13,06,56	14,91,12
Expenditure on Debt Heads ..	91,93,94	1,03,18,62	97,31,74
Closing Balance	1,31,85	3,54,02	−2,06,75
Total	1,39,35,90	1,53,04,84	1,45,38,98
Net Result—			
Surplus (+)			
Deficit (−)			
(a) On Revenue Account ..	−1,10,91	+1,47,07	−1,33,01
(b) Outside Revenue Account ..	−1,22,57	−8,12,23	−4,27,76
(c) Net, excluding Opening Balance	−2,33,48	−6,65,16	−5,60,77

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7-8 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Tuesday, the 21st February, 1950, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 21st February, 1950, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 9 Hon'ble Ministers and 54 members.

Obituary reference on the death of Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I desire to request you, Mr. Speaker, to give me permission to mention a very important incident that happened last night, namely, the death of our colleague, Srijut Sarat Chandra Bose. If I have your permission, Sir, I desire to report to my friends in the Assembly the sudden death of Srijut Sarat Chandra Bose which came as a shock and a surprise to most of us. We have heard that he had decided to come today to the Assembly to initiate the discussion on the Budget. I am also informed that he was in the High Court yesterday, because he was feeling well, and yet after writing a note to be published in his paper suggesting the establishment of amity between the two Bengals, he passed away almost immediately afterwards. Verily we live in the shadow of the valley of death!

Nearly 30 years ago I began my political life under the leadership of late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, and Sarat Babu, myself and three others were so closely associated in the first few years of our political career, that we used to be nicknamed "big five". One of the five has gone. It is true that in later years his approach to problems which affect the welfare of the country and its people was different from the approach which I had or my other friends had, but in spite of any disharmony or discord in public life I feel sure that there is hardly one man in the public life of Bengal today who had in his heart such a sublime and deep love for the country as Sarat Babu had. As we all know, he was a man gifted in many ways. In his own profession he was regarded as unique and unequalled. In the Congress he has occupied a very important place. He has embraced incarceration and jail life without flinching and without murmuring for the sake of the country he loved. We had looked forward to a period when he would come to the Assembly and help us in our deliberations. He was an unflinching critic of anything which he thought was wrong and not in the interests of the people and of the country. He was a valiant fighter for the freedom which he wanted the people to achieve—freedom, social, political and economic. The roads that he travelled might have been different but the objective was the same, and today when I went to see him laid out I saw his face calm, composed and serene. I could easily imagine that the spirit which actuated him when he was writing that article about amity between the East and West Bengal had remained depicted in his face even after his death. It showed that he had reached that stage where there was no conflict such as exists in this world.

Now that death has chosen to part us, it is our duty to consider seriously what were the objectives that he had in view, what were the methods that he wished to employ and let us also profit not merely by what mistakes he might have committed but what success he won in the various fields of his activities. We shall then really do honour to him and to his memory. I extend on behalf of the Assembly to the members of his family our cordial sympathy and sincere condolences, and I can only say "may his soul rest in peace."

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, with a deep sense of sorrow I rise to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by our Premier Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy on the death of one of our leaders Sri Sarat Chandra Bose.

Sir, I saw him for the first time as an active statesman and politician in this Assembly when he sat where I am standing now at the head of a galaxy of brilliant politicians sitting this side dressed in white *khadi*. He belonged to a different school of political thinking but, Sir, they by their personality, ability and boldness in criticising anything that they considered wrong commanded considerable respect and admiration of those who sat opposite to them. I met him and came into his close contact in February 1947 when he conceived a united India with a co-ordinating centre of Socialist Republics constituted on the basis of cultural and linguistic units. Sir, I saw him last on 5th February this year just a day before his daughter's marriage. After dinner we had nearly three hours' talk. During these three years, *i.e.*, from 1947 till February, 1950, of close contact with him, I found in him a gentleman—a quality which is now becoming very, very rare. He was never found wanting in courtesy with his friends and visitors. Then, Sir, having studied him as I did, I am of opinion that he had another rare quality, namely, he was a good man. His private life was so clean and above board that whenever one met him one could not but admire him and respect him. Next, Sir, in his activities in his public life I found him a hundred *per cent.* honest man. I fully associate myself with what Dr. Roy has just said that he was unflinching in criticising whatever he considered wrong even at great personal risk and sacrifice. He belonged to a family who suffered most with other sufferers in the struggle for our independence. Sir, how to settle the problems that have arisen between the two Bengals was one of his constant cares till the last part of his life. Whenever I met him I found him talking on that subject, and on that subject above all other things. Sir, Dr. Roy has very nicely put that in this matter he was so above others that in him there was no conflict between his own self and his outer world, and this serene sublimeness of his character Dr. Roy found visible in his appearance when he was laid down for cremation.

Sir, we were told that he was to attend this Assembly this very day, and as he had been ailing for sometime and suffering from some heart trouble, he felt that he would not be able to deliver his speech standing as usual. Sir, this microphone which has been fitted and is just now before us reminds us once again of that great personality. In his loss we have lost something which appears to me at the present moment irreparable. Sir, he had the courage of conviction and whatever he thought right he had the courage to stand firmly on that, and in so doing he has suffered much. Anyway, Sir, I am confident that in his death the whole of Bengal, I mean the whole of Bengal, East and West, Hindus and Muslims, Sikhs and Jains, all will be equally aggrieved and feel his absence from our midst. Sir, he was, as Dr. Roy has said, one of those big five who worked under the leadership of our leader Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das whose disciples, followers and students in politics have in fact created the modern Bengal. Their passing from our midst one by one is creating a vacuum which it is difficult to fill up.

Sir, I fully associate myself with the sentiments expressed by Dr. Roy and offer our heartfelt condolences to the members of the bereaved family, particularly his widow, sons and daughters and brothers. With these words, Sir, I once again associate myself with what Dr. Roy has already said.

Mr. G. E. CLARKE: Mr. Speaker, on behalf of myself and my colleague and in support of Dr. Roy in all he has said it remains for me to express our deep regret at the passing of one whose patriotism and sincerity have

proved such a vital force for his fellow countrymen. With these few words, Sir, I associate myself with the sentiments that have been expressed in the House.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয় যে কথাগুলো বললেন তাঁর সঙ্গে সোশালিষ্ট পার্টির পক্ষ থেকে আমি সম্পূর্ণরূপে একমত হ'য়ে এই কথা বলতে চাই যে যাঁরা বাংলাদেশে জীবিত ছিলেন, তাঁদের মধ্যে সবচেয়ে বড় নেতাকে কাল আমরা হারিয়েছি। কালকের মত ঠিক আরও একজনকে হারিয়েছিলাম এক বছর আগে। তাঁরা দুজনে পাশাপাশি এখানে বসতেন, একজন প্রেসিডেন্ট ও আর একজন সেক্রেটারী হিসাবে। এই হাউসে, এই আইন সভায় তাঁরা অনেক কিছু করে গিয়েছেন। অনেক বাগ্মিতা, সাহস ও কুশলতা যা তাঁরা দেখিয়েছেন, তা কখনও ভুলবার নয়। আমার সাথে শরৎ বাবুর পরিচয় আগেই ছিল, এখানেও এসে আবার নতুন করে পরিচয় এবং পার্লামেন্টারী হাতেখড়ি তাঁর হাতেই হয়। আজ স্বয়ং মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয় থেকে আরম্ভ করে মন্ত্রীদলের অনেকেরই এবং আমাদের আরও অনেকের সেই সৌভাগ্য হয়েছিল। আজকে এটাই খুব বেশী লাগছে যে তিনি বিরোধী দলে এখানে এসে বসবেন ঠিক ছিল এবং তার জন্য মাইকেরও বন্দোবস্ত করা হয়েছিল। কিন্তু তা হবার নয়। আমাদের হঠাৎ বিষাদ হয়েছে।

ইংরেজের সময় তিনি বিরোধী দলে থেকে গভর্ণমেন্টের সমালোচনা করতেন। যেটা তিনি ভাল মনে করতেন, সেটাই তিনি বলতেন, সে সৎসাহস তাঁর ছিল। সেই সাহসের যা দাম দেবার, তা তিনি দিয়েছেন।

আজ বাংলার বড় দুর্দিন। অল্পদিন আগে পশ্চিম বাংলায় যে সাম্প্রদায়িকতার আগুন জলে উঠেছিল, সেটা নিভে এসেছে। পূর্ববঙ্গে সম্প্রতি কি ঘটছে কি না ঘটছে তা ঠিক বোঝা যাচ্ছে না। কিন্তু যে সামান্য রিপোর্ট আমরা পূর্ববঙ্গের পাচ্ছি, তাতে খুব চিন্তিত হবার কথা। ঠিক এই সময় শরৎ বাবুকে হারাণ আমাদের অত্যন্ত দুর্ভাগ্যের বিষয়।

তিনি কিছুদিন আগে সাম্যবাদে বিশ্বাসী হ'ন এবং সেই সাম্যবাদ প্রচারকল্পে তিনি সক্রিয় হয়ে ওঠেন। কিন্তু তাঁর সাহায্য আর আমরা পাব না। শুধু এই এসেম্বলীর বিরোধী দলই নয়, কেবলমাত্র এই এসেম্বলীর সাম্যবাদী প্রগতিশীল দলই নয়, বাংলা দেশে যাঁরা প্রগতিশীল, তাঁরা আজকে সকলেই—যা আমাদের প্রধান মন্ত্রী-মহাশয় বললেন, সেই সঙ্গে একমত হয়ে শোক প্রকাশ করবেন। আর একটি কথা বলবো—শুধু শোক প্রকাশ করলেই হবে না, তিনি যেভাবে সমাজকে গড়তে চেয়েছিলেন, সেইভাবে সমাজকে গড়বার সংকল্প যদি নেওয়া যায়, তাহ'লেই তাঁর আত্মার তৃপ্তি হবে। সেই সংকল্পই আমি গ্রহণ করেছি।

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the sudden and premature death of Sri Sarat Chandra Bose has been a shock to us all and it is all the more tragic because he was to have come here today and to have initiated the Budget discussion. He was a man of conviction, a man of courage, and he was a man of ability and was capable of sacrifice of any kind. I know he revolted against the authority of the Congress twice or thrice, but the revolt he did in what he considered to be the interests of the country. In spite of all this he kept up his friendship with others. Those who had politically differed from him knew that there was nothing communal about him. When I met him on the 7th February last on the occasion of his daughter's marriage ceremony, he discussed with me only for a few minutes about the communal trouble that was brewing in the city, and he was very much perturbed over that. He told me "Let us discuss the matter and let us find out a solution". He wanted the prosperity of both Bengals irrespective of religion. He was a Bengali through and through and every fibre of his being was that, and I can assure you, Sir, that his need was the greatest at the present moment. I know in a parliamentary democracy opposition also helps the administration; good opposition is one of the best correctives of the administration. I know he had not a big party behind him in the Legislature. But an able and intelligent man as he was, he could convince his opponents more by his arguments than by the number of votes of the minority. Even one man—if he can reason and argue well, if he can point out things better than others—is able to achieve much more than ten votes. After all, minority is minority. Minority can only be effective if they are reasonable. And I am sure he would have helped the Assembly. We are poorer today by his loss; and along with others, I deeply

mourn his loss when he was needed most at the present juncture of Beng I associate myself entirely with the Leader of the House in sending respectful condolence to his bereaved family.

With these words, I again deeply mourn his loss.

Mr. SPEAKER: Ladies and gentlemen, I whole-heartedly associ myself with the sentiments which have been expressed by various memb of the House. As a matter of fact, I had gone out of Calcutta; and wh I was coming, I was remembering that today Sarat Babu will be comi to the Assembly and we shall have the opportunity of hearing him—rath he was being waited very eagerly by the outside public as to when he likely to come. Only a few days before he enquired of me as to wheth he would be allowed to address the House sitting and I told him that the would be no objection whatsoever, and I offered him all the facilities whi may be necessary for him to discharge his duties as a member of this Hous The bereavement is, therefore, all the more pungent, and especially wh I find that in this House we have got a microphone fitted to suit his purpo it makes our sorrow all the more great.

So far as Sarat Babu's acquaintance with me is concerned, I knew hi since 1916. He had a chamber in the same office in which I was an article clerk, and professionally I had to deal with him since 1916. As a lawye he was a man of exceptional merit, exceptional courage, and a man of gre education and erudition. He made his position so high in the professio at a very early stage that we thought that he will make his mark in n time. He was sincere, straightforward, and I should say that he was very simple man; it was very easy to deal with him than to deal with others His dealings were always very straightforward. Even with his opponen he was always very frank, and in his political life I had the good fortun to be associated with him for a very long time; rather I should say tha from the time when he started his political career I had the opportunit of working in contact with him. When he was the Leader of the Congres Party in this House and when most of us were working under his leadership we found how amiable and how accommodating he was. At the same time we must admit that he had the force of his conviction, and once he came to a decision that a particular course was right—it may be right or it may be wrong from the point of view of others—he had the courage to stick to that and to bear all the troubles that would result therefrom. It was unfortunate that during the last few years he became a bitter critic of the Congress with which he was associated throughout his life. I do believe, however, that in his criticism he was absolutely sincere. It may be that we differed from him on many points, but we cannot differ on this point that, whenever he uttered a single word in public, he uttered it with all the sincerity that he possessed. He was not a man who was something inside and something outside. Bengal needed very much a man of his ability and outstanding importance, and especially at this juncture when Bengal is suffering so much on account of the Partition, it is very sad indeed that we have lost him so suddenly. Though we knew that he had been suffering from a trouble for such a long time, we never knew that death would come so suddenly and that he would not be spared to serve his motherland for some time more. We did not know that the end will come so soon and we shall not have the opportunity of hearing him even once in this House after his recent election to this Legislature. As a matter of fact, he did not even take his oath and he asked me whether his oath could be taken sitting. I said, "Yes, you can take the oath as you like".

It is with a heavy heart that we condole his death and I along with you express my sincere sorrow and condolence to the members of the bereaved family, and I do hope, ladies and gentlemen, that you will express your condolence by standing for two minutes.

(The members stood for two minutes in silence.)

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Secretary will take necessary action.

As a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, I believe the House will desire that it should be adjourned till tomorrow.

Adjournment.

The House was accordingly adjourned at 4-30 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Wednesday, the 22nd February, 1950, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 22nd February, 1950, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 9 Hon'ble Ministers and 60 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Collection from Government Khas Mahal Estates

***38. Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state—

(a) the percentage of collection per annum from the Government *khas mahal* estates during the last ten years;

(b) the percentage of collection per annum made—

(i) amicably,

(ii) by certificate process during the last ten years; and

(c) the percentage of cost of management per annum during the last ten years?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra Sinha): Three statements are laid on the Table.

Statements referred to in reply to starred question No. 38

I

Year.		Percentage of cost of management per annum.	Remarks.
1938-39	..	8·5	Undivided Bengal.
1939-40	..	13·1	Ditto.
1940-41	..	12·7	Ditto.
1941-42	..	15·1	Ditto.
1942-43	..	13·3	Ditto.
1943-44	..	16·6	Ditto.
1944-45	..	18·2	Ditto.
1945-46	..	26·6	Ditto.
1946-47	..	26·4	Ditto.
1947-48 (15th August, 1947, to 31st March, 1948).	..	17·3	West Bengal.

II

Year.		Percentage of collection per annum from Government *khas mahal* Estates.		Remarks.
		On total demand.	On current demand.	
1938-39	..	48·60	86·35	Undivided Bengal.
1939-40	..	49·99	91·95	Ditto.
1940-41	..	45·52	85·86	Ditto.
1941-42	..	40·92	80·61	Ditto.
1942-43	..	44·67	95·27	Ditto.
1943-44	..	50·78	107·72	Ditto.
1944-45	..	66·49	133·99	Ditto.
1945-46	..	75·8	107·2	Ditto.
1946-47	..	80·4	108·9	Ditto.
1947-48	..	82·8	103·2	West Bengal.

III

Percentage of collection per annum from Government Estates (1) amicably and (2) by certificate process in West Bengal districts only

Year.	Malda. (On total demand.) 1		Bankura. (On total demand.) 2		24-Parganas. (On total demand.) 3		Hooghly. (On total demand.) 4		Nadia. (On total demand.) 5		Murshidabad. (On total demand.) 6		Midnapore. (On total demand.) 7	
	Amicably.	By certificate process.	Amicably.	By certificate process.	Amicably.	By certificate process.	Amicably.	By certificate process.	Amicably.	By certificate process.	Amicably.	By certificate process.	Amicably.	By certificate process.
1938-39 ..	13·00	0·68	40·99	Not available.	Not available.	Not available.	27	3	16	·09	18·0	Below 10 per cent.	67·1	1·4
1939-40 ..	28·97	Nil	36·10	Do.	63·43	1·34	21	3	22	·3	19	Do.	56·5	0·4
1940-41 ..	21·68	Nil	39·09	1·24	67·16	1·25	24	3	24	·5	29	Below 1 per cent.	44·5	3·4
1941-42 ..	29·44	Nil	33 10	·21	62·48	1·35	20	2	20	·8	32	1 per cent.	50·0	1·5
1942-43 ..	25·16	Nil	24·88	·64	46·82	1 23	23	2	23	Nil	38	Do.	18·7	0·2
1943-44 ..	45·97	3·54	29·46	5·67	46·46	1 29	24	3	25	·5	46	Below 1 per cent.	23·8	1·6
1944-45 ..	57·53	8·27	40·00	20·47	78·76	1·18	33	6	57	1·4	57	6	74·2	3·4
1945-46 ..	45·93	9·24	27·55	8·80	72·07	1·39	36	4	60	·5	74	10	67·0	6·9
1946-47 ..	53·2	6·29	33·87	7·98	76·04	1·43	36	5	73	1·3	81	4	79·4	3·6
1947-48 ..	49·43	3·77	42·82	7·42	79·91	1·32	33	2	56	1·2	70	2	83·1	5·7

Year.		Burdwan. (On total demand.) 8		Birbhum. (On total demand.) 9		Howrah. (On total demand.) 10		Darjeeling. (On total demand.) 11		Jalpaiguri. (On total demand.) 12		West Dinajpur. (On total demand.) 13	
		Amicably.	By certificate process.	Amicably.	By certificate process.	Amicably.	By certificate process.	Amicably	By certificate process.	Amicably.	By certificate process.	Amicably.	By certificate process.
1938-39	..	52·72	3·64	59·31	Nil	91·1	1·5	74	..	17·62	32·28	Figures are not available as the connected records have not yet been supplied by the Government of East Bengal.	
1939-40	..	52·56	1·49	67·9	Nil	80·5	0·2	75	..	25·64	29·16		
1940-41	..	35·62	18·53	68·2	Nil	73·4	5·9	77	..	22·03	29·77		
1941-42	..	43·95	·61	62·9	Nil	78·2	9·7	80	..	26·52	30·58		
1942-43	..	23·75	1·43	61·03	Nil	76·2	3·7	86	..	43·9	27·18		
1943-44	..	40·99	1·60	37·2	Nil	94	12·7	90	..	52·38	21·81		
1944-45	..	53·01	11·90	31·4	0·40	86·9	15·9	93	.	70·2	17·9		
1945-46	..	58·56	6·77	26·2	0·1	86·4	13·0	95	..	69·5	11·9		
1946-47	..	62·63	5·99	53·99	0·2	89·5	9·6	91·1		70·8	11·4		
1947-48	..	62·30	6·60	43·3	0·3	102·4	8·4	91·2	..	74·6	9·3		

Taking of oath by the Commissioners of municipalities

***39. Sj. KUBER CHAND HALDAR:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state whether Commissioners of municipalities are required to sign oath forms after taking their oaths after being elected?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the elected Chairman and the Vice-Chairman of Jangipur Municipality in the district of Murshidabad signed the oath forms after taking their oaths?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he proposes to take any steps in the matter?

MINISTER in charge of the LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath Panja): (*a*) No.

(*b*) and (*c*) Do not arise.

Point of privilege.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise on a point of privilege. We find that the Government propose to get through this House in two or three days important Bills like the Rent Control Bill, Security Bill and similar other Bills. Usually, we used to get three weeks' time for studying the important Bills and submitting amendments. Sir, provisions of the Bills were already in operation in the form of ordinances. Those ordinances are expiring. So, we very much appreciate the Government's position also, but Government had full one year at their disposal and they could have given us timely notice and summoned a session of the House for consideration of those Bills. We feel that in the budget session when we will have to be so seriously engaged in the study of the budget and its discussion, it will be very hard for us to deal properly with these Bills. So, Sir, as Speaker of the House, as custodian of the privileges of the House, I appeal to you to see that we get proper time and opportunity to do our best in connection with the Bills that are before us and we get sufficient time.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I quite appreciate the point raised by the member opposite. I would have also been very happy had there been more time for consideration of these Bills and more time for putting in amendments. But, Sir, a very peculiar situation has arisen this year inasmuch as the inauguration of the new constitution has placed certain difficulties in our way. There is perhaps, Sir, a provision in the constitution that all ordinances will expire six weeks after the 26th January. So, in the ordinary circumstances, we could have got much more time for the consideration of the Bills which are being introduced to replace the ordinances, but here we are placed in a very peculiar situation. Moreover, there is a particular difficulty about the Rent Control Bill also which was introduced this year because there is a provision in that Bill that a resolution of the House will prolong the life of the Act by another year, but you are aware, Sir, that the Supreme Court has held that such a procedure is not legally very correct. That was the decision of the Supreme Court in regard to a Bihar Act. So, Sir, it has been thought desirable not to prolong the life of this Act by a resolution.

Moreover, Government appointed a committee to go into the provisions of this Bill. It was hoped that the committee's report would be available in time and Government would have sufficient time to consider it. Unfortunately, Sir, there was such a great mass of evidence before the committee that the report of the committee was submitted rather late. On the other hand, unless there is an Act by the 31st March, the whole

machinery of the rent control operation will fail. So, Sir, in this peculiar situation, Government have to crave the indulgence of you and of the House to put in short-notice motions. Sir, I would suggest a compromise. I am prepared to extend the time of putting in amendments to the Rent Control Bill up to 1 o'clock, Saturday, if that be convenient to the honourable members of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: To me it appears that with regard to important Bills sufficient time is not being given by the Government and I very much desire that the Government offices should be pleased to supply the Assembly office with the necessary Bills in time so that the members may not have any legitimate grievance with regard to this matter. Now, with regard to time, so far as the Assembly Office is concerned, it should also have a little time in order to cyclostyle the amendments and to despatch them and make them available to the members and also to examine the admissibility of these amendments. Therefore, I do hope that Government will see that even in this session all the Bills which are coming up for consideration should be in the hands of the Assembly Office in time and we shall try our best to supply the members with the copies thereof as quickly as possible. So far as this Rent Bill is concerned, I would agree to the time being extended to 3 p.m., 25th February, 1950, and we shall make our machinery available to supply the members with copies.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: It would be better if you kindly make it 1 p.m. In that case, we shall get some more time for studying the amendments.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Bill is coming on the 28th and the time for sending the amendments is up to 25th. I am rather giving more time—instead of 1 p.m. I am making it 3 p.m.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: From the administrative point of view, if we get at least one hour on Saturday to examine the amendments, that would be a little helpful.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not coming on the 25th—it is coming on the 28th.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: All right, Sir. I shall not dispute for two hours.

Mr. SPEAKER: I say that so far as the amendments are concerned, they should be received by the office up to 3 p.m. They will not be available to you immediately thereafter. They will have to be cyclostyled and circulated. Therefore, it does not matter very much. Let this arrangement continue for the time being.

BUDGET FOR 1950-51.

General discussion of the Budget.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I congratulate the Hon'ble Finance Minister for his masterly presentation of the background of our financial undertakings on a wide scale, but, Sir, I am unable to agree with his conclusions. When he makes an objective survey of facts, he acts like a patriot, but circumstanced as he is, as the Finance Minister of a State Government of the Republic of India, he is dominated by the High Command of the Congress Party which is definitely on the side of the capitalists and exploiters of India, and in tune with the exploiters of the white world he acts as an advocate when he makes his inferences. The Hon'ble the Finance Minister in his Budget statement has indulged extensively in the theoretical aspect of our economic existence, but in order to gag the critics he has very

cleverly concluded his speech with a statement characterising his opponents' theories as indulgence in ideological phraseology and he has rebuked them in advance for their thoughtless support to anti-social elements. His Budget and his Budget statement give wholehearted support to the Anglo-American economics as against the historic evolution of the economics of Soviet Russia, but in his long fifty-eight paged financial statement I find nowhere any trace of an endeavour to discover a third alternative in the spirit of Indian and Asiatic philosophy of human existence which would be conducive to the natural growth and development of the genius of India. This intellectual perversion of the Hon'ble Finance Minister is in perfect harmony with the new Constitution to which he has referred at the outset of his speech. This Constitution he describes as something which reflects the quintessence of hopes and aspirations of our people and the progressive realisation of democratic political ideology. It really does represent our hopes and aspirations when our hopes and our ideologies mean the ideologies of white civilisation, but, Sir, it definitely does not reflect our genius when our genius means the genius and the spirit of India. Sir, it is a pity that India today is pressed hard between the two conflicting ideologies both originating from the same source of more or less materialism of the West, namely, Capitalism and Communism. The right course I would suggest to the Hon'ble Finance Minister and his honourable colleagues would be to dismiss both with equal contempt and try to find out a third alternative in our own pristine culture and civilisation. The two conflicting ideologies of the West—Capitalism and Communism—are the reeds of the same weed. I feel thankful to the Hon'ble Finance Minister for his reminding us once again in his third financial statement, as Finance Minister of a State Government of new India, that the two Bengals while remaining culturally united are politically and economically cut asunder, but he has not given us, if I may be permitted to use his favourite expression, any concrete and constructive suggestion as to how this evil and unnatural state of affairs can be mended or ended. I wish he had the conviction and courage to tell us that in view of the hard and grim reality neither the western part would like a merger with the east being linked up with Karachi, nor the east would like a merger with the west being linked up with Delhi; the real solution lies in its unity and its emergence as a Sovereign State. I am grateful to the Hon'ble the Finance Minister once again when with courage he has informed us that the Deshmukh Award came to us as a shock and a surprise at a time when we were very much expecting a positive gesture and justice from the Centre. As a humble son of Bengal, having some knowledge of men and affairs, I can challenge my honourable friend that that gesture and justice will never come, under existing conditions. If the prevailing conditions be allowed to continue for a longer time, I have no doubt in my mind that for many years Bengal will have to stand before the Centre with a beggar's bowl begging for the bare existence of Bengal's children. The basis of the Deshmukh Award is the policy of the Centre to nourish other parts of India at the cost of Bengal. Sir, I congratulate the Hon'ble the Finance Minister once again for his informing us in no uncertain terms that devaluation was not a free choice for India, but it was in a sense forced upon us by prior devaluation of the currency of the United Kingdom. Sir, in my opinion, this devaluation of the Indian rupee was deliberately conceived by interested nations of the world to create in India confusion favourable for import or in other words conditions favourable for the export to India of the surplus goods of the hungry world. I congratulate the Hon'ble the Finance Minister, and I am grateful to him for his reference to the sufferings of the middle class intelligentsia. He has faithfully depicted the picture, but, Sir, he has solved the problem merely by making appeals to private and individual capitalists to provide capital for production purposes thereby opening new fields of employment and in expectation of a favourable response he has freely assured them and given complete security of their investment at lucrative and attractive rate.

Sir, in the field of nation-building departments, the Budget of this year appears to me to be absolutely blank. The less said about it the better. Sir, when we talk of nationalisation of key industries, when we talk of abolition of the old feudal system of zamindary, we are accused of indulging in academic socialism. Sir, let us then try to sustain ourselves in our present struggles without any murmur in the hope of a future paradise that the Hon'ble Finance Minister has visualised in his Budget statement.

Let me conclude, Sir, by making a reference to the refugee question which has put so tremendous a pressure upon our finances. I have noticed with pain a tendency on the part of some of the public men and journalists on both sides of the border to apportion blames. This will not only do no good to the refugees of West Bengal or East Bengal but it will merely complicate matters and will breed causes of future calamities of tremendous magnitude. We are in a vicious circle. Reaction follows action in a never-ending spiral, and in the ultimate analysis of things we are not responsible for this cataclysm—Indian refugees or Pakistan refugees, refugees from India to Pakistan or refugees from Pakistan to India. The ultimate and inevitable result is that the minorities on both sides suffer. Sir, I appeal to the minorities of both sides to try their best to make a common cause with the minorities of the country of their adoption. That alone can do ultimate good to them and establish peace and harmony in the country and prevent voluntary migration from this side to that without creating any disturbance. Sir, the refugee problem and their sufferings are so great and so intricate that it cannot be solved by a State Government. This question will have to be taken up on the Inter-Dominion basis. In the past we have had many conferences on this very subject, and in those conferences certain decisions were arrived at. But, Sir, I find from experience that execution of those decisions has so far produced little or no effect. I feel that discussion and decisions on the question of the sufferings of the minorities on both sides on an Inter-Dominion level without the representatives of the minorities themselves would be doing something in an unreal atmosphere. I therefore demand that our Government may make a representation to the Centre to take immediate steps to see that there is another Inter-Dominion Conference on this very subject and the fate of the minorities is decided by the Central authorities of India and Pakistan in consultation with the accredited representatives of the minorities themselves. Sir, we do not for a moment think of transference of population and in fact we do not encourage influx of refugees from East Bengal to West Bengal or from West Bengal to East Bengal. But, Sir, we cannot at the same time, having regard to our immediate circumstances, close our eyes upon hard realities however unpleasant they may be. In spite of our best efforts some people will be coming from East Bengal to West Bengal and going from West Bengal to East Bengal. In this connection I would appeal to both the Governments and to the people of both countries to see that the refugees from West Bengal to East Bengal and from East to West be given as far as is humanly possible comfortable and honourable existence in the country of their adoption. I am grateful to the Central authorities that they have seriously considered the refugee problem in their recent meeting. Sir, it appears from newspaper records that they can think of only two alternatives, namely, war or mass transfer of population. But I would humbly suggest a third alternative for this problem which is neither war nor mass transference of population, but a practicable alternative. I would suggest that proper opportunities be given to all intending migrators to find a new home of their choice and proper arrangements be made to give comfortable existence to all those who come to take shelter in our country. Sir, we find at the present moment under Inter-Dominion decisions there are restrictions on the disposal of properties of minorities on both sides of the border. Sir, I would appeal to the Government very much to see that all such restrictions are forthwith withdrawn, and not only that, but more than that those unfortunate refugees of both the countries who have left behind

their properties undisposed should be given sincere and honest opportunities to dispose of their properties at reasonable and proper prices and should be allowed to transfer their assets to their new homes.

With these words, Sir, I once again congratulate the Hon'ble Finance Minister for his masterly survey of our financial position. But, Sir, circumstanced as he is he could not do more than what he has done. So, whilst sympathising with him and appreciating his talents in financial matters we regret to find ourselves just where we were before we were free. We hope, Sir, that while characterising others who would like to come forward with some suggestions as persons indulging in ideological sociologies, as persons having academic tendencies to indulge in academic socialisms, he himself would advise his honourable colleagues to think over the entire matter in a different perspective and to ensure for us a future which will be bright and prosperous.

Janab ABDUL WAHID SARKAR: মি: স্পীকার, স্যার, মাননীয় অর্থসচিব আগামী বৎসরের বাজেট প্রস্তুতির জন্য তাঁহার অসুস্থ শরীরেও যেরূপ পরিশ্রম করেছেন তার জন্য তাঁহাকে ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি। আমাদের দেশ স্বাধীন হয়েছে আজ প্রায় ৩০ মাসের বেশী, কিন্তু বড়ই দু:খের সহিত এই পরিষদকে জানাচ্ছি যে জনসাধারণ স্বাধীনতা বলতে যে স্বপ্ন দেখেছিল, যে চিন্তা করেছিল তার বিন্দুমাত্রও বর্তমান বাজেটে উল্লেখ নেই। দেশের জনসাধারণ স্বাধীনতা প্রাপ্তির পর এরূপ বাজেটের আশা করেন নি। তাঁরা চেয়েছিলেন যে বৃটিশের আমলে যে করভারে জড়িত তার লাঘব হবে, তাঁরা চেয়েছিলেন যাতে দু-বেলা পেটভরে খেতে পান, এবং তাঁদের আবশ্যক অনুসারে সকল জিনিষ পাবেন। তাঁরা ভেবেছিলেন যে তাঁদের সকল অভাব মিটে যাবে। তাঁদের ছেলে-পুলেরা শিক্ষা লাভ করে ভবিষ্যতে মানুষ হবে। তাঁদের স্বাস্থ্যের উন্নতি হবে। তাঁরা স্বচ্ছন্দে জীবন-যাপন করতে পারবেন। কিন্তু বর্তমান বাজেটে তার সমাধানের কোন চেষ্টাই করা হয় নাই। বৃটিশ আমলে যেভাবে জনসাধারণকে ধোকা দেবার জন্য বাজেট প্রস্তুত করা হ'ত সেইরূপ গতানুগতিকভাবেই বাজেট পেশ করা হয়েছে।

স্যার,* কেবলমাত্র পরিকল্পনার পর পরিকল্পনা রচনা করলেই দেশ উন্নত হবে না, পরিকল্পনাকে কাজে লাগাতে হবে। দেশের লোক কাজ চায়, বড় বড় কথা চায় না। বাজেট ব্যয়ের সমতা রক্ষা দ্বারা বিচার করা যায় না। বাজেট সময়োপযোগী না হলে লোকে হতাশ হয়ে পড়ে। কেবলমাত্র দমন নীতি কিম্বা শান্তি রক্ষার জন্য ভাল করিয়া পুলিশ-খাতে খরচ বাড়ালেই চলবে না। রাষ্ট্র মানুষের কল্যাণের জন্য যেটুকু কাজ করবে লোকে তা নিয়েই বিচার করবে। Sir, তাই আমি বলতে চাই যে বৃটিশের আমলের বাজেটের অনুকরণ না করে আমাদের স্কন্ধের উপর যে মস্তিষ্ক আছে তা কেবলমাত্র চিন্তা, কল্পনা ও বিবেচনা করবার জন্য। শুধু cultureএর অভাবে আমাদের আদর্শ-শক্তি লুপ্ত হয়ে আছে। আমাদের পরিশ্রম, শক্তি ও কল্পনাকে দ্বিগুণ করে তুলতে হবে। তবেই আমরা দুইশত বৎসরের লুপ্ত গৌরবকে ফিরিয়ে আনতে সক্ষম হব। স্যার, জাতীয় উন্নতি বিধান করতে হ'লে অশিক্ষা, অলসতা, স্বার্থপরতা ও পুরাতন প্রথার হাত হতে মুক্তিলাভ করতে হবে।

স্যার, গ্রামই আমাদের দেশের মেরুদণ্ড। গ্রামের উন্নতিতে রাষ্ট্রের উন্নতি। গ্রামের সেই জীর্ণশীর্ণ পল্লীগুলির কথা একবার চিন্তা করুন। পল্লীর স্বাস্থ্য, পল্লীর শিক্ষার উন্নতির জন্য ও পল্লীর রাস্তাগুলির প্রতি বিশেষ দৃষ্টি দেওয়া উচিত ছিল, কিন্তু আমার মনে হয় সরকার পল্লীবাসীর দু:খ-দুর্দশা মোচন ও তাদের মৃত্যুর কবল হতে রক্ষা করবার জন্য বিশেষ মনযোগী নন বলিয়াই বর্তমান বাজেটে সেরূপ টাকার বরাদ্দ করেন নি। যে পল্লীবাসী সমস্ত দু:খ মাথায় করে, সুখস্বাচ্ছন্দ্যের মোহ ত্যাগ করে, মাটি কামড়ে পড়ে আছে এবং দেশের মহান উপকার করছে সেই উপেক্ষিতদের অবস্থার পরিবর্তন করতে হবে। পল্লীকে না বাঁচালে দেশ বাঁচবে না। আমরা যদি পল্লী সংস্কার কাজে মনোযোগ না দিই, পল্লীবাসীকে মৃত্যুর পথ হতে ফিরিয়ে না আনি, ও পল্লীবাসীর শিক্ষার প্রতি, স্বাস্থ্যের প্রতি, জল সরবরাহের দিকে, রাস্তাঘাটের দিকে ও তাদের সুখস্বাচ্ছন্দ্যের প্রতি মনোযোগ না দিই, তা'হলে আমাদের একটা বৃহৎ অংশ কি অতি শীঘ্র নি:শেষ হবে না? তাই বলি সরকার পল্লীবাসীকে মৃত্যুর হাত হতে বাঁচাবার ব্যবস্থা করুন।

স্যার, চাষীই জাতির মেরুদণ্ড। চাষী না বাঁচলে দেশ বাঁচতে পারে না। আমাদের দেশের চাষীর দুরবস্থার কথা সকলেই জানেন। তারা মাথার ঘাম পায়ে ফেলে, হাড়-ভাঙ্গা খাটুনি খেটে আজ ধ্বংসের মুখে এসে দাঁড়িয়েছে। তাদের জীবনযাপন প্রণালীর উন্নতির জন্য কোন সুষ্ঠু প্রচেষ্টা বর্তমান বাজেটে করা হয়নি।

বড় বড় পরিকল্পনা, যেমন দামোদর ও ময়ূরাক্ষী পরিকল্পনার কথা বাদ দিয়ে ছোট ছোট সেচ পরিকল্পনা অচিরেই কাজে লাগাতে হবে, গঙ্গার জল নিকাশের ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে, হাজা-মজা পুষ্করিণী ও নদীর সংস্কার করতে হবে। শস্যক্ষেত্রের আয়তন এবং উৎপন্ন শস্যের পরিমাণ সম্পর্কে পরিসংখ্যান সংগ্রহ ব্যবস্থার উন্নতি করতে হবে, কেবলমাত্র এলোপাথাড়ি নমুনা সংগ্রহ করলেই চলবে না। মাঝে মাঝে চাষীর দখলীকৃত জমির তথ্যানুসন্ধান করা উচিত। পশ্চিম বাংলায় যে জমি পতিত আছে তাহা চাষোপযোগী করে জল সেচের সুব্যবস্থা করতে পারলে এই প্রদেশের খাদ্যশস্যের ঘাটতি বহুলাংশে পূরণ হতে পারে। পতিত জমিগুলির অধিকাংশই জলপাইগুড়ি, নদীয়া ও হুগলি জেলায় অবস্থিত, খাদ্যশস্যের ঘাটতি দূর হলে শুধু যে দেশের লোক খেতে পাবে তা নয়, অন্যান্য প্রয়োজনীয় সাধারণ দ্রব্যের মূল্যও হ্রাস পাবে এবং খাদ্যশস্য আমদানীর জন্য গভর্ণমেণ্টকে যে মোটা টাকা ব্যয় করতে হয় তা হ'তে রেহাই পাওয়া যাবে, ও সেই টাকা জনসাধারণের উন্নতির জন্য অন্য কাজে ব্যয় করা যেতে পারবে। কাজেই কৃষির উন্নতি ও সম্প্রসারণমূলক যে কোন পরিকল্পনাই সরকার কার্য্যকরী করতে অগ্রসর হবেন, তাহা জনসাধারণ আন্তরিকভাবে সমর্থন করবেন। পল্লীতে বাড়তি ফসল ফলাইতে হ'লে পল্লীর জমি-জায়গার প্রতি গভীরভাবে মনোনিবেশ করতে হবে। বন, বাগান ও পুকুরগুলিকে কাজে লাগাবার মত গড়িয়া তুলতে হবে। ইহার জন্য আইন প্রণয়নের আবশ্যক হ'লে তাহাও করতে হবে। খাদ্যে স্বাবলম্বী সার্থক করে তুলিবার জন্য উৎপাদনকারীদের মধ্যে বিশেষ প্রেরণা ও উৎসাহ সঞ্চার করতে হবে। যাঁহারা উৎপাদন করেন তাঁহারাই যে সমাজের বিশিষ্ট ব্যক্তি ইহা রাষ্ট্র ও সমাজ কর্ত্তৃক স্বীকার করতে হবে। প্রয়োজনের সময় যাহাতে চাষিগণ সহজে ঋণ পেতে পারেন তার জন্য একটি কৃষি-ফিনান্স কমিটী গঠন করা উচিত। স্যার; চাষিগণ সাধারণত লাভলোকসান বুঝিয়া চাষ করে। অন্যান্য শ্রেণীর তুলনায় চাষীদের জীবনযাত্রার মান অত্যন্ত নিম্নে রয়েছে। এ অবস্থায় অন্যান্য পণ্যের বর্ত্তমান মূল্যহার বজায় থাকলে কৃষিজাত পণ্যের মূল্য বৃদ্ধি না করলে উৎপাদন ব্যাহত হবে এবং চাষীদিগের জীবনযাত্রার মান হ্রাস পাবে। গ্রেগারী কমিটী এই মর্ম্মে সুপারিশ করেছিলেন যে কৃষিপণ্যের মূল্যহার এমনভাবে নির্দ্ধারিত হওয়া উচিত যাতে চাষের ব্যয় কুলাইয়া চাষীদের জীবনযাত্রার নিম্নতম মান বজায় রাখা সম্ভব হয়। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় আমাদের প্রাদেশিক গভর্ণমেণ্ট বা কেন্দ্রীয় গভর্ণমেণ্ট কেহই এই নীতি অনুসারে কৃষিজাত পণ্যের মূল্য স্থির করিয়া দেন নাই। চাষের জন্য বর্ত্তমানে যে অত্যধিক ব্যয় হইতেছে তাহা হিসাব করিয়া কৃষিজাত দ্রব্যের মূল্য নির্দ্ধারিত করা হউক। চাষীদিগের ফসল বিক্রয়ের সুব্যবস্থা করা একান্ত প্রয়োজন। অনেক সময় ব্যবসাদারদিগের কারসাজিতে কিংবা গভর্ণমেণ্টের খুসিমাফিক আদেশের ফলে চাষীদিগকে তাহাদের প্রয়োজনের তাড়নায় কিংবা বাধ্য হইয়া বাজারদর অপেক্ষা কমদরে তাহাদের কৃষিজাত পণ্য বিক্রয় করিতে হয়। ক্রেতার অভাবে কিংবা গভর্ণমেণ্টের বদসদ আদেশের ফলে যাহাতে চাষিগণকে তাহাদের পণ্য বিক্রয়ে কোন অসুবিধায় পড়িতে না হয়, তাহার ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত।

পশ্চিমবঙ্গের অধিকাংশ চাষীই ধান্য চাষ করে। সেই উৎপন্ন ধান্যের উপর নির্ভর করিয়া চাষিগণকে সারা বৎসরের সাংসারিক খরচ চালাইতে হয়। তাহার উপর চাষের জন্য বলদের খরচ এবং আবাদ খরচ যাহা পড়ে এবং যে অনুপাতে আমাদের দেশে ধান্য উৎপন্ন হয়, তাহার প্রতি মণ ধান্য উৎপাদন খরচা কমপক্ষে প্রায় ৯৲ টাকা পড়ে। কিন্তু সরকার সরকারী ধান্যের ক্রয় মূল্য ৭।।০ টাকা ধার্য্য করিয়াছেন। ইহাতেই দেখা যায় কেবলমাত্র ধান্য উৎপন্ন করিতে যে খরচ হয় তাহাই ধান্য বিক্রয় করিয়া উঠে না।

সরকার একটা যুক্তির অবতারণা করেছেন যে চাষীরা গায়ে খাটিয়া চাষ করে, তাহাদের উৎপন্ন ফসলের পড়তা কষিতে শ্রমের মূল্য ধরিতে হইবে না। যদি তাহাই হয় তাহা হইলে চাষীদের সংসার কি করিয়া চলিবে? চাষিগণও মানুষ--একথা ভুলিলে আমাদের চলিবে না। তাহাদের পুত্রকন্যা পরিবার আছে, সংসারে আত্মীয়-স্বজন আছে, আপদ-বিপদ সবই আছে। এই সব চিন্তা করিয়া মানবতার দিক দিয়েও তাহাদের ধান্যের দর কিছু বাড়াইয়া দেওয়া উচিত অন্ততঃ যাহাতে তাহাদের ধান উৎপন্ন করিতে যাহা খরচ হয় তাহা উঠে।

Sir, চাষিগণ গভর্ণমেণ্টকে ৭।।০ টাকা মণ দরে ধান্য বিক্রয় করে। কিন্তু তাহাদের চাউল কিনিবার আবশ্যক হইলে উপস্থিত ১৬৸৵০ দরে "কণ্ট্রোল শপ" হইতে কিনিতে হয়। আবার সময় সময় তাও পাওয়া যায় না, বাজার হইতে বেশী দরে লইতে হয়। মজুরের অভাবে ধান হইতে চাউল তৈয়ারী করা সম্ভব হইতেছে না; তবে দেশে অনেক husking machine হয়েছে, তাতে ধান ভাঙিয়া লইবার সুবিধা আছে। কিন্তু সেই ধান ভাঙিবার permit না পাইলে ধান ভাঙা সম্ভব নয়। সেইজন্য গভর্ণমেণ্টের নিকট আমার অনুরোধ এই যে যাহাতে চাষিগণ তাহাদের প্রয়োজনীয় চা'ল ঐ সমস্ত husking machineএ বিনা ক্লেশে ভাঙাইয়া লইতে পারেন, তাহার জন্য আশু ব্যবস্থা করা। তাহা না হইলে অনেক সময় দেখা গিয়েছে যে ধান ঘরে থাকিতেও খাইতে পায় না; কিংবা অল্পদরে ধান বিক্রয় করিয়া বেশীদরে চা'ল কিনিতে হয়।

Sir, আমি পূর্বেই বলিয়াছি গভর্ণমেণ্টের ধান্যের ক্রয়মূল্য ৭॥০ টাকা কিন্তু সাধারণ লোককে চাল কিনিতে হইতেছে ১৬৸৵০ দরে। সরকার D. P. Agentকে ধান মণপ্রতি গুদাম ভাড়া বাবদ সংগ্রহ করিলন, D. P. Agentএর সব স্থান হইতে কলিকাতা পর্যন্ত কিংবা স্থানীয় চাউলকলগুলি যেখানে অবস্থিত সেই পর্যন্ত ধান চালানে ঝাড়তি-পড়তি ও বহন খরচা বাবদ এবং রাস্তা মেরামতী ফণ্ডে চাঁদা ধরিয়া এবং সেই ধান কলিকাতা কিংবা স্থানীয় কিংবা জেলা কলগুলিকে ৮৸০ দরে বিক্রয় করেন এবং খালি বস্তা বাবদ আলাহিদা মূল্য দেন এবং সেই ধানের চাউল কলগুলি হইতে মণ প্রতি ১৪৵১০ দরে খরিদ করেন। কিন্তু এখানে উল্লেখযোগ্য এই যে rice millগুলি যদি direct purchase করেন অর্থাৎ যদি সোজাসুজি চাষীদিগের নিকট হইতে ধান কিনেন, তাহা হইলে সেই ধানের চাউল ১২৸০ করিয়া লওয়া হয়। সুতরাং দেখা যাইতেছে যে যে সমস্ত খরচা অন্যায়ভাবে ধার্য্য করিয়া rice millগুলিকে ৮৸০ দরে ধান দেওয়া হয়, তাহা অনায়াসে অনেক কমান যাইতে পারে এবং সেইসঙ্গে চালের দাম ও অনেক কমান যাইতে পারে। আমার আরও অনুরোধ সরকার যে ধান্য rice millগুলিকে D. P. Agentএর নিকট হইতে দেন, সেই ধানের উৎপন্ন চাউল যে দরে লন সেই দরে সোজাসুজি চাষীর নিকট হইতে যে ধান rice millগুলি direct purchase করেন, সেই ধান্যের চাউলও ঐ একই দরে লইবার ব্যবস্থা করুন।

Sir, বর্ত্তমানে পশ্চিম বাংলার শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থার যে অবনতি দেখা দিয়াছে, তাহার কারণ ছাত্রদের কেবলমাত্র ঔদাসীন্য কিংবা উচ্ছৃঙ্খলতা নহে। বিশেষ অনুসন্ধান করিলে দেখা যায় যে ইহার প্রধান কারণ শিক্ষকগণের আন্তরিকতার অভাব। ইহার জন্য শিক্ষকগণকে দোষ দেওয়া যায় না। যিনি নিজেই খাইতে পান না, যাঁহার পোষ্যগণ আধপেটা খাইয়া রহিয়াছেন তাঁহার নিকট হইতে ভাল কাজ আশা করা যায় না। প্রাইমারী স্কুলের শিক্ষকগণ আজ আসন্ন মৃত্যুর সম্মুখীন। যদিও তাঁহাদের যৎসামান্য বেতন বৃদ্ধি করা হইয়াছে, তাহাও মরুভূমিতে বারিবিন্দু সম। মাগ্‌গীভাতায় শ্রেণীভেদ করিবার কোন কারণই বোঝা যায় না। উচ্চ শ্রেণীর শিক্ষকগণ যে হারে মাগ্‌গীভাতা পান, নিম্ন শ্রেণীর শিক্ষকগণও যাহাতে সেই পরিমাণ ভাতা পান, তাহার ব্যবস্থা করা অত্যাবশ্যক। যাহাতে প্রাইমারী স্কুলের শিক্ষকগণ তাহাদের living wages পাইতে পারেন, আশা করি গভর্ণমেণ্ট সেই দিকে আশু দৃষ্টি দিবেন। বড়ই দুঃখের কথা এই যে ১৯৪৯ সালের প্রাইমারী স্কুলের শিক্ষকগণকে Development Grant দিবার প্রতিশ্রুতি আজ পর্য্যন্ত পালিত হয় নাই। অবৈতনিক এবং বাধ্যতামূলক শিক্ষা বিস্তারের দাবী গত যুগ হইতেই এদেশের অধিবাসিগণ করিয়া আসিতেছে। আজ যখন দেশবাসী নিজেরাই নিজেদের ভাগ্যবিধাতা, তখন এজন্য জাতিগঠনমূলক কাজ করিতে বাধা কোথায়! অবশ্য যদি সাহস, আন্তরিকতা এবং কল্পনাশক্তির অভাব হয় তাহা স্বতন্ত্র কথা।

Sir, আমরা ভেবেছিলাম আমাদের Chief Minister যখন একজন প্রসিদ্ধ ডাক্তার, তখন তিনি নিজে উদ্যোগী হইয়া আমাদের দেশে হাজার হাজার লোক যাহাতে আর ম্যালেরিয়ায় না মৃত্যুমুখে পতিত হয়, তাহার প্রতিকার করিবেন। লোকে ইহাও ভাবিয়াছিল যে তিনি prevention is better than cure—এই policy অনুসারে দেশবাসীকে ম্যালেরিয়ার কবল হইতে রক্ষা করিবেন। কিন্তু বর্ত্তমান বাজেটে সেইরূপ কোন আভাষ পাওয়া গেল না। উপরন্তু under the head "Public Health—Control of Malaria (Development Programme)" খাতে ১৯৪৯-৫০ সালে দুইলক্ষ টাকা ধরা হইয়াছিল। কিন্তু দুর্ভাগ্যবশতঃ এ বৎসর ১৯৫০-৫১ সালে কিছুই ধরা হয় নাই। আমরা আরও দেখিতে পাই--Anti-Leprosy Schemeএ ১৯৪৯-৫০ সালে দুই লক্ষ চব্বিশ হাজার টাকা ধরা হইয়াছিল। কিন্তু Revised Budgetএ এক লক্ষ একাশী হাজার টাকা ধরা হইয়াছে। কিন্তু ১৯৫০-৫১ সালে এক লাখ আশী হাজার টাকা মাত্র ধরা হইয়াছে। কিন্তু leprosy আমাদের দেশে উত্তরোত্তর বৃদ্ধিই পাইতেছে। তাহার হাত হইতে রক্ষা পাইবার কোনই ব্যবস্থা বর্ত্তমান বাজেটে করা হয় নাই। ঐ headএই rural water-supply খাতে ১৯৪৯-৫০ সালের Revised Budgetএ দেখা যায় তা ১ লাখ ২৩ হাজার টাকা ধরা হইয়াছে, কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় ১৯৫০-৫১ সালের বাজেটে মাত্র ৯০ হাজার টাকা ধরা হইয়াছে। Medical Headএ "Health Education" খাতে ১৯৪৯-৫০ সালে ১ লাখ টাকা ধরা হয়েছিল কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় ১৯৫০-৫১ সালের মাত্র ৫০ হাজার টাকা ধরা হয়েছে এবং "Increase in the number of rural dispensaries and establishment of public health units" খাতে ১৯৪৯-৫০ সালের তুলনায় খুবই কম টাকা বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে।

ইহা হইতে গ্রামের ভার সরকারের দরদ ক্রমশঃ কমে যাবার প্রমাণ কি পাওয়া যাচ্ছে না?

Sir, কম বেতনভোগী সরকারী কর্মচারিদিগের কথা একবার চিন্তা করে দেখুন তাঁদের বেতন ও ভাতা যাহা পান তাতে তাঁদের সংসার চলে না। আমি মনে করি রাষ্ট্রের কর্মী যারা, দেশকে উন্নতির পথে গড়ে তুলবার গুরু দায়িত্ব যাদের উপর, রাষ্ট্রের সেবায় যারা নিযুক্ত তাঁদের অভাব মোচন না করলে তাঁরা সর্বশক্তি দিয়া

লোককে গড়ে তুলতে চেষ্টা করতে পারবে না। অন্ততঃপক্ষে তাহাদিগকে living wage দেওয়া উচিত Dr. Ghosh Ministryর সময় Dr. Ghosh প্রতিশ্রুতি দিয়াছিলেন যে Pay Commissionএর সুপারিশ অনুসারে সরকারী কর্মচারিগণকে বেতন দেওয়া হবে। তাতে আমার মনে হয় ৩ কোটী বা কিছু বেশী খরচ হবে। কিন্তু আমাদের present Ministry মাত্র ১ কোটী টাকা sanction করেছেন। বাকী টাকাটা যাহাতে অচিরে sanction হয় তার ব্যবস্থা করা কর্ত্তব্য।

Sir, আমাদের এখানে আর একটা সমস্যা আছে সেটা হচ্ছে বেকার সমস্যা। এই বেকারের সংখ্যা যত বাড়বে, গণ্ডগোল তত বেশী হবে। গ্রামে বা মফঃস্বলে বেকার সমাধান কল্পে কুটীর-শিল্পের প্রবর্ত্তন ও প্রসার করা দরকার। আমাদের দেশের বেকারের সংখ্যা নির্ণয় করা এবং সেই সমস্ত বেকারদিগকে দেশের উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনাকে কাজে লাগাইয়া দেওয়া কিম্বা জাতীয় শিল্পের উন্নতিবিধান করিয়া বেকার সমস্যা সমাধান করা। বাস্তুহারা সমস্যার আশু সমাধান করা একান্ত প্রয়োজনীয় হয়ে উঠেছে। এই সমস্যার সমাধান ইতিপূর্ব্বেই করা উচিত ছিল। তাহা না করার ফলে বাস্তুহারারা নিজেরা নিজেদের ব্যবস্থা করার জন্য বিনা অনুমতিতে অপরের জায়গা জমি দখল করেছে। অনেক স্থানে গোলযোগ হইয়াছে এবং অনেক স্থানে গোলযোগ হইবার সম্ভাবনা দেখা দিয়াছে। বাস্তুহারাদের সুব্যবস্থা যাহাতে হয় তাহার জন্য সরকারকে অনুরোধ করি।

Sir, আমাদের দেশের revenueএর একটা মোটা অংশ অর্থাৎ প্রায় টাকায় ৩ আনা পুলিশ বাবদ খরচ হচ্ছে। পুলিশের পিছনে যে এত টাকা বরাদ্দ হচ্ছে কিন্তু পুলিশ বিভাগের কি যোগ্যতা বেড়েছে, না, তাঁদের তৎপরতা বেড়েছে, না, তাঁদের মনের পরিবর্ত্তন ঘটেছে? একটাও হয়নি। তবে পুলিশের উপর পুলিশ বাড়িয়ে, departmentএর পর department খুলে এই আর্থিক সঙ্কটের দিনে পুলিশ খাতে এত টাকা বরাদ্দ করবার কি প্রয়োজন ছিল? এত বিরাট বিরাট বিভাগ থাকতে চোরাকারবারী বা কি কোরে চলে! সমাজ বিরোধ কিংবা জাতি-বিরোধী কাজই বা কি করে হয়! এই সেদিনও পশ্চিম বাংলার রাজধানী ভারতের দ্বিতীয় নগরী কলিকাতার বুকে নানারকম পুলিশ বিভাগের সম্মুখে এক সম্প্রদায়ের ঘরবাড়ী পাইকারীভাবে জ্বালিয়ে দিবার সুযোগ কি করে জাতিবিরোধী দলগুলি পেল? তবে কি পুলিশ ঐরূপ কাজকে হিংসাত্মক কাজ বলে মনে করে না? C. I. D. Department কি ঐসব ঘটনা ঘটবার পূর্বে কোন সংবাদ পাননি? সেটা কি C. I. D. Departmentএর অযোগ্যতার পরিচয় না?

দিনের পর দিন যে ঘটনা ঘটে গেল তখন কি পুলিস ঘরে বসে বাঁশী বাজাচ্ছিল, না, তাঁদের সামনেই এ সব তাণ্ডবলীলা চলেছিল, তাঁরা কি দর্শকের ন্যায় দাঁড়িয়ে কেবল দেখছিলো? না, সেই গুণ্ডাশ্রেণীকে বাধা দিবার শক্তি তাদের ছিল না?

আমরা এর পূর্ব্বেও দেখেছি ওলটপালটের দল যাদের সংখ্যা নিতান্ত কম সে ক্ষেত্রেও পুলিশ নির্ব্বিকারচিত্তে দাঁড়িয়ে দর্শকের পালা অভিনয় করেছে। ইংরাজের আমলের পুলিশের সেই শৌর্য্য বীর্য্য কোথায় গেল? তাঁরা কি গান্ধীজীর অহিংসনীতি অবলম্বন করেছেন? না, তাঁরা ধ্বংসাত্মক দলকে সমর্থন করেছেন?

যদি পুলিশ শান্তিরক্ষক হয়ে রাষ্ট্রের এরূপ ধ্বংসাত্মক কাজকে নীরবে সমর্থন কিংবা নিষ্ক্রিয়ভাবে থাকে তাহলে এখন পুলিশের প্রয়োজন কি? পুলিশখাতে টাকার পর টাকা বরাদ্দ করে লাভ কি? মনুষ্যত্ব বিরোধী এই সব পুলিশ অপসারিত করে ন্যায়, সৎ ও কর্ম্মদক্ষ পুলিশ নিয়োজিত করা এবং তাহাদিগকে উৎসাহিত করা সরকারের কর্ত্তব্য। রাষ্ট্র-বিরোধী কার্য্যকলাপের সমর্থনকারী পুলিশের জন্য টাকা বরাদ্দ করাতে দুষ্কৃতিকারীদের প্রশ্রয় দেওয়া হয়। পুলিশের মধ্যে কোন রকম ত্রুটী বা গলদ না থাকে সেদিকে সরকারের কড়া নজর রাখতে হবে। এ কথা সব সময় মনে রাখতে হবে; পুলিশ হবে একদিকে সেবক ও অন্যদিকে অন্যায় ও দুষ্কৃতিকারিগণের হাত থেকে সমাজের রক্ষক। যদি এই হয় তাহলে পুলিশ খাতে দরকারমত টাকা বাড়ালে কারও আপত্তি থাকতে পারে না।

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: মাননীয় স্পীকারমহোদয়, মাননীয় অর্থ-মন্ত্রী মহাশয় এবারের বাজেট আন্তর্জাতিক রাজনৈতিক পরিস্থিতির পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে তৈরী করেছেন, সেজন্য আমি কার্য্যতঃ তাঁকে আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি। কারণ দুনিয়াটা এত ছোট হয়ে গেছে যে সমস্ত দুনিয়ার কথা না ভেবে কোন দেশের পক্ষে সত্যিকার মঙ্গলজনক কোন কিছু করা এখন আর সম্ভব নয়। মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয় বর্ত্তমান আন্তর্জাতিক পরিস্থিতির কথা বলতে গিয়ে চীনে যে কম্যুনিষ্ট প্রাধান্য প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছে, ইন্দোনেশিয়া যে স্বাধীন হয়েছে তার উল্লেখ করেছেন; কিন্তু পূর্ব্ব এশিয়ায় আরো এমন কতকগুলি ঘটনা ঘটেছে যাদের উপর আমাদের ভারতবর্ষের অদৃষ্ট অনেকখানি নির্ভর করে। অথচ সেসব ঘটনার উল্লেখ মন্ত্রীমহোদয় করেন নাই। সেসব

বাংলার মধ্যে তিলেংগানাতে যা ঘটছে, মালয়ে যা ঘটছে সেসবের বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখ আবশ্যক। মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয় ভারতবর্ষের নানান জায়গায় বিশেষ করে কলকাতায় মাঝে মাঝে যেসব উপদ্রব ঘটেছে বা ঘটছে তাদের sporadic outbreaks of violent activities on the part of a section of the people বলে বর্ণনা করেছেন। সেই sectionটি যে communist তা আমরা সকলেই জানি। শুধু সেই কথাই জানি না, এখানকার communistদের কার্য্যকলাপের সঙ্গে পৃথিবীর অন্যান্য জায়গায় communistsদের কার্য্যকলাপের যে অন্তর্নিহিত সংযোগ আছে তাও আমরা জানি। কারণ পৃথিবীর সর্বত্র সকল দেশে communistsদের দ্বারা যা কিছু অনুষ্ঠিত হয় সবই নিয়ন্ত্রিত হয় রাশিয়ার communist party দ্বারা। একথাটা মনে না রাখলে আমরা অবস্থার ঠিকমত বিচার করতে পারব না। যেসব ঘটনা ঘটছে ভারতবর্ষে communistরা যা কিছু ঘটাচেছ তার প্রকৃত স্বরূপ উপলব্ধিও করা যাবে না। দুনিয়ার বিভিন্ন দেশে অনুষ্ঠিত কম্যুনিষ্ট কার্য্যকলাপের অন্তর্নিহিত উদ্দেশ্য এক, এই কথা মনে রেখে আজ আমাদের কর্ম্মপদ্ধতি স্থির করতে হবে।

রাজনৈতিক দিক দিয়ে পৃথিবীর দেশগুলি আজ দুই ভাগে বিভক্ত হয়ে পড়েছে। একদিকে রাশিয়ার communism বা সাম্যবাদ, অন্যদিকে এংলো-আমেরিকান capitalism বা ধনতন্ত্রবাদ। আমরা সোভিয়েট রাশিয়ার সাম্যবাদ গ্রহণ করতে পারি না; কারণ আমাদের আদর্শ totalitarianism নয়, আমাদের আদর্শ জনগণের প্রকৃত শাসন democracy প্রতিষ্ঠা করা। আমরা এংলো-আমেরিকান capitalism-এর নীতিও গ্রহণ করতে পারি না; কারণ আমাদের জাতীয় কংগ্রেসের আদর্শ হচ্ছে classless society সুতরাং আমাদের তৃতীয় একটা পন্থা গ্রহণ করতে হবে। মহাত্মা গান্ধী পুনঃ পুনঃ বলেছেন স্বাধীনতা লাভের পর ভারতবর্ষে রামরাজ্য স্থাপন করতে হবে। তাঁর রামরাজ্য হবে কৃষক-প্রজা-মজদুর রাজ্য। কংগ্রেসের গত জয়পুর অধিবেশনে সকলে মিলে আমরা এই প্রস্তাব গ্রহণ করেছি যে আমরা communist totalitarianism গ্রহণ করব না বা এংলো-আমেরিকান capitalismও গ্রহণ করব না। আমাদের ভারতের জাতীয় আদর্শ হবে—রামরাজ্য—শ্রেণীহীন সমাজ বা কৃষক-প্রজা-মজুর রাজ। কিন্তু দুঃখের সহিত আমি বলতে বাধ্য হচ্ছি মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয়ের বাজেট বক্তৃতাতে শ্রেণীহীন গণতন্ত্রের কোন উল্লেখ নাই। যদি তিনি তাঁর বাজেট বক্তৃতায় এ বিষয়ে কিছু বলতেন তবে তা খুবই সমীচীন হ'ত, এবং আমরা সকলেই তাহলে সুখী হতে পারতাম।

ভারতবর্ষের জাতীয় কংগ্রেসের এই আদর্শ বরাবরই রয়েছে যে জমিদারী প্রথা নিশ্চিহ্ন করে, যারা নিজ হাতে চাষ করে তাদেরই জমির মালিক করতে হবে। এই আদর্শটি বাস্তবে খুবই সুন্দর এবং কাজেও খুব প্রয়োজনীয়। সুতরাং এই আদর্শকে কার্য্যে পরিণত করাই আমাদের কংগ্রেসী গভর্ণমেণ্টের সর্ব্বপ্রথম কর্ত্তব্য হওয়া উচিত। তারপরে হচেছ industryগুলির জাতীয়করণ। আমি খুব আনন্দের সঙ্গে বলছি আমাদের পশ্চিমবঙ্গের গভর্ণর কাল Bengal Chamber of Commerceএ যে বক্তৃতা দিয়েছেন তাতে শিল্পসমূহের জাতীয়-করণের দিকেই যে বর্ত্তমান দুনিয়ার ঝোঁক সেই কথার উল্লেখ করেছেন। সত্যিকার গণরাজের ক্রমবিকাশের সঙ্গে শিল্পসমূহের জাতীয়করণ অবশ্যম্ভাবী। Democracy কিংবা গণরাজের স্বাভাবিক বিকাশের পথে বাধা সৃষ্টি কোন শক্তির পক্ষেই সম্ভব নয়।

Capital এবং Labour সম্পর্কে মন্ত্রীমহোদয় বলেছেন যে, যাঁরা মালিক বা পুঁজিপতি তাঁরা বর্ত্তমানে অসন্তুষ্ট। কারণ তাদের উপর নাকি খুব বেশী taxএর ভার পড়েছে। এবং তাদের লাভ খুব কমে গিয়েছে। তাই এখন শ্রমশিল্প বাড়ানর দিকে তাদের কোন উৎসাহ নাই এবং তার ফলে নূতন শিল্পের সৃষ্টি হচ্ছে না। শ্রমিকদের সম্বন্ধে, মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলেছেন যে তারা আগের চাইতে অনেক বেশী মাইনে পাচ্ছে এবং তাদের সংখ্যাও বেড়েছে। কিন্তু তা সত্বেও উৎপাদন আশানুরূপ বাড়ছে না। তাই Governmentএর কাছে তিনি অনুরোধ করেছেন মালিকদের ট্যাক্স কমানোর জন্য এবং শ্রমিকদের তিনি উপদেশ দিয়েছেন আরো বেশী করে পরিশ্রম করতে। কিন্তু দুঃখের সাথে বলতে হচ্ছে যে এরূপ একরোখা মনোভাব নিয়ে এই সমস্যার সমাধান হবে না। আজ দেশের শ্রমিক শ্রেণী মনে করে যে সরকার মালিক ঘেঁষা, আর যারা মালিক তারা মনে করে সরকার শ্রমিক-ঘেঁষা; সুতরাং মালিক ও শ্রমিক উভয় শ্রেণীর মধ্যে বর্ত্তমানে অসহযোগিতার ভাব বিদ্যমান। এই ক্ষেত্রে গভর্ণমেণ্ট ট্যাক্স কমিয়ে যদি মালিকের প্রতি বেশী সহানুভূতি দেখায় তবে শ্রমিকরা তা ভাল চোখে দেখবে না। ফলে উৎপাদন ব্যাহত হবে; অশান্তি বাড়বে। বর্ত্তমানে শ্রমিক এবং মালিক উভয়েই ক্ষুব্ধ। এই অবস্থায় সমস্যার একমাত্র সমাধান হচ্ছে Nationalisation of Industries শিল্পের জাতীয়করণ ছাড়া এই সমস্যার সমাধান অসম্ভব। আমেরিকা, ইংলণ্ড এবং ইউরোপের বহু দেশে পুঁজিপতি ব্যবস্থার

অবস্থিতি সত্বেও উৎপাদন বাড়ছে, দেশের উন্নতি ঘটছে। ইউরোপের দেশসমূহের সঙ্গে আমাদের দে তুলনা চলে না। আমাদের দেশের জনসাধারণ যেরূপ রাজনৈতিক চেতনাসম্পন্ন অর্থাৎ politic conscious ইউরোপের শ্রমিকরা সেরূপ নয়। সেখানকার শ্রমিকেরা trade union আন্দো অবশ্যই খুব উন্নত, কিন্তু রাজনৈতিক চেতনা সম্বন্ধে আমাদের দেশের শ্রমিকদের চাইতে পশ্চাৎবর্তী। তার প্র সেখানে Churchill-এর মত লোকও শ্রমিকদের শতকরা ৮০টা ভোট পায়। কিন্তু আমাদের দেশে ধনিকের পক্ষে শ্রমিকের ভোটে নির্ব্বাচিত হওয়া একেবারে অসম্ভব। সুতরাং অন্য দেশের নজীরে আমাদের দেশের অবস্থা অনুযায়ীই আমাদের চলতে হবে।

আমাদের পশ্চিম বাংলায় বর্তমানে সব কিছুরই অভাব। সেদিন খাদ্য-মন্ত্রীমহাশয় সুন্দর একটি বক্তৃতায় আমা এই সর্ব্বব্যাপী অভাবের কথা বিশদভাবে বলেছেন। আমাদের পাটের অভাব, ধানের অভাব। এই জন্য আমা বিশেষ প্রয়োজন দামোদর ও ময়ূরাক্ষী পরিকল্পনা শীঘ্র শীঘ্র শেষ করা। মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় এই দিকে বিশেষ লক্ষ্য রেখেছেন তার জন্য তাঁকে আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ দিচ্ছি। এই বিষয়ে কেন্দ্রীয় গভর্ণমেণ্টের বর্ত্ত মনোভাবও সম্পূর্ণ সহানুভূতিশীল। বাংলার মঙ্গলের জন্য এই দুইটি পরিকল্পনা যাতে শীঘ্র শীঘ্র শেষ হয় সেদ সদা সচেষ্ট থাকা বিশেষ প্রয়োজন। দামোদর উপত্যকা পরিকল্পনা কাজে পরিণত হলে নদীর উভয় পার্শ্বব বিস্তৃত ক্ষেত্রের উন্নতি হবে—ফলে ধানের ফসল বাড়বে, বারোমাস নদীতে যথেষ্ট জল থাকবে বলে যান চলাচ সুবিধা হবে। ফলে ব্যবসা বাণিজ্য বাড়বে।

আমাদের পশ্চিম বাংলা ছোট একটি প্রদেশ। আয়তনের তুলনায় এই প্রদেশে লোকসংখ্যা বেশী। জনব এইরূপ একটি ছোট দেশকে সুখে স্বচ্ছন্দে থাকতে হলে শ্রমশিল্পের বিকাশ অত্যাবশ্যক। আধুনিক ধরণের রাস্তার সর্ব্বত্র পরিব্যাপ্তি ছাড়া শিল্প ও ব্যবসা বাণিজ্যে উন্নতি অসম্ভব। এই জন্য এই প্রদেশে রাস্তাঘাটের দ্রু উন্নতি সাধন করতে হবে। তাই রাস্তাঘাটের উন্নতি ও সম্প্রসারণের জন্য বাজেটে আগামী ছয় বৎসরে ২৬ কে টাকা খরচের বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে দেখে খুব খুসী হয়েছি। এই জন্য মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয়কে অভিনন্দ জানাচ্ছি।

এবারকার বাজেটে North Calcutta Rural Electrification Scheme পুনরায় স্থ পেয়েছে দেখে আমি খুসী হয়েছি। আমি মন্ত্রী থাকা কালে এই পরিকল্পনাকে কাজে রূপায়িত কর জন্য বিশেষ উদ্যোগী হয়েছিলাম। কারণ আমি জানি electrified না হলে কোন একটি দেশের পূ সমৃদ্ধির পক্ষে অগ্রগতি অসম্ভব। দামোদর ও ময়ূরাক্ষী পরিকল্পনা যদি সফল হয় এবং North Calcutt Rural Electrification Scheme যদি শীঘ্র কাজে পরিণত হয় তাহলে পশ্চিম বঙ্গের ব্যাপক অঞ্চ বিদ্যুত সরবরাহ সম্ভব হবে। ফলে সুদূর পল্লী অঞ্চল বিদ্যুত আলোয় উজ্জ্বল হয়ে উঠবে, সাথে সাথে নান রকম শিল্পের বিকাশও ঘটবে। সুতরাং মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় North Calcutta Rural Electrification-এ জন্য বাজেটে যে ব্যবস্থা করেছেন সে জন্য তাঁকে ধন্যবাদ জ্ঞাপন করছি।

আমাদের অনেক কিছুর অভাব। আমাদের কৃষির উন্নতি করতে হবে, শিল্পের উন্নতি করতে হবে Aids to industries খাতে সরকার প্রতি বৎসর শিল্পবিকাশে সাহায্যকল্পে কিছু কিছু ব্যয়ও করেন। আম বিশ্বাস এই সাহায্যের অধিকাংশ অর্থেরই অপব্যয় হয়। এইভাবে খরচ না করে সরকার প্রতি বৎসর যদি এ কোটি টাকা ব্যয় করে নিজ তত্ত্বাবধানে ও পরিচালনায় শিল্প গড়ে তুলতে প্রয়াসী হতো তাহলে অনেক বে ফলপ্রসূ হত।

আমাদের Government ২৬শে জানুয়ারী হতে গণতান্ত্রিক হয়েছে। এবং আমরা পূর্ণবয়স্কে ভোটাধিকার পেয়েছি। অথচ আমাদের দেশে শিক্ষার প্রসার অতি সামান্য। নব অর্জিত গণতন্ত্রকে সত্যিকা সফল করতে হলে জনসাধারণকে শিক্ষিত করা একান্ত দরকার। আমি আশা করেছিলাম এই বাজেটে বাধ্যতামূল প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার জন্য কিছু ব্যবস্থা থাকবে। কিন্তু বড়ই দুঃখের সঙ্গে বলতে হচ্ছে এই সম্বন্ধে বাজেটে কো উল্লেখ নাই। আমার মনে হয় এটি বাজেটের অন্যতম ভীষণ ত্রুটী।

পশ্চিম বঙ্গে মৎস্যের একান্ত অভাব। পূর্ব্ব বঙ্গ থেকে বিচ্ছিন্ন হওয়ায় এই অভাব আরও বেড়েছে। মা আমাদের প্রধান খাদ্য। সুতরাং আমাদের বিশেষ চেষ্টা করা উচিত যাতে সমুদ্র থেকে মাছ ধরা যায়। এইবা বিলের মৎস্যের জন্য ৪ লক্ষ টাকার ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে। কিন্তু deep sea fishing-এর জন্য কোন অ বরাদ্দ করা হয় নাই। সরকারের এদিকেও দৃষ্টি দেওয়া উচিত ছিল।

উদ্বাস্তু refugee সম্বন্ধে। এই খাতে যে টাকা বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে প্রয়োজনের তুলনায় তা খুবই কম। অতীতেও এই খাতে যথেষ্ট না হলেও অনেক টাকা বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে। আমার মনে হয় সে টাকাটা অনেকটাই নষ্ট হয়েছে। যে টাকা এবার বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে তা যদি ভালভাবে ব্যয় করা যায় তবে আমার মতে অনেক কাজ করা সম্ভব। গত বৎসর আমি যখন বঙ্গীয় প্রাদেশিক রাষ্ট্রীয় সমিতির সভাপতি ছিলাম, তখন প্রধান মন্ত্রী ডাক্তার বিধান রায় মহাশয়কে আমি বলেছিলাম যে বারাসাত এলাকায় বহু পতিত জমি রয়েছে। সেগুলো সরকার যদি দখল করে নিয়ে সাত ও আট করে ৪।৫ কাঠা হিসাবে বাস্তুহারাদের মধ্যে বেঁটে দেয় তবে বাস্তুহারাদের সমস্যার অনেকটা সমাধান হতে পারে। কিন্তু সরকার আমার এই প্রস্তাব গ্রহণ করেনি। এখন বাস্তুহারারা বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলে জোর করে জমি দখল করে বাস করছে। আমার প্রস্তাব অনুযায়ী কাজ হলে বাস্তুহারা সমস্যা খুব সম্ভব এই আকার ধারণ করতো না। আমি আগে যা বলেছি তার পুনরুক্তি করে আমার বলতে চাই যে, পশ্চিম বঙ্গকে সুপ্রতিষ্ঠিত করতে হলে জমিদারী প্রথার উচ্ছেদ, শিল্পের জাতীয়করণ, দামোদর-ময়ূরাক্ষী পরিকল্পনার দ্রুত কার্য্যে পরিণতি, পশ্চিম বঙ্গের রাস্তাঘাটের ব্যাপক উন্নয়ন, পল্লী অঞ্চলে বিদ্যুত আলোর সম্প্রসারণ অত্যাবশ্যক। বাধ্যতামূলক প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার প্রবর্তন, সরকারের পক্ষ হইতে শিল্পের প্রতিষ্ঠা আর আমার মতে এই সব কাজ আপাতঃ যত কঠিন মনে হয় বাস্তবে তত কঠিনও নয়। সরকারের সত্যিকার ইচ্ছা ও দৃঢ় সংকল্প থাকলে ৫।৭ বৎসরের মধ্যেই এসব কাজের অনেকটা শেষ করে পশ্চিম বঙ্গকে সমৃদ্ধ করে তোলা সম্ভব। পশ্চিম বাংলার বর্ত্তমান অবস্থা যতই বিষাদমলিন হোক না কেন, এ সব কাজ শেষ হলে পশ্চিম বঙ্গ সোনার বাংলায় পরিণত হবে।

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have sworn allegiance to our noble Constitution in the name of God, and budget begins with a solemn prayer. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, allow me to say a short prayer before I begin,

"Bismulla Ar Rahaman Rahim Al-hamdo iillahay Rabbul Alimun.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - الحمد لله رب العالمين - قل اعوذ برب الناس *

সত্যমেব জয়তে।

It means that I invoke the blessings of Allah who is full of love and mercy and who is the only One fit for praise and adulation inasmuch as He is the creater, sustainer and developer of the universe. We take refuge in thy greatness and mercy. Then সত্যমেব জয়তে means, let the eternal truth lead us from success to success.

Sir, I am extremely sorry that I am not in a position to congratulate the Hon'ble Finance Minister Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarker for the budget statement which he has read to this august Assembly. This statement in fact is a dismal reading. It reveals a surprising and astounding ignorance of the real position of the Province or State of West Bengal in the Indian Union under the Constitution of India. A close perusal and scrutiny of this statement notwithstanding its apparent show of erudition and learning in matters of high political and economic theory further reveals the absolute failure on the part of the Hon'ble Finance Minister to appreciate and assess the responsibilities, powers and scope of its operation vis-a-vis the Parliament of the Indian Union. Even a cursory reading of the bombastic and grandiloquent statement by a practical common man whose imagination and understanding have not been clouded by smoke of the unburnt and undigested high political and economic theories will make her cry that it is nothing but a theoretical, political and economic sermon or thesis, which does not concern the . satellite State of poor and unfortunate West Bengal. This performance reminds me of the Bengali adage মায়ের নাম কাটানী কুটানী আর বেটার নাম দুর্গারাম। The adage means that a poor widowed mother earns a precarious living by spinning charkha and pounding rice in husk and depending for her sustenance on the dole of the wealthy man in whose house she works, in order to please herself named her son Durga Ram who began to behave like the prodigal son of the wealthy man and

whose progress in the world made him look ridiculous. Our Finance Minister has failed to appreciate that according to our noble Constitution the responsibility of governing, defending, developing, enhancing the *prestige of India in the comity of nations conducting its foreign, financial, monetary exchange and currency affairs is that of the Parliament of the* Indian Union. A State or Province has been commissioned to maintain law and order within its border, develop agriculture and subsidiary industries and also to look after the general welfare of the citizens in all other matters. In fact under our noble Constitution, as it is, the Province or State is nothing but a glorified municipal corporation. The State should maintain itself by levying and imposing taxes on agriculture, distribution and consumption of articles of every day use and such like minor matters. The Parliament may also help it by doles or allocating funds to enable it to discharge its responsibilities if it can in view of its greater and higher responsibilities for the security and well-being of Inda as a whole. Therefore, the talk of high political or economical exchange or currency theory is out of place in discussing the Budget of a satellite municipal State.

The most important responsibility of West Bengal State or for the matter of that of any State within the Union of India is to maintain public order which is No. 1 item in list II of the Constitution of India; then comes item No. 6 of the same list—public health, sanitation, hospitals and dispensaries; then comes item No. 11 of the same list being education; then comes item No. 14 being agriculture; then comes item No. 15 preservation, protection and improvement of stock; then comes item No. 16 water; then item No. 24 being industries within a limited scope; item No. 26 trade and commerce within a limited scope. These are the ordinary responsibilities of the State of West Bengal. According to the Constitution under Article 39, the State shall direct its policy—

(1) towards securing to its citizens an adequate means of livelihood;

(2) towards the distribution of the material resources of the community in a way as best to subserve the common good;

(3) towards prevention of concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;

(4) towards equal pay for equal work;

(5) towards the protection of childhood and youth against exploitation and moral and material abandonment.

Under Article 40 the State shall take steps to organise village panchayets and endow them with powers.

Under Article 41 the State shall make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement and undeserved want. Under Article 46 the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker section of the people and protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. The above, among other minor things, are the principal responsibilities of the State. It will thus appear that their responsibilities are of the nature of the responsibilities of a municipal organisation.

I propose to examine and discuss the budget as to what our Ministers have done or propose to do in this budget in the discharge of the responsibilities referred to above. First of all let me analyse the statement. The first part is an expression of exultation at the inauguration of Free Republic and Free Constitution of Free India and singing of hymns in praise of the high personages behind the Free Republic and the Constitution. I appreciate this exultation and satisfaction but this exultation and satisfaction is immediately countered and neutralised and negatived by the statement in page 3 which ruefully confesses that all is not well in

the State of Denmark. Our Hon'ble Finance Minister says in page 3, "Throughout the year West Bengal in general, and Calcutta in particular, have been the scene of sporadic outbreaks of violent activities on the part of a section of the people". Then it goes on to say that "A general spirit of indiscipline and restlessness and a too easy surrender to a spirit of lawlessness displayed by a class of people complicated the already deteriorating situation of the State in which the Government could hardly find a congenial atmosphere to plan and work." Then at page 4 it goes on to say "Neither the psychological nor the material fruits of freedom have come to the people of West Bengal with any message of hope or good cheer. The result for many in this State has been a sullen aloofness on their part, born out of frustration and despair."

This, Sir, is a damaging confession. It means in plain words that freedom is a mockery which has not come and has eluded the grasp of the people of West Bengal, or in other words a state of anarchy and lawlessness prevails in the Province which this Government is unable to control.

Secondly the singing of hymns has been neutralised by an expression that justice has not been done to West Bengal for withholding development doles and also by allocation of funds by the Desmukh Award. This is discontent of first magnitude and does not augur well either for the people in respect of loyalty to and co-operation with the Parliament of India. Any further comment is unnecessary.

The third part consists of lamentation over the partition of Bengal into West and East. May I enquire who are the sections and classes of people who were involved in the acts of lawlessness and hooliganism? It seems to me that our Hon'ble Finance Minister thinks and concludes that in these acts of lawlessness it is the so-called refugees who are mostly concerned. This is quite evident from the sentence in page 6, "The vast refugee population floating despairingly mostly in urban areas provide the delicate fuse of explosion". This delicate fuse has been exploded and it is the poor and innocent Muslims of Calcutta, Howrah and other urban areas who have been murdered, their houses have been looted and set on fire and a population of more than a lakh despairingly floating in Park Circus as refugees in Howrah, Zakaria Street, Matiaburuz, Kidderpore and other places. It is said that while East Bengal refugees were being paid at Re 1-8 per diem for their maintenance, the Muslim refugees are only paid 8 or 9 annas. I do not know whether the story of discrimination is correct or not. I would ask the Government to look into the matter. Why this lamentation over partition? The Hindus of East and West Bengal combined to partition the Province while the Muslims of both East and West Bengal were dead against partition.

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: Not true; the whole of West Bengal Muslims wanted it.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Don't interrupt please. I tell you you are not right.

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: I am correct. You are making a mistake.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is the work of these gentlemen over there and there is no use of crying over spilt milk. You have sown the wind and you must reap the whirlwind, but unfortunately it is the Muslims of Calcutta who are subject of frenzy though it is the so-called refugees and other Hindus who are responsible for the partition.

Now, let us consider whether the Government has discharged its responsibilities or is going to develop the same in any way. As regards

responsibility No. 1, that is to say, public order, they have not done anything. It is well-known principle that in a population of heterogenous character, specially when a class of people are actuated by malice and hatred of another class, in the interest of the maintenance of peace and good government an adequate number of people should be recruited in police and military force in order to create a sense of security among that class of people and they must be charged with the responsibility of protecting them, but I am sorry to note that nothing has been done in this respect. The Muslims are totally neglected and as a matter of principle they are not included. This is not good for the country or the State or anybody. In order to create a sense of security and to protect the life and property a band of ward or mohulla volunteers should be created. This has not been done.

Secondly, in respect of other nation-building subjects nothing has been done to improve the same. Agriculture and industry and commerce is going in the same humdrum way, as the Jews did in the Red Sea. Communication which was being rapidly improved under the much-maligned British is nowhere traceable now. Life has become dull and supplies difficult to get. Black-marketing, bribery and thousand and one corrupt practices are reigning supreme and the officers of the Supply and Procurement Department have grown enormously rich. The Government is incompetent and corrupt and communal in character. I deny that it is a National Government. They are suffering from moral, spiritual and intellectual bankruptcy. The budget is not worth the paper on which it is written.

And it being a democratic Assembly, these men would have been driven out long ago, but the Assembly is নির্বাচিত Congress Assembly and the Government is also নির্বাচিত Congress Government. I shall not speak about high policies of economics in this State Assembly.

The only achievement to the credit of the নির্বাচিত কংগ্রেস গভর্ণমেন্ট is the passing of the Animal Slaughter Control Bill but, Mr. Speaker, it amuses me to tell you that our Premier and the entire Government of this নির্বাচিত কংগ্রেস কর্মী compiled and published a book which they named "Prospects for Agriculture in West Bengal" in which the following occurs at page 13: "A pair of plough cattle in West Bengal cultivates on average four acres of land while a pair of cattle in other Provinces and countries more than eight acres. Therefore there is surplus of 50 per cent. cattle in this Province. There are nearly 28 lakhs of bullocks, seven lakhs of buffaloes. Cattle are of short stature, weak and inefficient. Cows are poor milkers, late maturing and irregular calves. Hens and ducks are small in size and produce only a small number of eggs. Inefficient animals are uneconomic to maintain and we can ill afford to keep such animals with the limited food resources at our command. What we need is a fewer number of efficient animals. Therefore the number of animals must be reduced. Will they be destroyed or will you allow them to die of starvation or will you employ them to some other useful means? If you enforce this legislation, I predict that in course of two years the milk supply will be reduced to half, and it will cost double the present price, and the prices of shoes and other leather materials will rise by 50 to 100 per cent., and you will have to import leather for your use from other foreign countries. This is the legislation which you have passed!

(At this stage the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I have nearly finished. There is only one thing. With regard to rehabilitation of the so-called refugees,

I quite agree with the view expressed by our Hon'ble Finance Minister that the settlement of refugees is a very complicated question, and in my opinion it is insoluble. It cannot be solved in any way. The thing is that if you say that the number of refugees is 15 lakhs, that is your estimate of the total number of refugees. Now, Sir, who are these refugees? They all belong to the bourgeois class, that is to say, the middle class; that is to say, those who are not used to manual labour. (A VOICE FROM CONGRESS BENCHES: Your class.) I admit that they belong to my class. As I am not a labourer they belong to my class—to the same class to which I belong. And, Sir, to provide employment to these men who know only how to read and write and nothing else—to provide employment to such a large number of men is an impossible task. The entire West Bengal Government, if I am right, employs only one lakh of people. From downwards up to top they employ one lakh of people. (Interruption.) Sir, I lose the thread of my thoughts. It is not written; it is an *extempore* speech.

Mr. SPEAKER: If the honourable member cannot remember what he wanted to say, he will please sit down.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: All right, Sir.

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have heard with rapt attention the speech delivered by the Hon'ble Sj. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Finance Minister, West Bengal, while introducing the budget this year. The bulk of his statement contains a brilliant analysis of the political and economic background of India with references here and there to international setting. To my mind this portion of the speech is the most important as it reveals the approach of the Hon'ble Finance Minister as well as of the Government of West Bengal to the economic, political and social problems of the day. I must confess that the approach has been entirely a capitalistic one, nay, it has been something more. Last year, Sir, the principle underlying the speech of the Hon'ble Finance Minister was that the rich shall remain rich and the poor shall remain poor. This year the underlying principle is somewhat different. It contains a challenge for every community on behalf of the Indian capitalists. That challenge is "We shall not invest, we shall not co-operate, unless it be on our terms". Sir, the most disturbing phenomenon in India today is this challenge of Indian capital. It is more alarming than the refugee problem, it is more alarming than the Communist menace, it is more alarming than the developing deterioration in the political situation or deterioration in the relationship between India and Pakistan, it is more alarming than the problem of shortage of food, more alarming than the inflation. It does not admit of any compromise or half-way approach. It immediately brings us face to face with the necessity of giving a straight answer to this question whether India should go the path of capitalism or whether India should follow other course. Let me explain my position, Sir. So long as India was under foreign rule Indian capital, both big and small, had a somewhat progressive outlook. It aspired to fill the vacuum created by the liquidation of British capitalism after the attainment of independence. It might have even suffered for this sake. But with the elimination of the foreign rule, when the country was expecting feverish activity for the expansion of business and industries in various directions, we find Indian capital suddenly becoming immobilised.. It does not move. Not that it cannot move, Sir; it can move, but it will not move unless it gets increased profits. It demands concession in the income-tax rate more than it succeeded in getting last year. It demands complete freedom from Governmental interference. It threatens non-co-operation if the policy of nationalisation even for the future is not abandoned. It violently resents any attempt on the part of the Government to unearth the money hoarded by it with a view to avoid the impact of income-tax. This phenomenon, this highly distressing phenomenon, the Finance Minister tries to describe by the very soft phrase of "capital having

grown chilled". He tries to secure a moral support for this approach of the Indian capital. He is not satisfied with the concessions that were given to them last year. He says, I quote his own words: "Even in the richest country in the world, the U.S.A., the rates of income-tax are not so onerous as in this country." But he keeps silent so far as the comparative position in the U.K. is concerned. We know, and everybody knows, that the rates there are very high compared with what they are in India. Yet you see that Government pursuing a policy of progressive nationalisation. There the Bank of England and the coal mines have been nationalised, electricity has been nationalised, and there is talk of the steel industry getting nationalised. Yet in that country the flow of capital has not stopped. Why then should the flow of capital stop in India? The Finance Minister goes on discussing the fundamental question, the fundamental basis, as to why income-tax should not be imposed at all. He says that it is too narrow a conception of fiscal policy to regard it merely as a means of revenue for the public exchequer. He goes even further. He says that the policy of imposing income-tax for the purpose of redistributing income is wrong; "the result of any such policy of redistribution would be catastrophic in India". What then, Sir, is the purpose of imposing income-tax unless it be for those objects? We must either have income-tax on all the incomes or we must not have it at all. We must not have it for a show. The Government needs money. Wherefrom should the Government take this money? From the poor? From the imposition of sales tax only which hits one and all, the consumers and the poor man in the street, or from the rich growing richer, from those who have got motor cars and palatial buildings, from those who have got money to spend on luxuries and those who have got money to waste? No section of our Indian community has shown and a spirit of non-co-operation as the capitalists. Is the labour getting its share? Is the peasantry getting its share? Has the middle class about whom the Finance Minister has rightly said that it forms the core of our society, has that middle class got anything material since India became free? The Finance Minister himself confesses that they have not. This is his language: "Neither the psychological nor the material fruits of freedom have come to the people of West Bengal with any message of hope or good cheer." But even then these people have got no right to non-co-operate. They have been advised "not to be lost in a maze of confusion and seek salvation in fancy phrases and conflicts". But for capital a different advice has been given. They can non-co-operate. They may not invest anything, and in India since she became free there has been no fresh investment, and for this act of non-co-operation there is no word of rebuke. Rather we are going to buy their co-operation by offering them fresh concessions. The Finance Minister says, "It is of the utmost national importance that conditions are created in the country in which industry may find a propitious field to grow and thrive".

But does he not feel any necessity of wooing labour, of wooing the peasantry, of wooing the middle classes? His speech is silent on this point. What concrete material concessions he promises to give to the communities? Nothing, Sir, to my mind but words, words and words! The idea is—it has been said so in the speech—that if consideration is given to capital then it will become buoyant; it will act and as a result there will be more employment and increased standard of living. So the basic factor in his conception, Sir, is capital. If it is protected then all the rest are protected. Capital is the essence, it is the core, it is the "elan vital" so to say; everything else is secondary. The Finance Minister mourns, at some stage of his speech, that capital is often regarded as an "undiluted evil". We do not regard it as such; we have never regarded it as such but we want to regard it and we want to deal with it in its proper perspective; it is "concealed" labour; it does not pour from heaven. We have never looked at it from that point of view. We have never said so but it is the result of hard work of labour and by labour we mean the

technicians, the experts, the managers, the workers, draughtsmen, engineers; all those who work and produce and are ennobling the nation. This capital is born out of a process and the whole nation participates in that process. It is wrong to think of it as belonging to a sacred few and if we think in that way then capital becomes an undiluted evil; otherwise if we consider it in its proper perspective it is never an evil; it is really a social phenomenon such as labour is but the one has no more sanctity than the other and capital cannot claim any priority. Yet in his speech and throughout his speech capital has been given the first priority and special concessions have been argued in its favour. On this background let us consider the treatment meted out to labour. Even the Finance Minister admits that the rate of loss of man-days in 1949 was about 66·74 lakhs as against 78·3 lakhs in the preceding year and 165·63 lakhs in 1946. So the man-days lost compared with 1947 has gone down more than enough and compared with last year also it has considerably gone down. That shows that labour is playing its part. That shows that labour is rising to meet the needs of the hour. That shows that labour realises the responsibility which freedom has thrown upon it. Labour is not unaccommodating like the capitalists who, for the sake of a few concessions, are trying to hoodwink both the nation and the Government. But having admitted so much that the loss of man-days is going down every year, having admitted so much, perhaps the Finance Minister feels that he has gone very far, and he immediately marshals facts and figures to show that whereas the cost of labour has gone up the *per capita* productivity has gone down. Again I say, Sir, this is an attempt to foist the whole blame on the shoulders of labour. It is not fair; it is not true. No one had expected such an approach from the Finance Minister whose acute intellect has been found probing into intricate aspects of every intricate problem but when the question of saying something about labour comes we find him not very helpful. May we not ask him, while considering this question of lower productivity, has he taken into consideration the factor of machinery, has he taken into consideration the factor of management, whether the machinery is good or bad and whether the management is efficient or not? If the machineries are suffering from the devastating effects of wear and tear the more a man works upon them the lesser will be the productivity and this is the state of affairs everywhere in India today. Machineries have deteriorated; our employers do not change them and our employers will not buy new ones. Strictly speaking, Sir, most of our industrialists are not industrialists at all; they are at best businessmen. They want immediate gain. They cannot wait for the fruition of any plan drawn on a long-term basis. The Finance Minister, Sir, has cited the coal industry as an example indicating how the wages have gone high, how the number of people employed has gone high and yet how the production per worker has decreased. I agree with him so far as the result goes. But I do not agree with him as to the causes contributory to these results. Has the Hon'ble Minister taken into consideration that tubs are not available at the coal mines—I do not mean railway wagons although there is a shortage in the supply of railway wagons and it is a factor and problem to reckon with. But what is the condition of coal mines just now? Workers are going down the pits in thousands and are sitting idle there or are being asked to get out because tubs are not available. This does not mean only less earning, for most of the workers are piece-rated; it means much more for when this average productivity is being worked out these workers who had been down but could do no work are taken into consideration and are calculated. So these average figures, Sir, is also a trick of capital to bring labour low in the estimation of the nation. The cause for the lower rate of productivity is not to be looked for, Sir, in the inefficiency or unwillingness on the part of labour to do hard work. They are doing it. The cause is to be found firstly in the deterioration in the machineries and in the deterioration in their working conditions. There is another factor

which is even more important and to which I do like to draw attention of the House through you and that is the factor of management. The workers may be trained, they may be disciplined, they may be intelligent, the machinery may be new but if the management is inefficient and weak we cannot expect the same level of productivity and in India nobody has yet given attention to this aspect of the problem. Yet in India managements are inefficient and defective. It has learnt to ask for bounty from the Government only; it has learnt to ask for protective duties from the Government only. It has never learnt to stand on its own legs. It has never learnt to stand the world of competition. The sugar industry is a case in point; the cotton industry is also a case in point. There is complete inefficiency and mismanagement. Perhaps the idea is that whoever inherits wealth, however incompetent he may be, however illiterate he may be, however unfit for the type of work he engages in, because he has inherited some wealth he is entitled to become an employer and he becomes an employer and he is considered to be a very good employer. That is the position. There is no selection. There is no scope for the nation to say whether the management is playing its role properly or not and I say this state of affairs is intolerable; it must be changed. I think, Sir, a Commission on a high level and on an all-India basis should be immediately appointed to go through this question of the factor of management in the matter of increasing productivity of industries. I would like to go further and to say that a Commission should be appointed to go into this managing agency system which is a legacy of British capitalism. You won't find it anywhere in the world—this system of managing agency which deprives everybody, which deceives everybody. So, a Commission should be appointed to see whether this managing agency system should be abolished altogether statutorily or not. The Hon'ble Finance Minister has said that obscuring the issues by ideological obsessions would be the height of folly at this stage. We agree. We do not like to indulge in any ideological question. He has also asked us to think less in terms of academic socialism and nationalisation of industry. We do not like to enter into any academic discussion on socialism, but certainly we do not think that nationalisation of industry falls within either socialism or ideological obsession. But does he himself realise that his whole speech reveals a singular bias for a particular ideology and that is the capitalistic ideology? The Finance Minister has rightly said that the fundamental problem of West Bengal is economic and it is on the economic front that that problem has to be tackled first. We agree. But how has he solved and tackled that problem? I only take one example. We have been informed that in West Bengal there are about 14 lakhs of acres of land remaining uncultivated. Yet, the whole economic equilibrium of India has been adversely affected by the shortage of our food-stuffs. We have got to import food from foreign countries. We paid Rs. 130 crores in the year 1948. This year we have been told in his speech that we shall have to pay more. Yet, these 14 lakh acres of waste cultivable land is not to be developed or steps have not been taken to develop it. We have been told that our balance of trade is being adversely affected because of this heavy import of food. Quite true. We have been further told that our sterling balances are being heavily depleted because of this import of food. That is also true. But what is the solution? Here are so many acres of land and if they are developed, not only West Bengal will be self-sufficient in food but we can even send food to other parts of the Indian Union. Yet, what steps have been taken? What provision has been made in the budget for resolving this problem which can be done easily. I know Indian capital will not turn its attention to agriculture. They are considered to be very patriotic and so concessions from the Indian Government must be given to them. But they will not turn their attention to develop this waste land. But if they do not do it, it becomes the duty of the Government to do it. The Finance Minister has not given us any indication or anything which can be considered by

as being a solution of the problem that is before us. He has not even asked the Indian capital to divert their attention to this very necessary part for the development of our country's economy. That is very unfortunate.

In conclusion, Sir, I would like again to repeat that the most distressing phenomenon in India today is the challenge of capital. Really, Sir, we feel very depressed. The situation has become very acute. If the Government yields—it will have to abandon the actual implementation of many of the promises given in the past through various Congress resolutions in various Congress sessions—if the Government yields—and we have the apprehension that it may—then that day will be a day of catastrophe for us. We are, therefore, passing through intense anxiety. For this speech of the Finance Minister of West Bengal is only a fore-runner—it is a feeler thrown to the nation to see how it reacts—and on the results of that reaction the Finance Minister at the Centre will shape his policy and deliver his speech. We saw it happening last year. What the Finance Minister here said was repeated the next day by the Finance Minister at the Centre. It is, therefore, out of this apprehension, Sir, that we have raised our voice through this speech. Not only the leadership of India is at stake, but its whole existence will be jeopardised if this challenge of capital, as revealed in the speech of the Finance Minister, is not combated.

Sir, with these words I conclude.

Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Sir, I must compliment my friend the Hon'ble Finance Minister for the very remarkable statement made the other day in presenting his annual budget to the House. It was a masterly analysis indeed of the economic and political background in which we in West Bengal find ourselves landed today.

The spectre before us today is evidently that of partition, and no Finance Minister in the two Bengals can work without feeling its overwhelming consequences. Sj. Sarker claims that this partition "became fully operative in many respects only last year". I should however go further and state that we have become fully conscious of this painful reality only recently, as an aftermath of devaluation, when political division has had its economic counterpart and the two Bengals have been completely cut off economically and even socially.

For an emotional people like us, it is indeed difficult to forget the social and sentimental attachments overnight, and it is not unnatural that the pangs of separation linger with a certain degree of bitterness. The problem before our Government is that this feeling has got to be dealt with in a sympathetic and understanding spirit, and to the extent we fail in the matter, both the State of West Bengal as also the Indian Union itself will be in jeopardy. I am aware that our leaders are fully alive to the situation, but my point is that our Finance Minister cannot have an easy conscience till he is in a position to devise or put into force measures best calculated to inspire the requisite confidence in our minds.

Having due regard to this governing consideration, the appeal of Sj. Sarker for a "congenial atmosphere for planning wisely and acting properly", is likely to be misconstrued in some quarters. A congenial atmosphere is of course to be created, but the question is, who is to take the initiative and give the lead? People are not expected to be moved by fine phrases or wordy assurances made generously. They expect the correct lead from the Government, intended to inspire the requisite measure of confidence; and obviously this must take the shape of specific and concrete steps to provide relief as a temporary measure and rehabilitate them eventually into an encouraging atmosphere for earning a living. In the current year's Budget there is the actual provision of Rs. 1 crore and 18

lakhs for housing and colonisation and handloom and other schemes for economic rehabilitation. These figures will obviously have their own tale to unfold, and it is for the House to judge how far a Budget provision on this scale is adequate for the purpose.

It is of course true that there are obvious limitations beyond which our State Government cannot move. But the people will have to be satisfied also that the Finance Minister has done his best with the limited resources placed at his disposal. Judged by this criterion, I must confess that taking an overall picture of the Budget as a whole, there appears to be no long-term development project worth serious consideration, except the Damodar Valley Project undertaken at the instance of the Government of India. The Budget figures also reveal that none of the state-trading enterprises or services are in affluent circumstances. It is indeed a sad commentary that almost all these development schemes are taken up in the usual routine and desultory manner, befitting easier and less serious days. In spite of all talks of high finance, the Hon'ble Minister himself being an eminent leader in commerce and industry, his Government has not yet been able to give serious thoughts on financing productive capital expenditure on its proper and commercial footing. As a matter of fact, one of the interesting observations made by my friend himself is that from the strictly financial point of view, it would be justifiable to go in for loans to finance capital expenditure on productive schemes. If that be so, one really wonders what has actually prevented him from putting up well-planned projects of development under the auspices of the Government, and taking up the same for speedy execution by floating loans, instead of waiting on the Government of India for grants from them.

My friend Sj. Sarker deserves a well-merited praise for the stout fight he has been able to put up against the inequities of the Deshmukh Award. It is really unfortunate that the financial award of Sri C. V. Deshmukh reveals a rather sordid tale of an unhappy conspiracy, out of which neither the Government of India nor the beneficiary State Governments come out in flying colours. Partition-torn West Bengal expected that the financial injustice inflicted on her by the awards of Sir James Meston and Sir Otto Niemeyer will at last be rectified under the more straightforward outlook of the Congress regime in free India. The State of West Bengal evidently does not seek any favour from outside, and I think I will faithfully voice the feelings in this House when I state that the entire question of inter-state finance must be examined scientifically, with an eye on the basic principles of allocation, viz., those of incidence of taxes, resources and need on a population basis of the component States. Now that the matter has been closed for the time being at the discretion of the Government of India, who themselves are an interested party in the affair, the State of West Bengal must now insist that an impartial examination of the matter be made with as much expedition as possible by the Statutory Finance Commission, provided in the Constitution. Pending this, we should press for suitable subventions from the Centre to meet our requirements.

My friend, Sj. Sarker, has rightly pointed out that the tax structure in India has so far not been based on principles of sound finance, and that we have almost always erred on the long-range view of providing the requisite incentive for industrial production. The results, as all of us are undoubtedly aware, have been disastrous in several directions. With refreshing candour, Pandit Nehru spoke only the other day of the Government's painful experience in finding that its zeal had outrun its resources, if not also its discretion. Panditji now talks of a "social approach" and has actually proposed the setting up of a Planning Commission with definite targets. I wish our Finance Minister had the warmth to think in similar veins and try in the words of Panditji, "to get millions of people on the move in doing something for themselves, for their own villages and their

small towns." In the dynamic situation of West Bengal today, some such move is necessary, which would provide the necessary inspiration and tend to release the tremendous constructive energy living dormant in the hearts of millions of our fellow citizens.

Unfortuanately, Sir, there is not much to enthuse over in the Budget.

Sj. KUBER CHANDRA HALDAR: মাননীয় সভাপতি মহাশয়, অর্থ-সচিব মহাশয় তাঁর বাজেটে কোন নূতন কর ধার্য্য করেন নাই তার জন্য তাঁকে আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি। প্রজাতন্ত্রী ভারতরাষ্ট্র ঘোষিত হবার পর বাংলা আইন সভায় বাংলা ভাষায় বাজেট পেশ করা উচিত ছিল। আশা করি এর পর বাংলার আইন সভায় বাংলা ভাষায় যেন বাজেট পেশ করা হয়। আমাদের প্রধান সমস্যা হচ্ছে অন্নবস্ত্রের সমস্যা। বাংলার অর্থ-সচিব মহাশয় সেই অন্নবস্ত্র সমস্যা সমাধানের কোন ব্যবস্থা করেন নাই। জনসাধারণের অন্নবস্ত্রের সমস্যা সমাধান করতে হলে জমিদারী প্রথার উচ্ছেদ দরকার। কিন্তু বাজেটে এমন কোন প্রস্তাব নাই। আমরা যখন পল্লিগ্রামে যাই তখন জনসাধারণ আমাদের বলে যে জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদ পাকিস্থানী সরকার করছে, বিহার সরকার করছে আমাদের কেন হবে না। আমাদের Government বলছেন যে ক্ষতিপূরণ না দিলে এই প্রথা বিলোপ করা যাবে না। কিন্তু উপযুক্ত পরিমাণ ক্ষতিপূরণের পরিকল্পনা হচ্ছে রাবণের স্বর্গে যাওয়ার সিঁড়ি তৈরী করার মত। এই জন্য কোন কালেও টাকা পাওয়া যাবে না, আর জমিদারী প্রথারও উচ্ছেদ হবে না।

এবার বাজেটে আবগারী খাতে ২৮ লক্ষ টাকা কম ধরা হয়েছে। কিন্তু এই কম ধরা সত্ত্বেও মদ খাওয়া বেড়ে গিয়েছে। লোকেরা black-marketএ মদ কিনছে। মাদক বর্জন না করলে শ্রমিক সমস্যা দূর হবে না। এমন কি শ্রমিকদের বেতন যদি বাড়ানও হয় তা'হলে তারা সব মদ খেয়ে উড়িয়ে দেবে। এক বেলা ভাত খাবে আর একবেলা মদ খাবে। কয়েকদিন আগে কাগজে দেখেছি যে Labour Minister মহাশয় যা বলেছেন তা আমি সমর্থন করছি। কিছু দিন আগে Lobour Minister মহাশয় "মানদণ্ড" cinema দেখার কথা বলেছিলেন। আমিও দেখতে গিয়েছিলাম। সেখানে দেখলাম শ্রমিকরা ধর্মঘট করেছে। এবং সেখানে আমাদের একজন সমাজতন্ত্রী নেতা বলছেন যে তোমরা ধর্মঘট চালাও, এই factory উঠিয়ে দাও। মালিকের কাছে যখন সমবেতভাবে তারা তাদের দাবী জানালো তখন মালিক তার উত্তরে তাদের নেতাকে বললো যে সে শ্রমিকদের বেতন তিনগুণ বাড়িয়ে দিয়েছে। বেতন বাড়ানর ফলে তাড়ি এবং মদের দোকান বেড়ে গিয়েছে এবং বস্তিতে বেশ্যার সংখ্যা বেড়ে গিয়েছে। শ্রমিকদের কল্যাণ করতে হলে তাদের বাঁচিয়ে রাখতে হলে এই মাদকদ্রব্য খাওয়া সম্পূর্ণ নিষিদ্ধ করে আইন করতে হবে। এই মদ খাওয়ার ফলে যে সমস্ত শ্রমিকরা ২৫ বৎসর কাজ করতে পারতো, তারা ১০ বৎসর কাজ করলেই অকেজো হয়ে পড়ে।

আর আমাদের Government খাদ্যে স্বাবলম্বী হতে বলেছেন। কিন্তু এই জন্য যে টাকাটা publicity placard ইত্যাদিতে খরচ করা হয়, সেই টাকাটা ঐভাবে ব্যয় না করে যে সমস্ত পতিত জমি আছে তাতে চাষের ব্যবস্থা করলে অনেক কাজ হয়। কেবল Publicityতে টাকা খরচ করে কোন ফল হবে বলে মনে করি না। আমাদের তপশীলী সম্প্রদায়ের শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থার জন্য যে টাকা বাজেটে ধরা হয়েছে সেটা অতি সামান্য। নূতন আইনে বিধান আছে যে ১০ বৎসরের মধ্যে শিক্ষা ব্যাপারে তপশীলদের অগ্রসর করতে হবে। কিন্তু যদি এইভাবে তাদের শিক্ষার জন্য টাকা ব্যয় করা হয় তাহলে ১০০বৎসরেও তারা শিক্ষিত হবে না। আর যে টাকাটাও ধরা হয়েছে, সেটাও তারা ঠিকমত পায় না। আমি জানি আমার জেলার অনেকেই এটা ঠিকমত পায় নি। এই টাকাটা District Magistrateএর মারফৎ পাঠিয়ে দিলে তারা কিছু পেতে পারে। তপশীলীদের শিক্ষার জন্য বাধ্যতামূলক শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা না করলে তারা কোন কালেই শিক্ষিত হবে না।

তারপর পুলিসের খাতে যে বেশী টাকা ধরা হয়েছে সেটা ভালই হয়েছে। কেন না আজকাল যা দিন পড়েছে সব কাজে পুলিসের প্রয়োজন হয়েছে, কিন্তু এই পুলিসের সংখ্যা না বাড়িয়ে যদি তাদের বেতন বৃদ্ধি করা হয় তাহলে তাদের দ্বারা কাজ বেশী পাওয়া যায়। কারণ যে সময়টা তারা উপরি পাওনা আদায় করার জন্য নষ্ট করে সে সময়টায় তারা ভাল কাজে মন লাগাতে পারে।

তারপর Communications and Worksএর খাতে যে টাকা ধরা হয়েছে প্রয়োজনের তুলনায় অনেক কম।

আমাদের মুর্শিদাবাদ জেলায় বহরমপুর-লালগোলা এবং রঘুনাথগঞ্জ-ফরাক্কা রাস্তার জন্য যে টাকা ধরা হয়েছে তাতে সিকি অংশ রাস্তা হবে কিনা সন্দেহ। উক্ত রাস্তা সীমান্তের একমাত্র রাস্তা। উক্ত রাস্তা খুব শীঘ্র

হওয়া উচিত। জঙ্গীপুর রোড ষ্টেশন হইতে জঙ্গীপুর সহর পর্য্যন্ত একমাত্র রাস্তা আছে। তার অবস্থা ভাল না। West Bengalএর মন্ত্রীরা অনেকেই tourএ যান। জঙ্গীপুর সহর পর্য্যন্ত যে রাস্তা আছে, সেই রাস্তায় "মটর" এক ঘন্টায় ৫ মাইলের বেশী চলে না। উক্ত রাস্তা গভর্ণমেন্টের তাড়াতাড়ি take up করা উচিত, নচেৎ বিপদের সম্ভবনা আছে। মুর্শিদাবাদ জেলা কাঁসার দ্রব্যের জন্য খুব বিখ্যাত। কয়লার অভাবের জন্য কাঁসারিদের এই শিল্প নষ্ট হয়ে যাচ্ছে। কয়লা না পাওয়ার জন্য কাঁসার দ্রব্যের মূল্য খুব বেড়ে গিয়েছে। Government সম্প্রতি যে কয়লার ব্যবস্থা করে দিয়েছেন তা অতি সামান্য। মুর্শিদাবাদে আর যে দুটো শিল্প আছে লোহা ও কম্বল। Government সেদিকে কিছুই দৃষ্টি দিচ্ছেন না। কয়লার অভাবে কর্ম-কারদের কাজ অচল হয়ে পড়েছে। মুর্শিদাবাদ জেলার বড়গ্রাম থানার বেলুন বিল নামক Governmentএর একটা খাস বিল আছে। সে বিল কচুরিপানায় ভর্ত্তি। এই কচুরিপানা যদি Government তোলার ব্যবস্থা করেন তবে পার্শ্ববর্ত্তী গ্রামে যারা malariaএ ভোগে তারা malariaর হাত থেকে যেমন রক্ষা পায় তেমন সেই বিলে প্রচুর মাছ জন্মানও যায়। এইভাবে মাছের সমস্যাটাও কিছু সমাধান হয়। এবং কিছু পরিমাণ জল বের করে দিয়ে অনেক একর আবাদযোগ্য বোরো ধানের জমি হয়।

আমাদের মুর্শিদাবাদ জেলা deficit area. বীরভূম থেকে ধান-চাল না এলে আমাদের জেলার লোক খেতে পায় না। Governmentএর cordon থাকার দরুন অসুবিধা হচ্ছে। ধান চাল আসবার অসুবিধা হচ্ছে। ধান-চাল বেশী দাম দিয়ে কিনতে হয়। ১৪৲ টাকার চাল ১৬৲ টাকায় বিক্রয় হচ্ছে। Cordoning থাকার দরুণ মণপ্রতি ২৲ টাকা প্রণামী দিয়ে আনতে হয়। Government যদি cordoning তুলে নেন, তাহলে মুর্শিদাবাদের লোকের পক্ষে ভাল হয়।

SJ. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Sir, West Bengal's Budget Estimates for 1950-51 contain no proposals either for fresh taxation or for easing the tax-payer's burden. But that signifies nothing nor does it raise any hope of economic salvation for the province. From the Exchequer's standpoint a balanced Budget may be covetable, but people are less concerned with that. What they want is economic upliftment and prospectiveness. The Budget leaves the impression of a sick man's Budget as vitally important problems have been skipped over or dealt with a cursory glance. The Hon'ble Finance Minister has himself admitted that Bengal's problem is fundamentally economic, though there is little attempt to handle our urgent problems from that viewpoint. Rather in the wider perspectives, national and international, of Finance Minister's speech the immediate problems of our province are lost.

The Budget speech is savoury of a capitalistic outlook with much pleadings for the upholdment of the capitalistic structure of the society. In his holding brief for his kind, statistics has been a first casualty in the hands of the Hon'ble Minister. The statement that the rate of income-tax is the highest in India being as high as 92 per cent. is far from the truth. Actually, in India an income of Rs. 3,00,000 pays 74·7 per cent. in the form of income-tax, super-tax and business profits tax, whereas in England the same income group has to pay more than 90 per cent. as income-tax and super-tax. The great disparity in the accumulation of wealth in India in the hands of a few to the impoverishment of the starving millions is too glaring to escape the discerning eyes. The principle of taxation on incomes is not only to encourage savings and ensure an easy flow of fund in investment. It also looks to the equitable distribution of national wealth. No modern Government can dare ignore this aspect of taxation of the equitable distribution of national wealth from the rich to the poor. Enrichment of a few is not the prosperity of all. Indian capitalists cannot justifiably claim any relief from taxation on income. In the war periods they were dealt with too leniently in comparison with those of England and America and as a result their accumulation of wealth has relatively reached a degree of satiety and hence they sit tight on their money without showing much inclination to increase production. It is not savings alone, but there are also other factors like the "crisis in confidence", transport bottlenecks, lack of capital goods, labour unrest and political uncertainty which are mainly responsible for inadequate capital formation in this country.

The question of incentive for capital has become much too nauseating as the greed of capital to have more and more will not be satisfied unless they devour the whole of their profits. Moreover, the present tendency in taxation is a shift of emphasis from private savings to collective savings. Capital formation may take place even independently of the rate and volume of saving. The so-called taxes on capital merely draws off a corresponding amount of personal saving. In Great Britain, gross personal saving was the lowest in 1948 being only 220 millions, that is 2·7 of the national income, whereas, capital formation was the highest in that year being about more than 20 per cent. of the national income. The initiative in capital formation now passes into the hands of the State and the gap in personal investment is made up by State investment. So high taxation is no longer detrimental to capital formation, provided, of course, the Government pursue a productive investment policy.

Our Finance Minister has rightly remarked that "the vast refugee population, floating despairingly mostly in urban areas, provide the delicate fuse of explosion." West Bengal today is to bear so much of the burdens as belong to the rest of India.

When West Bengal writhes in agony Delhi indulges in showing lip sympathy only. Centre, I must say, is not fully alive to the magnitude of the task of refugee rehabilitation in our Province. With soothsaying sermons from the Olympic heights of Delhi, the Centre has treated West Bengal with scant consideration in this respect. The number of refugees that have come to West Bengal from East Bengal is not less than 15 lakhs. The communal orgy is now raging in East Bengal and ugly news are daily pouring in from that territory. Hundreds of Hindus have been butchered, their womenfolk dishonoured and abducted, property looted and houses burnt. Every day hundreds of people are fleeing by air. The situation is becoming ominous every day. Mere sweet words and sentiments from the Centre will not alleviate the sufferings and remove the danger. The Centre should rise equal to the task or face chaos. When Calcutta burns, certainly Delhi will not be far off to fall into national conflagration.

The money that has been allotted by the Centre on loan and advance account for refugee rehabilitation is quite inadequate for the purpose. In the first year no loan was given and in the second year only Rs. 3,00,00,000 were allotted. The conditions of loan are hedged in so many stringent limitations that the loans would fail to serve effective purposes. The number of recipients of such loans even is small in comparison with the number of applicants. The rehabilitation is still a far away objective although the Government is spending money for the rehabilitation of the refugees. Rehabilitation alone will not solve the problem unless economic rehabilitation also follows.

The refugee rehabilitation would have been well undertaken with the accompaniment of agricultural and small scale industrial developments on co-operative basis. The establishment of a Board to organise, guide and control industrial and agricultural co-operatives and a Financial Corporation to liberally finance these co-operatives should have taken place by this time. Wartime China saved herself by industrial co-operatives. In Bengal also this would greatly solve rehabilitation of refugee problem and ensure industrial and agricultural developments.

Apart from Damodar and Mayurakshi projects, the Government expenditure on productive developments is the heaviest on road development projects which will have not direct but indirect return. As per statement of Finance Minister, the State of West Bengal from 1947-48 till the end of 1950-51 will be spending 9 crores 63 lakhs from its own resources out of which the development of Provincial roads alone will absorb Rs. 5,86,00,000 and road transport scheme Rs. 1,75,00,000 leaving only Rs. 3,01,00,000 for other schemes. This is not a happy picture.

Our Department of Industry is not functioning properly. It carries on cinchona plantation, which is a heavily deficit one. It owns and conducts two electric supply concerns, Barrackpore and Cooch Behar, both are running at a loss. It is difficult to understand why consumers are not made to pay higher charges to meet the deficit.

The State Transport is also not operating satisfactorily and efficiently though there are high salaried officers. The nominal profit earned by the department on capital outlay is 1·23 per cent. only. That shows high cost of working expenditure. It is questionable why only after two years running or less than that period buses had to be sold out.

For the development of cottage industries, Government have allotted in all Rs. 2,25,000 for the current year and Rs. 2,80,000 for the next year for promotion of *gur*, hand-made paper and *khadi* industries only. This seems just in keeping with the policy of কিছ কিছ না ক'রো বকিছ।

It is to be regretted that the Government of the State have no definite industrial outlook. They could have started productive projects to augment the resources of the Province and income of the State Exchequer as well. Other States like Madras, United Provinces, Behar, Mysore are starting industrial undertakings and earning profits.

Now coming to some aspects of the Budget Estimates, I find that no language is too harsh to condemn the present policy of the West Bengal Government with regard to distribution of funds to local self-governing institutions like District Boards and Municipalities. It is the duty of Provincial Governments to see that these local bodies have sufficient funds to discharge their duties efficiently. The Government is going to deprive these bodies of the legitimate claim of their share in the motor vehicles and motor spirit sales taxes which now the Government propose to retain fully. The deprivation of a share of these taxes will completely shatter the economic stability of these local bodies. Motor vehicles will damage the roads of the districts, but it is curious that these bodies will not receive any compensation. If sufficient funds could not be ensured through taxing power assigned to these bodies, it should be done by adequate grants-in-aid. The District Boards' Association cried hoarse to double the maximum rate for road and public works cess, but that has all along been denied. Most of the District Boards are threatened with extinction for paucity of funds.

(2) **Roads:** The recent statistics has shown that the roads proposed to be nationalised or provincialised, during the first or second five-year development programmes of the Government of India constitute a tiny fraction of the mileage of metalled, unmetalled and village roads of the State and this will continue to be so even if construction of Government roads can be speeded up to the maximum possible limit. The non-provincialised roads are hardly less important than trunk roads either to public convenience or public economy and the District Boards are starved in the grant of finance on the ground that the Government has its own road construction programme. This development of trunk roads at the cost of village roads would mean the sacrifice of interest of the large mass of people to that of the few.

Why follow the back-door policy by starving these institutions to death? The Government may bring in legislation repealing the present Local Self-Government Act, but I am sure that the destruction of these local democracies will be bound to be opposed and will be a step of doubtful wisdom. It would involve travesty of decentralisation policy which the centre and the province so loudly proclaimed to follow.

The sum of Rs. 15,00,000 is estimated for water-supply in villages. Certainly, this could have been done through District Boards at a much cheaper cost than by direct work from the Provincial Governments which will naturally involve a much higher cost and delay.

We are spending in all Rs. 7,85,89,000 on Irrigation projects including Rs. 1,25,71,000 only on Revenue Account. Almost the entire amount will be spent in southern districts only. Our Irrigation Minister, at the time of making estimates, perhaps forgot that there are five districts in the north requiring urgent irrigation works for the purpose of making the area self-sufficient in food supply.

Crores of rupees are being and will be spent on development of communications. But this year we have not received any memorandum showing the details of expenditure on Works and Communications unlike previous years. We are therefore quite in the dark how much money will be spent in northern districts. I hope our communication requirements will not be ignored as has been the case in irrigation.

Before I conclude, I must say a few words about the manner of expenditure. Firstly, comes Government's unauthorised expenditure. It is often noticed that the Government without prior sanction of the legislature undertakes large expenditures and then presents that in the shape of revised estimates. These expenditures are neither emergency in nature nor unforeseen. To cite one example, an amount of Rs. 6,04,000 has been spent for survey of underground railway in Calcutta.

Secondly, appropriations are generally made without well-thought-out plans and as a result grants are not timely spent and thus lose their grace.

Thirdly, the administration is becoming gradually heavier and heavier at the top and extravagant too. In the Secretariat, the number of Deputy Secretaries, Under Secretaries, Additional Deputy Secretaries, Deputy Directors and Special Officers is gradually on the increase, though the State is now only one-third of the undivided Bengal. I know the total amount paid to the higher officers, if divided among the lower grades staffs will not mean much increment to their salaries, yet the very existence of superfluous officers at highly paid emoluments offers grounds for discontent and grumbling among the lowly paid staffs and moreover it stands in the way of effecting economy in other spheres of administrative machinery which is becoming unwieldy day by day. Too many cooks spoil the broth and the statement is too true to be ignored whether in private family or in public administration. Too many officers only help to lengthen the official red tape sacrificing promptness which is hardly a virtue with an overstaffed administration.

In this connection I must point out that the system of work and the business rules that are being followed in the Secretariat should be revised to ensure prompt action, otherwise whatever money the legislature may sanction in the budget, the desired results will not be achieved.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Thursday, the 23rd February, 1950, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 23rd February, 1950, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Deputy Speaker (Sj. ASHUTOSH MALLICK) in the Chair, 8 Hon'ble Ministers and 55 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

(Starred question No. 40 was called but held over as the Hon'ble Minister concerned was not then present in the Chamber.)

Sj. ANANDILAL PODDAR: Sir, what happened to this question? There is nobody in the Treasury benches.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The question is held over.

Issue of licences under the Indian Arms Act

*41. **Sj. SATISH CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of applications for licences under the Indian Arms Act received by the Calcutta Police since the 15th August, 1947, up to now; and

(*ii*) the number of licences that have been already granted to—

(1) Bengalees, and

(2) Non-Bengalees?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the present policy of Government in granting licences under the Arms Act for guns, revolvers and pistols to the public; and

(*ii*) the qualifications required for holding such licences?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether membership of West Bengal Legislative Assembly is a qualification sufficient for possessing a gun, pistol or revolver and whether the Government contemplate to grant licences liberally to members of the Legislature?

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE on behalf of the Minister in charge of the Home Department (the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy): (*a*)(*i*) 2,479 from the 15th August, 1947, to the 31st March, 1948.

A statement is laid on the Table.

(*ii*) (1) Bengalees—1,083.

(2) Non-Bengalees—514.

A statement is laid on the Table.

(*b*) (*i*) The grant of licences for a rifle or smooth-bore gun not of prohibited bore is governed by the broad principle that the arms must not be allowed to fall into the hands of lawless people or of people who are not likely to require them, and licences for revolvers and pistols not of prohibited

bores are granted only to persons of undoubted reliability and very good credentials, who have a genuine need of such weapons and can be relied upon to keep them in safe custody.

(ii) Under the existing rules, the following qualifications may be taken as rendering an applicant suitable for the grant of a licence for a rifle or smooth-bore gun not of prohibited bore and previous enquiry should not, as a rule, be necessary when these qualifications are forthcoming:—

(1) Membership of any order established by the Crown, or the possession of a title conferred or recognised by the Government of India or of the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal or a Certificate of Honour.

(2) Membership, past or present, of the Indian or Provincial Legislatures.

(3) Payment of not less than Rs 500 land revenue or Rs 100 in roads and public works cesses

(4) Payment of income-tax on an income of Rs 2,000 and over

(5) Being a Government Officer in receipt of a salary not less than Rs 100 per month

(6) Being a Commissioned or Gazetted Officer of His Majesty's Naval, Military or Air Forces, Indian Marine Services or a Commissioned Indian Officer of the Imperial Services troops in active service.

(7) Being a pensioned officer who, before retirement, was by virtue of his official position included in any of the classes described in (5) or (6) above

(c) Please see item (2) above

Statement referred to in reply to clause (a)(i) of starred question No. 41.

Applications received.	Gun.	Rifle.	Revolver/Pistol.
Bengalees ..	1,275	153	303
Non-Bengalees ..	310	68	370

Statement referred to in reply to clause (a)(ii) of starred question No. 41.

	Licences issued.	Weapons.
Bengalees	1,083	1,253
Non-Bengalees	514	549

	Details of the weapons.			
	Gun.	Rifle.	Revolver/ Pistol.	Total.
Bengalees ..	976	133	144	1,253
Non-Bengalees ..	306	80	163	549

Statistics of production and consumption of milk in the State

*40. **Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture Department be pleased to state if the Government have any machinery for collecting the statistics of—

(*i*) the annual consumption of milk in the State—

(1) by babies feeding on milk only,

(2) by adult population for use in the liquid form, and

(3) for purposes other than use in the liquid form;

(*ii*) the annual consumption of milk in the town of Calcutta—

(1) by babies feeding on milk only,

(2) by adult population in the liquid form, and

(3) for purposes other than use in the liquid form;

(*iii*) the annual production of milk in the State;

(*iv*) the annual production of milk in the town of Calcutta;

(*v*) the quantity of milk supplied annually to our State from neighbouring States;

(*vi*) the annual supply of milk to Calcutta from outside its municipal limits,

(*vii*) the consumption of powdered milk imported from outside India—

(1) in the State, and

(2) in the town of Calcutta; and

(*viii*) the milk position in the important mofussil towns in the State?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the figures under each of the heads from (*i*) to (*viii*)?

(*c*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the negative, does the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of setting up a machinery for collecting the statistics as reported in (*a*) above?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the newly-appointed Milk Commissioner has submitted any scheme for the improvement of the milk position of the State?

MINISTER in charge of the AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen): (*a*) and (*b*) There is a Division of Agricultural Marketing in the Directorate of Agriculture, West Bengal, which collects, from time to time, statistics of the kind mentioned.

(*i*)(1) and (2) The quantities of milk consumed by babies and the adult population are not known separately. The total annual consumption is, however, estimated at 278,500 tons.

(3) The estimate of annual consumption of milk for purposes other than use in liquid form is 196,600 tons.

(*ii*)(1) and (2) The quantities of milk consumed by babies and the adult population are not known separately. The total annual consumption is, however, estimated at 28,760 tons for Calcutta including the adjoining municipalities of Howrah, Tollygunge, Garden Reach and Behala.

(3) The estimate of annual consumption of milk for purposes other than for liquid use is 41,940 tons. This includes the quantities used in tea shops and for the manufacture of sweets.

(*iii*) 514,400 tons.

(*iv*) 58,600 tons.

(*v*) Negligible.

(*vi*) 12,100 tons.

(*vii*) Exact estimates of the annual consumption of powdered milk imported from outside India and consumed in the State and in the town of Calcutta are not available. But nearly 9,000 cwts. of powdered milk (and 43,000 cwts. of condensed and evaporated milk) were imported into Calcutta Port during 1947-48. The consumption of these products being the highest in West Bengal, it is presumed that the bulk of these quantities were consumed in the State, largely in the city of Calcutta where the purchasing power is most concentrated.

(*viii*) The milk-supply position is very unsatisfactory in almost all the mofussil towns in the State.

(*c*) Does not arise.

(*d*) The Milk Commissioner's first task is to prepare a scheme for improving the milk-supply of the metropolis. He has already submitted a scheme for the distribution of buffalo milk toned with skimmed milk powder with a view to increase the existing supply of liquid milk and to make available a cheap grade of good quality milk. This is now under detailed examination. Other schemes for improving milk-supply are also under preparation.

Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he considers milk for the babies to be most needed?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Yes, most certainly.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: There is one thing, Sir. One answer has not been given, namely, (*viii*)(*b*). The answer does not seem to appear on the printed paper.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: In my paper I find that answers to (*a*) and (*b*) have been given.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Sir, it is not printed in the paper which has been supplied to us. Answer to (*a*) and (*b*) cannot be that answer.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That may be, but in my paper answers to (*a*) and (*b*) have been given together.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the figures under each of the items (*i*) to (*viii*)? There are no figures in respect of the item (*viii*)(*b*). The Minister may not have any figures. That may be his answer. But the two cannot be combined.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You can ask supplementary questions.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: The answer is given there in the printed statement.

Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if arrangements are being made to collect statistics of the number of babies requiring liquid milk?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I have stated that the Milk Commissioner has already prepared a scheme, and the scheme is under consideration.

Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the exact duties that are entrusted to the Milk Commissioner?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: He is in charge of the Haringhatta Dairy and Agricultural Farm.

Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is the idea of the Government to see that every baby gets its due share of milk?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Yes, as far as practicable.

Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in the scheme which the Milk Commissioner is preparing there is any idea of supplying buffalo milk and also powdered milk?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Yes.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the sources of information for the statistics collected by the Agricultural Marketing Division in the Directorate of Agriculture?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Our agricultural officers in the various subdivisional towns and districts.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is at all aware as to how they collect this information?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I want notice.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if in his opinion the milk supply in Calcutta is sufficient?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Certainly not. The milk supply not only in Calcutta but in the whole of West Bengal is very very insufficient.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if his answer to item number (*vii*) and the answer which he just now gave are in conformity with the answers to (*i*) and (*ii*) and (*iii*)? It appears, we are not supposed to explain during supplementary questions, but if you will permit me, Sir, I might explain for the benefit of the Hon'ble Minister. It appears that our annual consumption is 278,500 tons, whereas our annual production is 514,400 tons which is much above our annual consumption, which will give the picture that so far as milk is concerned we are very well off, but the answer which the Minister just now gave does not seem to substantiate it.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Is it a supplementary question?

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: That was my supplementary question and I explained it. At the same time I require figures about Calcutta also.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I think 278,500 tons is the quantity of milk consumed in liquid form.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Instead of suggesting an answer without looking into the papers as to what is the correct figure, I think it will be better to say that according to the information of the Government it is 278,500.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I will look into the matter. So far as I can understand it is the liquid milk.

Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether, if the milk which could be supplied for babies is not sufficient, the Government will consider the question of limiting the manufacture of sweets?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I have found out that the quantity of milk consumed by the Calcutta people does not even come to two ounces *per capita* per day. It is about $1\frac{3}{4}$. For the rural population it is 2 ounces. Under such circumstances it is not possible to stop altogether the preparation of sweets.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় জানাবেন কি এই যে ২ লক্ষ ১৮ হাজার ৫০০ টন liquid milk তার মধ্যে কত জল আর কতখানি দুধ ?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: সেটা আপনি ওজন করে দেখবেন।

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that buffalo milk toned with skimmed milk powder does not give good quality milk for the babies at all?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: We are not yet toning any buffalo milk. But that is a scheme under examination.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: The Hon'ble Minister says that it gives a cheap grade of good quality milk. It is not at all a good quality milk for the babies. Will the Hon'ble Minister kindly take note of this fact?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I do not think that Dr. Ghosh is an expert in milk.

Sj. ANANDILAL PODDAR: When was the scheme submitted by the Milk Commissioner?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I want notice.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the Milk Commissioner has been entrusted with the task of increasing the ordinary milk supply, or is it his duty only to increase buffalo milk toned with skimmed milk?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: He is engaged in increasing the supply not only of cow's milk but also of buffalo's milk.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state as to why the fresh scheme submitted by him is not in respect of ordinary milk but in respect of buffalo milk toned with skimmed milk?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Because buffalo milk will be available for consumption in Calcutta.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he knows that buffalo milk ordinarily is not liked by the people of Calcutta?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: If buffalo milk is toned, it will be consumed by the people of Calcutta.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the supply of ordinary milk is increased, that will be much better than buffalo milk toned with skimmed milk?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: That is a part of the scheme.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state এই যে দুধ আপনারা পাচ্ছেন তার মধ্যে কত per cent. Co-operative Society থেকে পাওয়া।

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: নোটিশ চাই। সংখ্যা আমার মুখস্থ নেই।

Sj. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how much milk is obtained from the Haringhatta Farm?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: At the present moment about 16 maunds.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he has the figure as to what is the monthly expenditure for the Farm?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I have not got the figure just now.

Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is possible to restrict buffalo milk for the manufacture of sweets and increase cow's milk for babies?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: We will examine the question.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় জানাবেন কি Co-operative Societyর number বাড়িয়ে তাদের কার্য্যকারিতা আর একটু বাড়িয়ে তাদেরই মারফৎ দুধ procure করবার কোন পরিকল্পনা তাঁদের আছে কিনা ?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: ভাল Society যদি হয় তাহলে কাজও ভাল হবে।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: My question has not been answered. I asked whether there is any scheme like that. I would like to know the answer.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Co-operative Society মারফৎ শুধু দুধ কেন যে কোন উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির কাজ হবে তাতে আমরা সাহায্য করব।

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if any scheme besides the scheme for distribution of buffalo milk toned with skimmed milk has been submitted as yet?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: The Milk Commissioner has submitted a complete scheme which is under examination.

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to indicate what other schemes the Milk Commissioner has submitted?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I want notice.

Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: According to the scheme prepared by the Milk Commissioner what would be the milk supplied *per capita*?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: It will be about 600 maunds every day. (A MEMBER: What is the figure *per capita*?) That is a matter for calculation.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Referring to answer (*vii*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the source of his information for presuming that the bulk of imported powdered milk is consumed in Calcutta?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: The bulk of powdered milk and condensed milk so far as I know is consumed in Calcutta.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the source of his information?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I cannot tell you the source.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he had made a statement to the effect that powdered milk and condensed milk are consumed largely in Calcutta?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: That is only a presumption.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the basis of his presumption; whether honestly he has any source of information or it is just his impression?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: It is nothing but presumption.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any provision has been made for increase of human milk because human milk is vital for the life of the baby?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It is outside the purview of the question.

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: Is it a fact that the Red Cross Society distributes milk for the babies and Government makes supply to them?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Yes, that is a fact.

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state if it is a fact that Government is contemplating to reduce the supply of milk to the Red Cross Society?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I want notice.

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুগ্রহ কোরে কি জানাবেন—হরিণঘাটা থেকে দুধ উৎপন্ন করার যে ব্যবস্থা করা হচ্ছে পশ্চিম বঙ্গের আর কোন জায়গায় ঐরকম ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বনের কোন পরিকল্পনা গভর্ণমেণ্টের আছে কি না?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: হরিণঘাটার পরিকল্পনাটা আগে পুরা-পুরি কার্যকারী হউক তারপর অন্য জায়গায় কথা উঠবে।

Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if, as long as it is not possible to have sufficient quantity of milk of cows or buffaloes, Government will arrange for the public to have sufficient quantity of powdered milk?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Powdered milk is imported from foreign countries, and I cannot say that it will be available in large quantities.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to inform us as to the number of milch cows in this State of West Bengal?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I want notice.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he has ascertained as to how much milk each cow gives on the average?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: On an average two ounces of milk *per capita.*

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: *Per capita* of man or *per capita* of cattle? "Capita" means head of man; if you say that it is per head of cattle, you will have to say head.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I mean মানুষ

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to inform me as to what is the yield of each milch cow?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I want notice.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to inform me how many milch cows are there in this State?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I want notice.

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলবেন কি পশ্চিম বঙ্গের জেলাগুলিতে ভাল ষাঁড় প্রাপ্তির কোন ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে কিনা ?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: ভাল ষাঁড়ের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: বাংলা দেশে কি রকম ষাঁড়ের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে এবং তার পরিমাণ কত ?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: নোটিশ চাই।

General Discussion of the Budget.

Sj. ANANDILAL PODDAR: Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, one can hardly help offering to our Finance Minister a hearty congratulation for the very bold attempt at handling the finances of this impoverished State during one of its difficult years of transition in spite of his failing health. I, however, trust that I will be pardoned if I attempt to make one or two critical observations.

The Budget Speech, Sir, is neither a lecture on general Economics nor presentation of the arithmetical side of the revenue and expenditure. It must envisage a policy and it is regretted that the Budget Speech is devoid of that fundamental aspect. Much of what has been said by our Finance Minister might have been left for other occasions and while admiring the versatility of his studies and mastery of problems engulfing the economic plane where even angels fear to tread, one is inclined to ask our redoubtable Finance Minister what practical value can we, in this House, attach to nearly three-fourths of his laborious researches. As a man interested primarily in commerce, I appreciate the oft-repeated but a very healthy pointer that the problem of increased production, and not so much of distribution, in every field is the outstanding challenge of the day. I also very much appreciate the emphasis our Finance Minister has laid on the proper incentive to capital formation as an essential preliminary to productive activity. I sincerely hope, Sir, that the good counsel of our Finance Minister in this respect will not go in vain. If one of our friends representing labour chooses to call this wise counsel—the challenge of Capital to Labour—the country will soon have an opportunity to give its verdict on the issue. It will not improve the lot of the common man if we are carried away by mere slogans and refuse to recognise the stern reality that we must either produce or perish and whatever stands in the way of increased production must be put down with a strong hand in the present stage of our social economy.

Hon'ble Sri Sarker has enunciated another wise principle when he suggests that our resources in men and money being severely limited, we should mark our steps with caution and deliberation and must not allow us the luxury of frittering the resources away in casual experiments. Whatever steps we take must be according to a proper sense of priority; so that we may not commit the folly of beginning on too many fronts and succeeding in none. The Finance Minister further claims that the Government in the various departments have undertaken to explore all avenues

of economy and to reduce expenditure to the minimum consistent with efficiency. I hope, Sir, I shall be excused if I try to study some of the items in the light of the theories laid down.

To start with the most important grant for General Administration, one fails to discover much evidence of economy and is apt to enquire whether we can begin by reducing the number of Ministers, as, to all appearances, we have too many in this truncated State. It is common knowledge, Sir, that out of a dozen of our Ministers, hardly half a dozen put in regular duties in the office and outside and not unoften we find that the department in charge of one or another is temporarily looked after by a different Minister, due to the regular incumbent being for some reason or other not in a position to attend to his duties. I wonder what explanation we can offer to the public as to the need for having more Ministers than are actually required.

Coming to the Police Budget, one finds that as against the sum of Rs. 4 crores and 18 lakhs of actuals in 1948-49, provision is made for as much as Rs. 4 crores and 83 lakhs in the Budget of 1950-51, and taking into account the construction work under Police in the civil works section, the total comes up to five crores and thirteen lakhs. It will be of interest to note in this connection that the allotment for the Police in undivided Bengal never exceeded four crores and remained mostly below three crores and fifty lakhs. Even in 1946-47, it was three crores eighty-five lakhs and sixty-three thousand. While the General Administration costs have gone up from 7·8 *per cent.* of the total gross cost in 1948-49 to 9·4 *per cent.* in 1950-51, for the same period the expenses under Police have gone up from 18·6 *per cent.* to 19·7 *per cent.* of our total revenue expenditure. On the other hand, the proportionate expenses on nation-building services do not appear to have improved and in fact the percentage of our total revenue expenditure on such important departments as Agriculture and Industry, has rather gone down from 5·8 *per cent.* to 5·3 *per cent.*, in the case of Agriculture and from 1·1 *per cent.* to 0·9 *per cent.* in the case of Industries.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this is hardly the time to go into the details of individual grants under different departments and should I have an opportunity for the same, I shall seek to place my humble observations in connection with some of them at the appropriate time. I want, however, to invite the attention of the House at this stage to a number of items under various grants for which the amounts provided by this House in previous years, do not appear to have been fully utilised. Such lapses prove either the haphazardness in the preparation of the Budget or the inefficiency in the planning and execution of the schemes. I sincerely hope our Government will be very careful with respect to their provisions in the Budget in future years.

The Hon'ble the Finance Minister in his general economic survey laid stress on giving a proper incentive to capital formation but in actual practice we find that the State is making increasing inroads into fields where private enterprise has not only been serving the community quite efficiently in the past, but also may claim to provide service at a cheaper cost. Sir, the Finance Minister has taken some pride in being able to put about 140 State buses in the streets of this city but the road transport problem of the whole State is awaiting a more correct approach. I think, Sir, that the problem can be more efficiently tackled and more areas could be served if the State could give proper incentive to private enterprise. Another instance is the Land Development Scheme at Tollygunge involving a huge expenditure which could be more fruitfully utilised for other nation-building services, permitting private capital to do the needful not only in this particular area but also in the countryside.

I do not know who inspired our Government with the idea of exploring the possibility of providing Calcutta with an underground railway. We have

spent 6 lakhs 4 thousand rupees only on survey in 1949-50. A French Company has completed the survey work, which is now under further examination by a British expert. Did the Minister concerned care to go through the report of the Calcutta Terminal Facilities Committee appointed by the Government of India in the then Railway Department in 1947? The aforesaid Committee had also some expert members and no less a person than Sir Padamji Ginwala as its Chairman. In their report, the aforesaid Committee have most clearly stated that the weight of evidence and of general opinion is against both the feasibility and advisability at present of the construction of Tube Railways in Calcutta. They have also quoted a passage from a report on Tube Railways in Calcutta made by Mr. Harley H. Dalrymple Hay, who said that—

> "The principal difficulty in this case is to determine how best to construct the tunnels through water-logged or water-bearing strata without injury to existing buildings, sewers, water, gas and other mains under the special conditions of bad foundations such as prevail in Calcutta and the adjoining districts.
>
> "So far as I am aware, there is no other large city in the world where the character of the underlying strata, coupled with bad building foundations, is so unfavourable to the economical construction of tube railways as is that beneath the Calcutta and Howrah districts........."

The Report also observed that Calcutta besides being water-logged is in the earthquake zone and as regards the cost, in the opinion of the Committee, it might well exceed Rs. 4 crores per mile. Now, Sir, no responsible man can suggest that this expenditure of more than 6 lakhs of rupees for survey was essential for this poor State unless of course we think like Louis XIV—"After me the Deluge".

The dictum of the Finance Minister regarding the exercise of a proper sense of priority also does not appear to have been kept in view in actual practice in the decision of the Government to purchase a house in New Delhi for use as a Hostel for the Hon'ble Ministers and other high officials of this Government while on visit to the capital. May I, Sir, be permitted to enquire if in exchange of the hospitality extended by the Governor of the State to the Hon'ble Ministers and some high officials of the Centre during their visit to this province, may we not expect a reciprocity of hospitality at the Indian President's official residence at New Delhi?

I shall fail in my duty if I do not take this opportunity to invite the attention of the House to the gross injustice that appears to have been meted out to the municipal areas of the State generally and to the city of Calcutta in particular. Members of this House must be well aware of the precarious state of the finances of almost all the municipal bodies in our State and when we find the roads of Howrah and Santipur in a state of complete disrepair continuing for years, with heavy motor transport further damaging them, with no provisions made for reconstruction or even due repairs for the same, one wonders what logical justification can we have for providing lakhs of rupees for the construction of so-called village and other roads radiating from a subdivisional town like Kandi in the district of Murshidabad or for some roads in Nadia district purporting to serve a sugar mill which does not buy a single stick of cane from local cultivators. The claim of Calcutta and Howrah for greater attention and more liberal financial assistance with respect to various services rendered to their growing population can hardly be over-emphasised and if priority is to be given to any place from the point of view of its needs, surely these towns can rightly claim the highest priority in the allotment of funds from the provincial revenues for their roads, waterworks, health services and housing. I hope

and trust that in the making of our independent State, the position of the municipalities and the contribution of the citizens resident therein will receive due and fair consideration.

Sir, the Finance Minister made a very casual reference to the recession in the trade condition causing decrease in the collection of sales taxes. But we, who are in trade and commerce, already feel that the depression has set in and is hastening its march. But the State Government has done nothing to give any incentive to the trade and commerce in the State. I agree with the Finance Minister that a high rate of taxation ultimately dries up the sources of revenue because it acts as a disincentive to capital formation, but have we followed this principle in our own sphere of activity? Are we not making profit in selling rationed food to the consumers? Are we not taxing the poor man's cloth? The Central Government collects excise duty on cloth and the State Government adds sales tax to it and the consumer has to pay sales tax on the excise duty also as the same is included in the price of cloth.

Sir, it will not be possible to make even a general survey of the items of expenditure budgeted but even a superficial glance will reveal that behind this budgeted expenditure for various development schemes, there is no policy of tackling the immediate problem of liquidating unemployment. From all accounts, we have failed in making even a plan for rehabilitating the refugees and so far we have encouraged congestion in the city of Calcutta. I am confident that if there was a planned programme drawn up in consultation with the people, the Central Government would come forward with more financial aid. Referring to the refugee problem the Finance Minister said in his last year's speech that, "It is clear that an essential step in their recovery must be the relocation and rehabilitation of these uprooted people so that they will at least produce as much as they consume, and, having produced wealth, share it with the people of West Bengal". Giving a brief indication of the progress of the scheme envisaged by the Government the statement shows that 132 houses have been built and 800 are under construction, 89 schemes have been drawn up for colonisation, yarn valued at Rs. 18 lakhs is being purchased and steps are being taken up for the purchasing of husking accessories. All these steps are miles away from any scheme of immediate production. Frankly speaking, we have no plan to absorb even those who are in our midst. I shudder to think of the state of affairs, if we are called upon to receive lakhs of refugees—an eventuality which every man with a bit of foresight must calculate. Instead of a plan, the Budget Speech has provided us, with some figures, mostly delusive.

In conclusion, I would like to remind the House of the very apt statement made by the Hon'ble Finance Minister that "hard facts of the present condition cannot be dismissed with polished words or wishful thinking". The public of West Bengal are looking forward to a more effective and demonstrative evidence of our having secured the independence of the country. So long as the lot of the common man remains unmitigated, the youth of the country continue to be faced with unemployment, undernourishment and starvation, the cultivator continues to eke out a mere hand to mouth existence in spite of high prices for their produce, we can hardly take credit for anything achieved, for any service rendered. The common man is in agony. The outbrusts of anti-social activities that we come across occasionally here and there, are the symptoms of a grave malady in our economic and social life. Let us put our shoulders to the wheel and seek to lift the common man out of the morass he has got stuck into. Then and then alone shall we have justified ourselves and the political freedom attained after long years of struggle and suffering will have its real significance. The task is certainly stupendous, but there must be a definite policy which has to be worked out with the co-operation of the people.

But, Sir, to all appearances we have neither a policy nor the goodwill of the people. These are problems that should receive the highest priority of consideration. Sir, I thank you.

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: উপ-সভাপাল মহাশয়, আগামী বৎসরের বাজেট উত্থাপন করে যে বক্তৃতা করা হয়েছে তা আমরা শুনেছি। মাননীয় অর্থসচিব মহাশয় শারীরিক অসুস্থতা সত্বেও যেরূপ যত্ন সহকারে আগামী বৎসরের বাজেট প্রস্তুত করবার জন্য শ্রম স্বীকার করেছেন, সেজন্য তাঁকে ধন্যবাদ জ্ঞাপন করি।

গত বৎসর তিনি যে বাজেট উত্থাপন করেছিলেন, তাতে কয়েকটা নূতন কর ধার্য্যের ব্যবস্থা ছিল। এ বৎসর বাজেটেও কোন নূতন কর ধার্য্যের প্রস্তাব নেই, কিন্তু বিক্রয়কর প্রভৃতি হ্রাসেরও কোন ব্যবস্থা করেন নাই। আগামী বৎসরের বাজেট দেশের লোকের মনে বিশেষ কোন আশা ও উৎসাহের সঞ্চার করতে পারবে কিনা সন্দেহ।

বহুকালের পরাধীনতা ও বিদেশীর নির্মম শোষণের পর ভারতবর্ষ স্বাধীন হয়েছে। মহাত্মা গান্ধীর নেতৃত্বে ভারতীয় জাতীয় কংগ্রেস, দেশ স্বাধীন হলে দেশের যে নব রূপ কল্পনা করেছিল, আমরা স্বাধীনতা লাভ করবার পর সেই পরিকল্পনাকে সাফল্যমণ্ডিত করবার পথে কতদূর অগ্রসর হয়েছি, তা আজ হিসাব করে দেখবার সময় এসেছে। এতকাল আমরা ক্রমাগতই বলেছি, পরশাসনের চাপে আমাদের জাতিগঠনমূলক কাজ করবার সুযোগ সুবিধা ছিল না। দেশের রাজনৈতিক মুক্তিলাভ হলে আমরা আমাদের দেশকে কংগ্রেসের আদর্শ মত গড়ে তুলব। সম্প্রতি আমরা প্রজাতন্ত্র ঘোষণা করেছি এবং ভারতবর্ষে সর্ব্বত্র এখন সার্ব্বভৌম স্বাধীন প্রজাতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠিত। সুতরাং দেশকে গড়ে তোলবার জন্য যে প্রকার ব্যবস্থা করা আবশ্যক, অর্থের যে প্রকার ব্যয় বরাদ্দ করা আবশ্যক, তাহা করবার আর কোন বাধা নেই।

দ্বিতীয় মহাযুদ্ধের ফলে এবং আমাদের দেশবিভাগের পর দেশের যে অর্থনৈতিক ও সামাজিক বিপর্যয় ঘটেছে, এখনও তার কুফল আমরা পূর্ণমাত্রায় ভোগ করছি। অর্থনৈতিক ক্ষেত্রে স্বাভাবিকতা ফিরে আসতে এখনও বহু বিলম্ব আছে। প্রাত্যহিক জীবনযাত্রার ব্যয় বহু পরিমাণে বেড়ে গেছে এবং তা কমাবার কোন লক্ষণই দেখা যাচ্ছে না।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: What is it?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, on a point of privilege—মাননীয় অর্থসচিব মহাশয়কে দেখতে পাচ্ছি না। এখানে বাজেট discussion হচ্ছে, তিনি যদি উপস্থিত না থাকেন তবে কে উত্তর দেবে? আমি বুঝতে পারছি না, এসব শুধু অরণ্যে রোদন করা হচ্ছে কি না।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think note is being taken by some Minister. Mr. Sarker took leave of the Hon'ble Speaker yesterday.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: তাঁর শরীর অসুস্থ—তিনি leave নিতে পারেন। তবে তাঁর absence-এ কার কাছ থেকে উত্তর পাব, সেটা জানলে আমরা তাঁর দিকে attention দিতে পারতাম। আপনার কাছে আমার prayer, আমাদের জানান, তাঁর অনুপস্থিতিতে কোন মন্ত্রীমহাশয় উত্তর দিবেন।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That will be decided afterwards.

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: Is that a point of order?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No. As I have said, some Minister is taking notes.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Which Minister will give a reply?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That will be decided afterwards. Please take your seat. Yes, Mr. De.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Who is today deputising on behalf of the Finance Minister? That is my question.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That is not a question. Somebody is taking notes.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a matter of privilege, Sir. That is not exactly a point of order.

DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think Mr. Sen is taking notes.

Hon'ble NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: May I inform you that my ble friend on the right, Mr. Sen, is taking notes.

DEPUTY SPEAKER: That is all right then.

IBNATH BANERJEE: He is not dumb. He could have said so.

ANAI LAL DE: এতদিন কয়েক বৎসর ধরে জনসাধারণ অপরিসীম দুঃখ-দুর্দশা ভোগ করেছে সুদিনের আশায় এখনো তারা বুক বেঁধে আছে, যেদিন তাদের অন্ন-বস্ত্রের অভাব দূর হবে, শিক্ষা উন্নতিকর ব্যবস্থা অন্যান্য স্বাধীন দেশের মতই সর্বাঙ্গীণ পরিপূর্ণতার সহিত গৃহীত হবে। ঘোষিত কৃষক-মজদুর-প্রজা-রাজ প্রতিষ্ঠার, কংগ্রেসের পরিকল্পিত শোষণহীন, শ্রেণীহীন সমাজ প্রতিষ্ঠায় নির্ধন-নির্বিশেষে বাঁচিবার পূর্ণ অধিকারের ভিত্তিতে এখনও আমাদের শাসনব্যবস্থা নিয়ন্ত্রিত হচ্ছে না। এখনও আমাদের রাজ্যের আর্থিক ব্যয়বরাদ্দ সেরূপ নীতির উপর প্রতিষ্ঠিত নয়। ইহার ফলে জনসাধারণের মনে নিরুৎসাহের ভাব সঞ্চার হওয়া খুবই স্বাভাবিক। তাই দুঃখের সহিত একথা না বলে উপায় নেই যে প্রজাতান্ত্রিক রাজ্যে আগামী বৎসরের বাজেট কোন প্রকার উদ্দীপনা সৃষ্টি করতে পারে নাই।

বাংলা দেশ পল্লীপ্রধান। বাংলার পল্লীগুলি ধ্বংসের মুখে এগিয়ে চলেছে। সেই পল্লীগুলিকে পুনরুজ্জীবিত করবার জন্য, পল্লীর স্বাস্থ্য, শিল্প ও শিক্ষার উন্নতির জন্য যেরূপ ব্যাপক ব্যবস্থা করা দরকার, দুঃখের বিষয় বাজেটে তার বিশেষ কোন ব্যবস্থা নেই। পশ্চিম বাংলার ম্যালেরিয়া সুবিদিত। ইতিপূর্বে ঘোষণা করা হয়েছিল যে প্রতি ইউনিয়নে একটী করে স্বাস্থ্যকেন্দ্র প্রতিষ্ঠা করা হবে এবং প্রতি থানায়ও অপেক্ষাকৃত অধিক সংখ্যক রোগী রাখবার মত ব্যবস্থা করে হাঁসপাতাল খোলা হবে এবং জেলা হাঁসপাতালগুলিকে সম্প্রসারিত করা হবে। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় এ পর্যন্ত এদিকে কাজ প্রায় কিছুই অগ্রসর হয় নাই। বাঁকুড়া জেলায় ১৮৩টী ইউনিয়নের মধ্যে ৮।১০টির বেশী পল্লী স্বাস্থ্যকেন্দ্র স্থাপন করা সম্ভব হয় নাই। এবং জেলা হাসপাতালের এখন পর্যন্ত কোন ব্যবস্থাই হয় নাই। সম্ভবত অন্যান্য জেলার পক্ষেও এইরূপ। অথচ ম্যালেরিয়া, কালাজ্বর প্রভৃতি মারাত্মক রোগ চুপ করে বসে নাই। তাদের ধ্বংসলীলা সমানেই চলছে। বড় বড় ইমারৎ তৈরী করবার জন্য ব্যয়বরাদ্দ ও সময়ের জন্য অপেক্ষা না করে যাহাতে স্বল্প ব্যয়ে সরল গৃহাদি নির্মাণ করে হাসপাতালগুলি প্রতিষ্ঠা করা যায় সে বিষয়ে আমাদের সরকারের সচেষ্ট হওয়া কর্তব্য। কুষ্ঠ রোগ পশ্চিম বাংলার এক নিদারুণ অভিশাপ। বাঁকুড়া জেলায় এই রোগের প্রকোপ সর্বাপেক্ষা অধিক। একমাত্র এ জেলায় ৬৫ হাজারের উপর কুষ্ঠ রোগী আছে, জেলার লোকসংখ্যা মোটামুটি ১৩ লক্ষ, সেই হিসাবে শতকরা ৫ জন রোগাক্রান্ত। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় কুষ্ঠ রোগের চিকিৎসা ও উহার প্রসার নিরোধকল্পে যে বিরাট আয়োজন হওয়া উচিত তা হয় নাই। বাঁকুড়ায় একটি ক্ষুদ্র কুষ্ঠ কলোনী প্রতিষ্ঠা করা হয়েছে মাত্র কিন্তু তাহার দ্বারা এ সমস্যার কিছুমাত্র সমাধান হবে না, রোগের মূল অনুসন্ধান করে, কি উপায়ে ইহার সংক্রামণ নিরোধ করা যায় সে বিষয়ে সর্বপ্রকার আবশ্যকীয় ব্যবস্থা করা প্রয়োজন। আমি দরিদ্র বাঁকুড়াবাসীর পক্ষ থেকে আমাদের সরকারকে বিশেষত, পরম বিচক্ষণ ও সুচিকিৎসক স্বাস্থ্য ও মুখ্যমন্ত্রীমহাশয়কে এ বিষয়ে যথোচিত ব্যবস্থা করবার জন্য সবিনয় অনুরোধ করছি।

কৃষি বিভাগে ২০ কোটি ৬১ লক্ষ টাকা ব্যয় বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে এবং তার মধ্যে ১ কোটি ৫৭ লক্ষ টাকা অধিক ফসল উৎপাদনের জন্য ব্যয় করা হবে স্থির হয়েছে। কৃষি বিভাগে উর্দ্ধতন ও অধস্তন কর্মচারীর অভাব নাই, তথাপি কৃষির আশানুরূপ উন্নতি হচ্ছে না, এবং পল্লীর কৃষকগণ এই সকল কর্মচারীর ও এত টাকা ব্যয়ের কোন সুযোগ গ্রহণ করতে পারছে না। কৃষি বিভাগের কর্মচারিগণের ব্যবহারিক জ্ঞান অতি অল্প এবং তাহা প্রধানতঃ সরকারী কৃষিক্ষেত্রেই সীমাবদ্ধ। অধিকাংশ টাকাই ভ্রমণ, বিজ্ঞাপন ও প্রচার প্রভৃতি মামুলী কাজের জন্যই ব্যয়িত হয়। ভাল বীজ ও সার সরবরাহ ও ছোট বড় জল সেচের পরিকল্পনা যাহাতে সত্বর কার্য্যকরী করা যায় সে বিষয়ে অবিলম্বে ব্যবস্থা হওয়া আবশ্যক। এদিকে সক্রিয় ব্যবস্থা হ'লে খাদ্য বিষয়ে দেশ অচিরেই স্বাবলম্বী হ'য়ে উঠবে। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় দামোদর, ময়ূরাক্ষী প্রভৃতি বড় বড় পরিকল্পনার কাজ ছেড়ে দিলেও ছোট ছোট সেচ পরিকল্পনা যাহা গ্রামের খাল, স্রোত বেঁধে ও গ্রামের সেচের পুকুরগুলির পঙ্কোদ্ধার করা। সত্বর, তাহাও অতি সামান্যমাত্র হয়েছে। বাঁকুড়ায় ৫৮টি ছোট সেচ পরিকল্পনার মধ্যে মাত্র একটির কাজ সমাধা হয়েছে। বিড়াই ও ভৈরবকীর কাজ এখনও শেষ হয় নাই, এগুলির সত্বর সম্পন্ন করার ব্যবস্থা হওয়া দুর্ভিক্ষপীড়িত বাঁকুড়ার পক্ষে একান্ত প্রয়োজন। কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের সাহায্য সংকুচিত হওয়ায় ফলে উন্নয়ন

পরিকল্পনার অনেক কাজ বন্ধ হয়েছে, ইহা দেশের দুর্ভাগ্য। কিন্তু অপর দিকে ব্যয় সংকোচ করে কিভাবে ঐ সকল জাতিগঠনমূলক কাজ করতে পারা যায়, অর্থসচিবের মত বহুঅভিজ্ঞ অর্থনীতিবিদ্‌ সে দিকে কোন আলোকপাত করেন নাই। আমাদের রাজ্যের ব্যয়বাহুল্য অত্যধিক। সিভিল সেক্রেটারিয়েটের ব্যয় ক্রমশঃ বেড়ে যাচ্ছে এবং কোথায় যে গিয়ে দাঁড়াবে তাহা অনুমান করা কঠিন। গত ১৯৪৮-৪৯ সালে ব্যয় ছিল ৩৫ লক্ষ টাকা, ১৯৪৯-৫০ সালে ব্যয় দাঁড়ায় ৫০ লক্ষ টাকা, ও আগামী বাজেটে ব্যয় ধরা হয়েছে ৬৫ লক্ষ টাকা। কর্ম্মসচিব, সহ-কর্ম্মসচিব, অবর-কর্ম্মসচিব, উপ-কর্ম্মসচিব, অতিরিক্ত-কর্ম্মসচিব প্রভৃতি ক্রমশই বেড়ে চলেছে। যদিও বাংলা বিভক্ত, তথাপি ক্রমাগত কর্ম্মচারীর সংখ্যা বৃদ্ধি জনসাধারণের নিকট বিস্ময়ের বস্তু। সামান্য বেতন ছাঁটাই হয়েছে একথা অর্থসচিব মহাশয় জানিয়েছেন, কিন্তু বহু রকমে বেতন অসম্ভব রকম বৃদ্ধিপ্রাপ্ত হয়েছে, কোন কোন কর্ম্মচারীকে উচ্চপদে উন্নীত করবার জন্য বেতন ৮০০৲ টাকা হতে একেবারে ২,৭৫০৲ টাকা দেওয়া হয়েছে। যাহা কেবল "গৌরী সেনের" দেশেই সম্ভব। এই সকল ক্ষেত্রে বেতন ঐভাবে না বাড়িয়ে ২০০।২৫০৲ টাকা অতিরিক্ত বেতন বা ভাতা দিয়াও কাজ চালান যেত, এবং ব্যয়বাহুল্য ঘটতো না। যদি বেতনবৃদ্ধির ঐ রকম কোন নিয়ম থাকে তবে তাহা অবিলম্বে পরিবর্ত্তন করা উচিত। ইহাতে অনেক টাকা বাঁচবে। সদ্য-নিযুক্ত অনভিজ্ঞ ভারতীয় শাসনকৃত্যকের (I. A. S.) কর্ম্মচারিগণকে জেলাশাসকের ভার দিলে প্রায়ই শাসন-কার্য্যে অব্যবস্থা ঘটে ও অভিজ্ঞ কর্ম্মচারিগণের মনেও অসন্তোষের সঞ্চার হয়, সেজন্য পুরাতন বৃটিশ নীতি পরিত্যাগ করে সৎ, অভিজ্ঞ ও কর্ম্মনিপুণ কর্ম্মচারিগণকেই জেলাশাসকের পদে নিযুক্ত করা ভাল।

পুলিসের ব্যয় অত্যধিক বেড়েছে এবং অবিভক্ত বাংলার ব্যয়ের সীমা ছাড়িয়ে গেছে। অথচ পুলিসের তৎপরতা ও কর্ম্মপ্রচেষ্টা কিছুমাত্র বাড়ে নাই। সমাজবিরোধী দলের কার্য্যকলাপ বন্ধ করা ও চোরাকারবার ও দুর্নীতি নিরোধ করা ও অপরাধীর অনুসন্ধান কার্য্য প্রয়োজনানুরূপ চলছে না। এ বিষয়ে সরকারের অবহিত হওয়া প্রয়োজন।

শিক্ষা বিভাগ যাহাতে সত্বর বয়স্কদের শিক্ষার ও মৌলিক (basic) শিক্ষার প্রসারকল্পে অধিক পরিমাণে ব্যবস্থা করতে পারে সেদিকে লক্ষ্য রাখা আবশ্যক। আমার মনে হয়, অতিরিক্ত ব্যয়ে সরকারী কলা কলেজ ও স্কুল চালাবার এখন আর কোন সার্থকতা নাই। সরকারী পরিচালনা বন্ধ করে ঐসকল কলেজ ও স্কুলকে যথা-যোগ্য সরকারী সাহায্য দেওয়ার ব্যবস্থা করাই ভাল। মৌলিক (basic) শিক্ষার জন্য পল্লী-অঞ্চলে কয়েকটী বিদ্যালয় স্থাপন করার ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে, এবং এর প্রত্যেকটির গৃহনির্ম্মাণের জন্য ৩২,০০০৲ টাকা ব্যয় ধরা হয়েছে। যে শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থায় শিক্ষা ব্যয়ের কতকাংশ শিক্ষক ও ছাত্রের শ্রমের দ্বারা সংগ্রহ করতে হবে, সেইরূপ বিদ্যালয়ের জন্য এত অধিক ব্যয়ে গৃহ নির্ম্মাণের আবশ্যকতা কি? সামান্য ব্যয়ে গৃহ নির্ম্মাণ করলে অধিক সংখ্যায় ঐরূপ বিদ্যালয় খোলা যেতে পারে। প্রাথমিক শিক্ষকগণের বেতন সামান্য বৃদ্ধি করা হয়েছে বটে, কিন্তু তাহা দ্বারা অবস্থার বিশেষ কোন উন্নতি হয় নাই। যাহাতে প্রাথমিক শিক্ষকগণ কোনরূপে বেঁচে থাকতে পারে, এইরূপ হারে বেতনের ব্যবস্থা হওয়া উচিত। আমি এ বিষয়ে শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রীর দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করি।

Civil works খাতে বহু টাকা ব্যয়িত হবে। কয়েকটী রাস্তাকে সম্প্রসারিত করা ও কয়েকটী নূতন রাস্তা নির্ম্মাণ করা হবে, কিন্তু পল্লী-অঞ্চলে বহুস্থানে যাতায়াতের উপযোগী রাস্তা নাই। যাহাতে পল্লী-অঞ্চলের রাস্তার কতকটা উন্নতি হয় সেদিকে সরকারের দৃষ্টি দেওয়া দরকার। বাঁকুড়া জেলায় প্রায় দেড়শত মাইল পল্লিপথ সরকার কর্ত্তৃক উন্নয়ন করবার প্রস্তাব গৃহীত হয়েছিল; কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় এপর্য্যন্ত কিছুমাত্র সম্পন্ন হয় নাই। বাঁকুড়া সহরের উপকণ্ঠে দ্বারকেশ্বর নদীর উপর একটী সেতু নির্ম্মাণের জন্য টাকা বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছিল এবং সেতুর আবশ্যকীয় কতক উপকরণও তথায় আনা হয়েছিল। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় ঐ সেতু নির্ম্মাণ কার্য্য কোন অজ্ঞাত কারণে বন্ধ হয়েছে এবং জিনিষপত্রও সরিয়ে আনা হয়েছে। বাঁকুড়া সহর থেকে দক্ষিণাঞ্চলের ৬।৭টী থানা বর্ষাকালে বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়ে যায়। শাসনকার্য্য পরিচালনা ও জনসাধারণের যাতায়াতের বিষয়ের সুবিধার জন্য অবিলম্বে দ্বারকেশ্বর নদীর উপর সেতু নির্ম্মাণ হওয়া উচিত। এ বিষয়ে পুনর্বিবেচনার জন্য আমি পূর্ত্ত-মন্ত্রী মহাশয়কে অনুরোধ করি।

কলিকাতার ভূ-গর্ভস্থ রেলপথ নির্ম্মাণের জন্য আগামী বৎসর কোন ব্যয় বরাদ্দ করা হয় নাই। ইহা নিশ্চিতই সুসংবাদ। বর্ত্তমান বৎসরে মাত্র ৬,০৪,০০০৲ টাকা ব্যয় করেই যে এই দুঃস্বপ্নের শেষ হয়েছে, ইহাতে জনসাধারণ নিশ্চয়ই আশ্বস্ত হবে।

বনবিভাগের কার্য্য আশানুরূপ চলছে না। নূতন বন সৃষ্টি করিতে না পারলে কেবলমাত্র বন নিয়ন্ত্রণের জন্য এত ব্যয় বহন করিয়া বন বিভাগ চালাবার সার্থকতা কি? দূরদর্শিতার সহিত জ্বালানী কাঠের চাহিদা বিবেচনা

করে বন-নিয়ন্ত্রণ না করার ফলে বাঁকুড়া জেলার জ্বালানী কাঠের অভাব ঘটেছে এবং মূল্যও অত্যধিক বেড়ে গিয়েছে অথচ অপর দিকে বহু পরিমাণ জ্বালানি কাঠ অবাধে জেলার বাহিরে চালান যাচ্ছে। বন বিভাগের মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ের এ বিষয়ে দৃষ্টি দেওয়া প্রয়োজন।

শিল্প বিভাগ সম্বন্ধেও কিছু বলবার আছে। বড় বড় কলকারখানা ও যন্ত্রপাতির কথা বলতে চাই না। যেসকল কুটীরশিল্প এখনো দেশে অবশিষ্ট আছে সেগুলির উন্নতির দিকে সরকারের বিশেষ দৃষ্টি দেওয়া আবশ্যক। বাঁকুড়া জেলার রেশম-শিল্প আজ ধ্বংসের পথে এগিয়ে চলেছে, বিদেশী রেশমের আমদানীর জন্য রেশমের দাম কমে গিয়েছে এবং দেশী রেশম-শিল্পীরা আজ অন্নাভাবে মৃতপ্রায়। বিষ্ণুপুর, সোনামুখী ও বীরসিংহ অঞ্চলের রেশম-শিল্পীদের রক্ষার জন্য অবিলম্বে ব্যবস্থা করা প্রয়োজন।

নির্বাচনী ইস্তাহারের প্রতিশ্রুতিমত জমিদারী-প্রথা বিলোপের কোন ব্যবস্থাই এখন পর্য্যন্ত হয় নাই। এ বিষয়ে দৃঢ়তার সহিত অগ্রসর হওয়া কর্ত্তব্য।

মাদকদ্রব্য বর্জ্জনেরও কোন ব্যবস্থাই অবলম্বন করা হয় নাই। সত্য বটে মাদকদ্রব্য বিক্রয় করে সরকারের প্রায় ছয় কোটি টাকা রাজস্ব সংগৃহীত হয়, কিন্তু একথা সর্ব্বদা মনে রাখতে হবে যে যদি দেশের প্রত্যেক ব্যক্তিকে শিক্ষা, স্বাস্থ্য ও নৈতিক চরিত্রে উন্নত করতে হয়, তবে মাদকদ্রব্যের প্রচার রোধ করা প্রয়োজন। অন্যদিকে ব্যয় সংকোচ করেও মাদকদ্রব্য বর্জননীতি গ্রহণ করা অবশ্য কর্ত্তব্য। যদি একবারে সমগ্র দেশে বর্জন করা সম্ভব না হয় তবে দেশকে ৩।৪টি অংশে বিভক্ত করেও এক এক অংশে করা যেতে পারে। মাদ্রাজে মাদকদ্রব্য বর্জিত হয়েছে, বোম্বাই এ বৎসর আরম্ভ করবে। আমাদের প্রতিবেশী রাষ্ট্র পূর্ব্ব পাকিস্থানও এ বৎসর মাদকদ্রব্য বর্জননীতি গ্রহণ করেছে। যাঁহারা হরিজন সম্প্রদায়ের মঙ্গল কামনা করেন, তাঁহাদের বিবেচনা করা উচিত যে মাদকদ্রব্য বর্জন না হওয়ার ফলে হরিজন সম্প্রদায়েরই সর্ব্বাধিক ক্ষতি হয়েছে। এই প্রসঙ্গে আমি ঘোড়দৌড় ও জুয়াখেলা বন্ধ করার জন্যও সরকারকে অনুরোধ করি।

কংগ্রেস আজ বহু কারণে অত্যন্ত বিপন্ন। কেন্দ্রে ও সমগ্র প্রদেশে আজ কংগ্রেসী সরকার প্রতিষ্ঠিত। যদি কংগ্রেসের আদর্শ ও স্বীকৃত নীতিতে দেশের শাসনকার্য্য পরিচালিত না হয় তবে জনসাধারণ কংগ্রেসের উপর আস্থা হারাবে। সেই জন্য সরকারের নিকট সবিশেষ অনুরোধ যাহাতে কংগ্রেসী পন্থায় শাসনকার্য্য পরিচালিত হয় এবং দেশের সর্বাঙ্গীন উন্নতিকল্পে পল্লীসংগঠন, কুটিরশিল্প উন্নয়ন, কৃষির উন্নতি প্রভৃতি জনকল্যাণমূলক ব্যবস্থা গৃহীত হয়, দুর্নীতি ও চোরাকারবার প্রভৃতি দমনের ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বিত হয়, সে বিষয়ে সচেষ্ট হওয়া একান্ত আবশ্যক। এইরূপভাবে শাসনকার্য্য পরিচালিত হলে কংগ্রেসের প্রতি ও কংগ্রেসী সরকারের প্রতি জনসাধারণের আস্থা সুপ্রতিষ্ঠিত হবে, এবং সমাজ বিরোধী প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শক্তি দেশের শৃঙ্খলা ও শান্তি ব্যাহত করতে পারবে না, জনসাধারণের সহানুভূতি ও মমত্ব বোধের উপর সরকারের আসন প্রতিষ্ঠিত থাকলেই প্রজাতন্ত্র সার্থক হবে। তজ্জন্য এই সকল বিষয়ের প্রতি সজাগ দৃষ্টি রেখে বর্ত্তমান বাজেট সংশোধনার্থ অর্থ-সচিব মহাশয়কে অনুরোধ করি এবং আমার বক্তব্য শেষ করার পূর্বে পুনরায় তাঁহাকে ধন্যবাদ জ্ঞাপন করি।

"বন্দে মাতরম্"।

Sj. BEPIN BEHARY GANGULY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in the very beginning let me be associated with the sense of the House in wishing a speedy recovery of health of the Hon'ble Finance Minister who, I must say, has borne on his shoulder the entire responsibility in planning the Credit and Debit figures of revenue and expenditure of the Government of West Bengal for the year 1950-51.

Sir, this year's Budget Estimate inspires no hope in the common man, infuses no strength into the general mass of West Bengal, throws no light on the dark days which are heading, blitzing with rapidity. Last year I remarked that the Budget and its *summum bonum* was "rich shall remain rich and poor shall remain poor", yet worse thing rings in this year's new Budget. Frustration and helplessness are the cross sections of this year's unsolved Budget. If reference be made to the lot of the teeming millions of the country, their woes and anxieties, their condition of life, miserable failure of the Government to solve any of the major problems, to feed them and to clothe them and to shelter them is apparent. Add to that the huge unfortunate mass of refugees that have crossed and are crossing the borders of the communal State of Pakistan and those that are pouring daily to this

crippled and curtailed land of West Bengal must have to be the immediate consideration of the Government. I strongly desire to draw the attention of this House to the pitiable condition in which these wretched and ruined human beings are placed and for whom no ray of rope or any hand of assistance is forthcoming even from the Centre not to speak of other States of India. This problem Province's misfortune has befallen with the alarming news which the House is in possession of from Feni, Brahmanbaria, Mymensingh, Dacca and various other places of East Pakistan in spite of the iron curtain of manipulation of the neighbouring Government. Mass migration is a fact. Things have happened there in brutal communal frenzy, looting, arson, mass murder and annihilation of Hindu population and abduction of Hindu women. The provision that has been made for these unfortunate human beings who are already in this land is hopelessly inadequate. And to those who will be coming in the near future there should be provision made The ill-effect of partition by the British Government has already set in in alarming strides. Are we not going to stop this with a bolder policy? Will not our past sacrifice imbue us for more sacrifice for our own kith and kin? There is the same mode of life, culture, language, belief and unity. Mass murders have happened at Dacca aerodrome and Pakistan railway trains under the very nose of that exalted Government. Why not recall the Deputy High Commissioner Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu as early as possible? What is the use of placing a Deputy High Commissioner in the realm of Pakistan?

Hon'ble Finance Minister has allotted large sum of money for the Police. This big sum excels expenditure recorded in undivided Bengal. Is it not ludicrous to learn that a substantial provision involving Rs. 2,71,000 has been made in this year's Budget in the new Police scheme under the head "Appointment of extra Intelligence Staff in the C. I. D. for dealing with anti-social and anti-national activities" in addition to the much talked of highly praised existing I. B., S. B. and C. I. D. for whom Rs. 16,24,900 has been already estimated for. May we ask the Minister-in-charge the reason behind the new set-up? Does the Minister agree that acute fall in the efficiency in the whole of the Police departments exists because popular sentiment has been trodden over. If so, cure lies not in incurring heavy expenses after the new set up but in overhauling of the entire Police force from the topmost officer to the lowest constabularly. It should be remodelled after the line prescribed by Mahatmaji. The Police must learn to be servants of the people and spare the rod. It is a pity that Rs. 5,00,000 has been spent for Police more than that of Education of the entire State by cutting drastically even from the amount for women's education, Communications and Medical heads. Considerable amount sanctioned for the Police and Jails has surpassed others. There are certain recent happenings of which I have some knowledge, viz., the affairs in the death of Subodh Sarkar, the Secretary of Texmaco Employees' Union, Belgharia, and in the incidents of firing from 61, Harrison Road, in the arrest of Dr. Maitrayee Basu, in asking the Police not to assault beggar-women, in failure of Police in stopping smuggling of lorry-load commodities to Pakistan and in indifference of the superhead of C. I. D. and other Police Department to move in important matters without higher sanction. This is not certainly what Mahatma Gandhi dreamt of in his cult of truth.

Sir, fabulous sum of Rs. 2,63,23,000 has been estimated to be spent on "Grow More Food" scheme, on Agriculture, Fisheries, and Irrigation head in addition to their usual establishment. In the last year we saw the sad failure of the scheme and grant was mainly spent to pay the fat-salaried top-rankers and the final output was an absolute negation of much advertised assured result. Vices have crept in—whether it be in Judiciary or in Executive and we do not find equity and justice and truth and fairplay in the true sense of the terms.

Under expenditure of scientific grants head Rs. 1,00,000 has been allocated for All India Rabindra Memorial. I would like to suggest that a separate head might be opened to perpetuate a fitting memorial to Rabindra Nath. Under Scientific head no amount is estimated to be spent on scientific researches. Bengal was proud for her Dr. Jagadish Chandra Bose, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray, Dr. Satyendra Nath Bose, Dr. Megnath Saha, etc., of international fame. But it was a pity that the former foreign Government made no provision of grant for valuable researches to benefit this land and such has been the case probably with this Government also. No adequate provision has been made for Medical Units in rural areas and the development amount has been cut from Rs. 5,60,000 of 1949-50 to Rs. 4,75,000 in this Budget. Want of proper Maternity System is the greatest enemy for the motherhood of West Bengal and is responsible for so much infant mortality. The proposed Maternity Home and Waterworks in Kanchrapara are being held up for want of more attention. I hereby draw sympathy and assistance of the Irrigation Department to the vast submerged area called the Bharati Beel in the Barrackpore subdivision. If this drainage scheme be taken up in hand immediately the fertility of the soil will enable to grow more food and drive out malaria in that part of the country. The hospitals in town and moffusil are definitely below standard and their management can be improved if greater attention by the Director of Public Health be given. I have on my record some very unthinkable incidents regarding Lady Dufferin Hospital in Central Calcutta and the miserable condition of Nurse Trainees and other employees who are ill-treated by their superiors. The women patients are not looked after satisfactorily there. No scheme for betterment of municipalities and District Boards has been stipulated but promises and assurances have been given to those who represent vested interests of capitalists and zemindars. Government failed to take cognisance of awards verdicted by the most of the Industrial Tribunals in settling the disputes between Labour and Management. Mass retrenchments and consequential strikes are the order of the day. In the absence of proper legislation, no punishment, worth record, has been meted out against the aggression of profiteers, tax-dodgers who wilfully and illegally deceive the Government or do things to retard production by lock-out, mass retrenchment and other illegal tactics. The Police fail to take action against these aggressors.

Sir, the Central Government's apathy towards this problem province, specially the gross inequity in the Deshmukh Award has been well exposed by the Hon'ble Finance Minister. I cannot understand why Sri Sarkar has suggested hypothication of petrol and the spirit duty for a loan of 2 crores of rupees from the capitalist group. Is there no other way of realising the said amount? Is the people of West Bengal not sympathetic with the Government? Much concession has already been given to the capitalist section. The nationalisation of the key industries which was fundamental in our last election programme has been kept in abeyance. The big projects such as the Damodar Valley and Mayurakshy Schemes are about to be abandoned for want of the Central Government's grant. The amount estimated in the budget will be mostly spent in paying up the salaries of the Damodar Valley Corporation staff and officials. Little will remain to speed up the work.

Sir, the Civil Supplies Department, now divided in two sections, are full of irregularities and malpractices. The Government must practise thrift as well as preach it. Controls not imposed by the need for fair dealings or by scarcity must go. There must be no waste. We do not believe in everlasting restrictions and barriers. Restriction and control are inherent in capitalist policy. We must fight to make our freedom a reality. We must work for the re-distribution of wealth and abolition of poverty and social injustice. The really progressive acts to be taken up by the future Government will be the result of democratic life and thought and constant

public education. The mood of the country demands a sovereign Republican classless society that will ensure social and industrial progress, fair shares, fairplay and justice for every poor individual, real equality of opportunity, a reduction in the cost of living and home for every poor family.

Janab S. M. ABDULLAH : মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, পশ্চিম বঙ্গ Governmentএর ১৯৫০-৫১ সালের বাজেটের দিকে লক্ষ্য রাখলে এই কথাই মনে হয় যে এই বাজেটের মধ্য দিয়ে জাতির সামনে, দেশের গঠনমূলক সমস্যা, অর্থনৈতিক সমস্যা কি করলে সমাধান হয়, জনসাধারণের কি করে মঙ্গল হবে, সেই দিকে লক্ষ্য না রেখে শুধু এক দিকেই লক্ষ্য রাখা হয়েছে, কি করলে পুঁজিবাদীদের, ধনিক সম্প্রদায়ের বা capitalist classএর স্বার্থ রক্ষা হয়। তাই আমার মনে হয়, স্বাধীন দেশের কংগ্রেস-শাসিত দেশের জনসাধারণের এই বাজেট নয়। এইটা দেখে আমার মনে হয় এই বাজেটের মধ্য দিয়ে জনগণের স্বার্থ পদদলিত করে যেন জাতিকে টেনে নিয়ে যাচ্ছে capitalist বা পুঁজিবাদীদের দিকে। তাই আজকে এই বাজেটে শুধু বলা হচ্ছে কি করলে income-tax কমান যেতে পারে। কি করলে ধনিককে আরও ধনিক করা যায় এই দিকেই, যেন সমস্ত লক্ষ্য দেওয়া হয়েছে। মনে হয় মাননীয় অর্থসচিব মহোদয় বোধ হয় ভুলে গিয়েছেন যে জাতির সত্যিকার মুক্তি নির্ভর করছে জাতির সাধারণ মানুষ—কৃষক, প্রজা, মজদুর, তাদের মুক্তির উপর। তাদের অর্থনৈতিক, সামাজিক মুক্তির মধ্য দিয়েই ভারতের মুক্তি—তথা বাংলা দেশের মুক্তি নির্ভর করছে। এই জিনিষটা আগা থেকে গোড়া পর্যন্ত কোথাও আমরা দেখতে পাই না। তাই এই বাজেট পড়ে মনে হয় ইহা দেশের সামনে নৈরাশ্য এনে দিয়েছে।

আমরা শুনে এসেছি কংগ্রেস পূর্ণ স্বাধীনতার আদর্শ নিয়ে সংগ্রাম করেছে। তার জন্য লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক প্রাণ দিয়েছে। আজ সেই কংগ্রেস-শাসিত, জনগণের প্রতিনিধির দ্বারা শাসিত, তাদের নিজেদের nomineeর দ্বারা শাসিত এই বাংলা দেশে সমস্ত ভারতের, সমস্ত প্রদেশের চেয়ে কেন বেশী অশান্তি? আজ এই কথাই বারবার মনে হয় সত্যিকারের দরদ দিয়ে, প্রাণ দিয়ে আমাদের আর্থিক সমস্যা সমাধানের জন্য জাতির সামনে একটা constructive programme থাকতো এই বাজেটের মধ্যে, কি করলে জাতির সত্যিকার মুক্তি হতে পারে, তারা দুঃখ, দৈন্য, অভাব, উপেক্ষা থেকে উদ্ধার পেতে পারে তার একটা ficture, ছবি যদি আমরা এর ভিতরে পেতাম তাহলে আমি মনে করি আজ বাংলাকে, বাংলাদেশের শাসনকে সত্যিকারভাবে দৃঢ় করে তোলা হতো। কিন্তু সেটা শুধু পুঁজিবাদী, capitalist, ধনিকদের আরো বড় করে হবে না। একটা constructive programme দেওয়া হত এবং তাকে implement করা হত within 3 or 4 years তাহলে সমস্ত জাতিকে অর্থনৈতিকভাবে মুক্ত করা হত। তারপর এই কথা ভুললে চলবে না যে জাতির প্রকৃত real arbiters হচ্ছে দেশের কৃষকমজদুর। আজ নানা conflicting ideology নিয়ে, অর্থনীতিক, রাজনীতিক, সামাজিক সমস্যা সম্বন্ধে একদিকে Capitalism আর একদিকে Socialism বা Communism. এই দুটা নিয়ে সমস্ত পৃথিবী দ্বিধাবিভক্ত। একদিকে রাশিয়া communism support করছে, অন্যদিকে America, England capitalism সমর্থন করছে। এই বাজেটের লক্ষ্য যেন সমস্ত দেশকে টেনে নিয়ে যাচ্ছে capitalistএর দিকে। এর মধ্যে Indian culture, ভারতের culture, ভারতের সমাজ-ব্যবস্থা, ভারতের শিক্ষা-ব্যবস্থার বিশেষ কিছু নাই। আমাদের অর্থমন্ত্রী মাননীয় নলিনীবাবু যিনি ভারতের অন্যতম অর্থনীতিবিদ তার কাছে আমরা আশা করেছিলাম যে তিনি ভারতের শিক্ষা, সামাজিক ব্যবস্থা এবং দেশের অর্থনৈতিক বিষয়ে একটা নূতন পথ দেখিয়ে দেবেন। কিন্তু আমাদের সে স্বপ্ন এই বাজেটের মধ্যে সফল হয় নি। প্রথমে আমি বলতে চাই। আপনারা আমাদের খাদ্য-সমস্যা দেখুন। এই বাজেটের মধ্য দিয়ে এমন কোন নির্দিষ্ট ব্যবস্থা করা হয় নি যার দ্বারা agriculture বা কৃষির উন্নতি হতে পারে—নূতন দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী দিয়ে, প্রাণ দিয়ে এমন কোন কথা বলা হয় নি যার দ্বারা কৃষকের জীবন উন্নততর হতে পারে। এই যে কৃষক, এই যে জনসাধারণ যারা দেশের স্বাধীনতার জন্য লক্ষ লক্ষ কোটি কোটি লোক প্রাণ দিয়েছিল, তাদের অর্থনৈতিক মুক্তির জন্য, তাদের শিক্ষার জন্য, তাদের দুঃখ-কষ্ট লাঘব করবার জন্য কোন ব্যবস্থা হয় নি। আজ বাংলা দেশের এই যে Permanent Settlement যার জন্য বাংলা দেশের জনসাধারণ শতকরা ৮০ জন দুঃখ-দারিদ্র্যের মধ্যে পতিত সেই Permanent Settlement তুলে দেবার জন্য কোন ব্যবস্থাই হয় নি। শুধু দামোদর পরিকল্পনা, ময়ূরাক্ষী plan করে দেশের সমস্যা সম্পূর্ণ সমাধান হবে না। তার দ্বারা কতকগুলি লোক মাত্র উপকৃত হতে পারে। কিন্তু বাংলা দেশের অধিকাংশ লোকের উন্নতি করতে হলে এই land-tenure system সমগ্রভাবে পরিবর্তন করতে হবে। সত্যিকারভাবে যদি জাতিকে উন্নত করতে হয় তাহলে জাতির মেরুদণ্ড যারা, এই চাষী, এই

গরিব দুঃখী—labourer বা মজুর, এদের মরা প্রাণে নূতন প্রাণ সঞ্চার করতে হবে। নূতন আশা দিতে হবে। কিন্তু সেটা হয় নি। Agricultureএর উন্নতির জন্য গ্রামে গ্রামে Co-operative Society গড়ে তোলা দরকার, কিন্তু তার কোন আভাস আমরা এখানে পাই না। তারপর দেখুন আমাদের Industry. দেশের Industryর সম্বন্ধে কোন definite programme এখানে নেই। কোথাও cottage industryর improve করার scheme এখানে দেখতে পাচ্ছি না। ১০ লক্ষ refugeeদের provide করবার কোন ব্যবস্থা করা হয় নি। তারপর জাতির গঠনমূলক কাজ যেমন শিক্ষা। শিক্ষাই জাতির মেরুদণ্ড। আজ বাংলা দেশের অধিকাংশ লোক অশিক্ষিত বলেই আজ দেশ স্বাধীন হওয়া সত্বেও জাতি সত্যিকার উন্নতির পথে যেতে পারছে না। সেই শিক্ষা—primary education সম্বন্ধেও তিনি একটি কথাও বলেন নাই। মহাত্মা গান্ধীর পরিকল্পিত Basic education, সে সম্বন্ধেও তিনি নীরব। তাই এই জনগণের মধ্যে যারা দেশের স্বাধীনতার জন্য লক্ষ লক্ষ দিয়েছেন প্রাণ বলি, জাতির জনক মহাত্মা গান্ধী দিয়েছেন আত্মবলি, এই বাজেটে তাদের মনে বিশেষ কোন আশা-আকাঙ্খা জাগাতে পারবে না।

তারপর refugeeদের সম্বন্ধে আমরা ভুলে যেতে পারি না। মুসলিম লীগের পক্ষ থেকে মি: জিন্না এবং বৃটিশ Government একদিন বলেছিলেন যে ভারতকে স্বাধীনতা দিলে মুসলমান সংখ্যালঘুদের স্বার্থ বিপন্ন হবে। কিন্তু সেদিন মহাত্মা গান্ধী জোর গলায় বলেছিলেন যে 3rd party না থাকলে উভয় সম্প্রদায়ের ভেদ অতি সত্বরই দূরীভূত হবে। মহাত্মা গান্ধী মানবতার সেবা করে সে আদর্শ দিয়েছিলেন। তাঁর শিষ্য পণ্ডিত নেহরু ও অন্যান্য নেতাগণ এখনও সেই মানবতার সেবার আদর্শ অনুযায়ী কাজ করে যাচ্ছেন। কিন্তু আজ পাকিস্থান বিশেষ করে পূর্ব্ববঙ্গে যে সমস্ত ঘটনা হচ্ছে তার আমরা তীব্র নিন্দা করছি। এবং এটা নিন্দা না করে কেউই পারে না। আমরা পূর্ব্ববঙ্গে যে সমস্ত অত্যাচারের কথা শুনছি তার যদি এক অংশও সত্য হয় তাহলে ঐ রাষ্ট্রের ধ্বংস হয়ে যাওয়া উচিত। এটা আমরা সকলেই জানি যে ভারতবর্ষ চিরদিন বুদ্ধদেবের আদর্শ, মানবতার সেবা ও প্রেম দিয়ে জয় করবার আদর্শ অনুসরণ করে আসছে। কিন্তু মানবতা রক্ষার জন্য প্রয়োজন হলে পাকিস্থানকে অস্ত্রবলেও জয় করতে হবে। তারপর কল্‌কাতায় যে ঘটনাগুলি হয়েছে তাতে প্রধানমন্ত্রী ডাক্তার বিধান চন্দ্র রায়, ডাক্তার প্রফুল্ল চন্দ্র ঘোষ, ডাক্তার সুরেশ চন্দ্র ব্যানার্জি ও অন্যান্য কংগেস, নেতারা সংখ্যালঘুদের প্রতি যেরূপ মানবতা দেখিয়েছেন এবং তাদের যে সেবা করেছেন তার জন্য আমরা কৃতজ্ঞ। কিন্তু আমাদের মনে রাখা দরকার, অন্যায় দিয়ে অন্যায়ের প্রতিবিধান করা যায় না। পাকিস্থানে সে সমস্ত অন্যায়ের কাজ হচ্ছে তার প্রতিরোধের জন্য আসুন আমরা হিন্দু মুসলমান সকলেই এবদ্ধ হয়ে ঐ অন্যায়ের বিরুদ্ধে দাঁড়াই। প্রয়োজন হ'লে ঐ সব অন্যায়ের প্রতিরোধকল্পে পাকিস্থানের বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধও করবো। কিন্তু আমাদের লক্ষ্য রাখতে হবে ঐ স্থানের অন্যায়ের জন্য এখানে নিরপরাধ ব্যক্তি যেন দণ্ডিত না হয়—তারা বিনা অপরাধে যেন উৎপীড়িত না হয়।

(At this stage the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I find there is no Minister present here. I wanted the Ministers to listen to my speech. If not the Finance Minister, I wanted at least the Minister who is deputising for him. The House was adjourned for fifteen minutes and we expected that they would come back refreshed.

The Hon'ble NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: Sir, I have been authorised to take notes for the Hon'ble Finance Minister.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, the Hon'ble Mr. Maiti will be taking notes. You please go on.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় ডেপুটি স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমি অত্যন্ত দুঃখিত যে অর্থসচিব মহাশয় বা তাঁর ডেপুটিকে অভিনন্দন জানাতে পারছি না। (A MEMBER FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: 'পারা উচিত।') আমি বলছি কয়েকটা কথা দয়া কোরে শুনুন। আমি বলছি পূজ্য শরৎবাবু লোকান্তর হতে না হতেই বাংলা দেশের পরম দুর্ভাগ্য যে কালই আবার স্বাধীনতার আরেকজন যোদ্ধা সাম্যবাদী নেতা হরেন ঘোষের মৃত্যু হয়েছে। তার চেয়ে বড় দুর্ভাগ্য আমি উভয় বঙ্গের কথা বলছি—ক'লকাতা, ঢাকা, খুলনা, বরিশাল ও চট্টগ্রাম প্রভৃতি স্থানে যে বর্বর ব্যাপার চলছে। আমার মনে হচ্ছে যে আমাদের পরম দুর্ভাগ্য যে বাজেটের এই রকম statement এখানে হাজির করা হয়েছে, যার ভিতর এমন বীজ নিহিত রয়েছে যে তার মধ্য থেকে এমন একটা বৃক্ষ উৎপাদন হবে যা যার কাছে খড় বা পিকিং হার মেনে যাবে।

মোটা মোটা বাজেটের দিকে দৃষ্টি করে দেখা যায় যে বেহারের যেখানে বাজেটে মাত্র ১ থেকে ৩ *per cent.* expenditure, বাংলা দেশে সেখানে ৯ *per cent.*। কেন বাংলাতে percentage এত বেশী এটা বোধ হয় অনেকে লক্ষ্য করেন নি। এ সম্বন্ধে economics দিক থেকে কি বলা হয়েছে তা বোঝা যায় না। বরং যারা ৪০০।৫০০ পায় সে জায়গায় 100 *per cent.* 200 *per cent.* মাইনে বাড়ানো হয়েছে। তাতে জনসাধারণের জন্য কি ব্যবস্থা হলো?

জমিদারী-প্রথা লোপের ব্যবস্থায় অন্যান্য প্রদেশ এগিয়ে গেছে, পাকিস্থানেও সেই রকম একটা বিল পাশ হয়েছে, কিন্তু আমাদের এখানে সে সম্বন্ধে কোন উচ্চবাচ্য নাই। এখানে বর্ত্তমানে জমিদারী-প্রথা লোপ ত দূরের কথা ঐ যে তেভাগা সম্বন্ধে যে একটা Ordinance করে তারপরে Act করা হলো সেটাকে পর্য্যন্ত কার্য্যে পরিণত করতে গেলে আমাদের কর্মীরা সব জেলে যায়। এই ত অবস্থা।

তারপরে খাদ্য, grow more food খাতে ২॥ কোটী থেকে ৩ কোটী টাকার বরাদ্দ দেখতে পাচ্ছি। এই পরিমাণ টাকা খরচ কোরে কি ব্যবস্থা হবে তার আমরা কিছু বুঝ্‌তে পারছি না। জমির মালিক যদি কৃষক না হয় তাহলে উপরের officer বাড়িয়ে বা scheme কোরে খাদ্য-সমস্যার সমাধান হবে না। একথা আজকে পরিষ্কার কোরে বলা উচিত, এবং এ সম্বন্ধে অনেকে বলেছেন। আড়াই বৎসরের অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে খাদ্য বাবদ আমাদের কতগুলি টাকা বিদেশে পাঠানো হয় সেটা বুঝা উচিত। এখনই কৃষককে যদি জমির মালিক না করা যায় তাহলে grow more food বলে অনবরত প্রচার কোরে বেড়ালেও খাদ্য বাড়বে না এবং আমেরিকা থেকে যে দেড়শ থেকে পৌনে দুশো কোটী টাকার খাদ্যশষ্য কিনে আন্‌তে হচ্ছে সেটা আন্‌তেই হবে। তারপরে ভূমিহীন কৃষকদের জন্য একটা minimum wageও ঠিক করা উচিত। দিল্লীর বড়কর্ত্তারা যদিও বা কিছু বলেন এখানকার কর্ত্তারা নাকে তেল দিয়ে ঘুমিয়ে থাকেন। (A MEMBER FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: সর্ষেই পাওয়া যায় না তাতে আবার নাকে তেল দেয় কি করে?) তারপর শ্রমিকদের সম্বন্ধে তাদের যে আইনটা করা রয়েছে তার বলেও লড়তে আমাদের যারা গিয়েছে তাদেরও গ্রেপ্তার করা হয়েছে। এই তো সেদিন বর্দ্ধমান থেকে ৯ জন লোককে বের করে দেয়া হয়েছে--যদিও তারা সেখানে আইন অনুসারে Union রেজেষ্টারী করে মালিকদের সঙ্গে লড়ছিল। শ্রমিক আইনে তাদের সঙ্গে না পেরে পুলিশের মারফৎ পরোক্ষভাবে তাদের বের কোরে দেওয়া হচ্ছে। এই ত শ্রমিকদের জন্য করা হচ্ছে দেখছি। শ্রমিকদের অন্য দিকে বলা হচ্ছে তোমরা কম খাট্‌ছ, বেশী করে খাট। গত বৎসরে প্রত্যেকে বলেছেন উৎপাদন বেড়েছে। আমাদের অর্থসচিব মহাশয় একজন ঝানু অর্থবিদ—তাঁর বোঝা উচিত ছিল যে ১৯৪৬ সালে উৎপাদন কমে গিয়েছিল, তারপরে ক্রমশ: বেড়েছে এবং সেটা তার অজানা থাকা উচিত নয়। শ্রমিকদের বলা হচ্ছে উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি কর, অথচ মালিকেরা যে strike করে রয়েছে, তারা যে শিল্পে টাকা invest কর্‌ছে না সেদিকে তিনি চুপ; তারা যদি অর্থ নিয়োগ না করে তাহলে কিছুতেই উৎপাদন বাড়তে পারে না। সে দিক দিয়ে না গিয়ে তিনি উল্টো পথ ধরে বলেছেন ধনিকদের income-tax কম করে ধরতে। সে কথা পরে বোলব।

এখন শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা ধরা যাক। শিক্ষা-ব্যবস্থার মধ্যে প্রাথমিক শিক্ষা ও প্রাপ্তবয়স্কদের সম্বন্ধে কোন স্কীম নাই। শিক্ষকদের সম্বন্ধে কোন ব্যবস্থা করা হয় নাই। যারা নাকি শিক্ষক তারা যদি ক্ষুধাতুর থাকে—অভুক্ত থাকে—তা'হলে কি কোরে তারা শিক্ষা দিতে মনোনিবেশ করবে? উপযুক্ত শিক্ষকের অভাবে আমাদের ভবিষ্যৎ বংশধরেরা কি কোরেই বা শিক্ষিত হবে?

তারপরে co-operative সম্বন্ধে গভর্ণমেন্টের policy কি সে সম্বন্ধে অর্থসচিব মহাশয়ের বক্তৃতায় উল্লেখ পর্য্যন্ত নাই। আমি বলেছি অর্থসচিব মহাশয়কে congratulate করতে পারছিনে। কিন্তু congratulate করতে গিয়ে কি বলেছেন—ডা: সুরেশ ব্যানার্জি, দেবেন সেন, খগেন বাবু আর কানাই দে। আমি অবশ্য Socialism সম্বন্ধেই কথা বলব এটা স্বাভাবিক এবং যদি সে দিক দিয়ে কথা বলি তাহলে আমরা হই ওঁদের কাছে বিশৃঙ্খলাত্মক, কিন্তু ডা: সুরেশ ব্যানার্জি বলেছেন রাম রাজত্বের কথা, দেবেন সেন বলেছেন classless societyর কথা, কানাই দে বলেছেন কৃষক-মজুর-প্রজা-রাজ। মহাত্মা গান্ধির নামও করেছেন তো। কিন্তু জয়পুর কংগ্রেসে যে প্রস্তাবটা পাশ হয়েছে তা প্রত্যেক কংগ্রেসী মন্ত্রীর উপর বাধ্যকর। অথচ অর্থসচিব মহাশয়ের যদি বিরুদ্ধে হয় তবে তাও বলার উপায় নেই। কিন্তু আজ একথা আমি অসংকোচে বলে দিচ্ছি এই capitalistদের দ্বারা কোন কাজই হবে না। যদি তাঁরা সত্যিকারের কংগ্রেসী হতেন তাহলে এই বাজেট speech লেখার আগে কি করে কৃষক-মজুর-প্রজা-রাজ হয় তার উপায় নির্দ্ধারণ করে speech দিতেন। অর্থসচিব মহাশয়ের উক্তি দেখে আমি অবাক হচ্ছি, আরো আশ্চর্য্যের বিষয় এই যে কি করে কংগ্রেসী

সভাপতি এই রকম একটা speech allow করবেন। (A MEMBER FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: আপনি অর্থনীতির কি বোঝেন?) বুঝি বা না বুঝি এরকম উদ্ধত্যের সঙ্গে কথা না বলেও এটুকু বলতে পারি যে socialism ত আসচেই কেউ রুখতে পারবে না, শ্রীযুত নলিনী সরকারও নয়ই। দুনিয়ার সাম্নে আজ সমাজবাদ আসবে কিনা সেটা সমস্যা নয়, কোন পথে আসবে সেইটাই সমস্যা। কাল প্রধান মন্ত্রী বলেছেন one of the big five is gone এখন যে big 4 সেই one of the big 4এর ক্ষমতায় কুলোবে না সেটাকে ঠেকাতে, বাংলার big 4 তো দূরের কথা দুনিয়ার যে big 4 রুজভেল্ট, (A MEMBER FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: সে তো কবে মরে গেছে।) চার্চিল, ষ্ট্যালিন, চিয়াংকাইশেক তাদের দিয়েও কুলোবে না। এই big 4 এর প্রধান একজনকে তাঁর দেশবাসী কত সম্মানই না যুদ্ধের সময় করলে, যুদ্ধ জেতার পরেই বল্লে "তোমাকে চাইনে, তুমি অর্থনীতি বোঝ না, তুমি ভাল বক্তা, ভাল লেখক, শক্তিশালী বাগ্মী, দেশকে তুমি বাঁচিয়েছ সত্য, কিন্তু তোমাকে আগে নিয়ে, যদি আজ চলি, তাহলে আমরা মরব। তুমি জাতির জন্য যা করেছ সেজন্য বরং নেলসনের যেমন মনুমেণ্ট করা হয়েছে তেমনি একটা মনুমেণ্ট করে দেব। কিন্তু অর্থনীতি সম্বন্ধে তোমার নীতি সমাজ বিরোধী।" এই বলে বিলেতের লোক চার্চিলের হাত থেকে ক্ষমতা কেড়ে নিলে। আমরাও আজ তাই বলতে চাই নলিনী সরকার মহাশয় অনেক কিছু করেছেন কিন্তু তার নীতি সমাজ-বিরোধী। তাঁর মন্ত্রিত্বের গদি আঁকড়ে থাকার ফলে কংগ্রেসের বহু-ঘোষিত শ্রেণীহীন গণতন্ত্র বা কৃষক-প্রজা-মজদুররাজ প্রতিষ্ঠার পথে বাধার সৃষ্টি হয়েছে। ফলে দেশের অগ্রগতিও রুদ্ধ হয়ে আসবে। আজকে যাঁরা এখানকার মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলে আছেন তাঁর মধ্যে আমি জানি যিনি আজ এখানে অর্থসচিবের ডেপুটি যখন প্রেসিডেন্সি জেলে তাঁর সঙ্গে একত্র বাস করতাম তখন তাঁর মুখে যে সব মতবাদের কথা শুনতাম, মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলের সদস্য হওয়ার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে সেসবের সঙ্গে তাঁর আর সম্পর্ক নাই। মন্ত্রি সভার অন্য সব সদস্যের কথা এখানে আজ কিছুটা অপ্রাসঙ্গিক, তাই অর্থসচিবের ডেপুটি বলেই তাঁর কথাটা উল্লেখ করলাম। এখানে অনেকেই চুপ করে বসে আছেন মধ্যে মধ্যে বা প্রতিবাদও করছেন কিন্তু আমি খোলাখুলি ভাবে বলতে চাই এই হাউসের সকলকেই যাতে অর্থসচিবের তথা বর্তমান মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর এই নীতি বন্ধ করে দিয়ে এর বিপরীত খাতে দেশকে চালানো যায় সেইটে আপনারা না করেন তাহলে বড়ই সঙ্কট উপস্থিত হবে। একশো বছর বা পঞ্চাশ বছর আগে অর্থ সচিবের এসব কথা হয়ত খাটতো কিন্তু বর্তমান দুনিয়ায় বিশেষ করে আজ এশিয়ায়—চীনে, বর্মায় এবং অন্যান্য জায়গায় আজ অধিকাংশ লোক সমাজবাদে বিশ্বাসী। কেউ আজ একথা বলতে ওঁর মত স্পর্দ্ধা করতে সাহসী হবে না, আর যারা সমাজবাদে বিশ্বাসী নয় এমন কি চার্চিলের আজ এ বিশ্বাস নাই যে nationalise করা উচিত নয়, সর্দার প্যাটেল বলেছেন nationalisation করা দরকার কিন্তু সেটার জন্য আমাদের skill নাই, সেকথাটা বোঝা যায়। কিন্তু যারা বলে সর্বনাশ। এটা করলে চলবে না পিতামহের আমলের যে theory সেই পচা theory যারা চায় they are not wanted; লোকে খেতে পরতে চায় তা না দিতে পেরে শুধু গালাগালি দিলে চলবে না।

এসব কতকগুলি পচা exploded theory আওড়াইলেই সমস্যা সমাধান হবে না। যেমন দেখা গেছে Russiaয় হয় নি, Chinaয় হয় নি, Burmaয় হয় নি, Indonesiaয় হয় নি। সকল জায়গায় ভবিষ্যৎ আজ কম্পমান হয়ে রয়েছে। দেশের প্রকৃত উন্নতি করতে হলে, আজ আমাদিগকে সমাজতন্ত্রবাদের রাস্তায় যেতে হবে। শুধু প্রশ্ন—এখানে সেটা কিভাবে হবে। কেহ হয়ত totalatarian পথে গেছে যেমন Moscow রাষ্ট্র। আর আমাদের দেশে মহাত্মা গান্ধী মনে করতেন সমাজতান্ত্রিক পথে দেশে Democratic Government কৃষক-প্রজা-শ্রমিকরাজ প্রতিষ্ঠিত করতে হবে। গান্ধীর নেতৃত্বে এই যে আন্দোলন এতে রক্তপাতের দরকার নেই। আর, চীনে যা হয়েছে, আমাদের তা প্রয়োজন হবে না। কিন্তু আমাদের Finance Minister তাঁর বক্তৃতায় যে মতবাদ ব্যক্ত করেছেন সেই পথে যদি বাংলা বা ভারতবর্ষ চলে, তবে আমার মনে হয় দেশের সমস্যা ত সমাধান হবেই না দেশে অশান্তি বেড়েই যাবে। তাতেই মনে হয় তিনি যেন ভারতবর্ষকে Moscowর রাস্তায় ঠেলে দিচ্ছেন।

তাঁর বক্তৃতার ৬০ পৃষ্ঠার মধ্যে প্রায় ৩০ পৃষ্ঠা তাঁর ঐ মতবাদ নিয়ে। আর প্রথম ৪ পৃষ্ঠার মধ্যে তিনি এত অবান্তর কথা বলেছেন, যে তার উত্তর দেওয়া ২০।২৫ মিনিটের কাজ নয়। তিনি প্রথমেই বলেছেন যে "I rise to present the Budget"....কিন্তু তিনি rise করেন নি বসেই বলেছেন শারীরিক অসুস্থতার জন্য। তাতে আমাদের বলবার কিছুই নেই। But he has sat tight over the finance of the country. তারপর কংগ্রেস গভর্ণমেণ্টের আদর্শ class-less society কৃষক প্রজা মজদুররাজ আমি ভেবে পাই না তিনি যে সব যুক্তি, argumentর অবতারণা করছেন তাতে দেশ কতটা তাঁর উদ্দেশ্য পথে এগিয়ে যাবে।

তারপর তিনি Commonwealthএর প্রশংসায় পঞ্চমুখ, তার সঙ্গে তিনি World federationএর কথাও বলেছেন, World Governmentএর কথাও বলতে পারতেন। কিন্তু এসব কথা আজ পুরাণো হয়ে গেছে। India Governmentএর কথাই তিনি আরও ভাল করে বলেছেন—economic advantage ইত্যাদি—কিন্তু Commonwealthএর মধ্যে থাকার জন্য এবং Devaluation গ্রহণ করায় আমাদের কি লাভ হয়েছে বা হবে বুঝি না। Englandএর সুবিধা আছে তার manufactured goods export tradeএর জন্য। কিন্তু তাদের লেজুড় হয়ে থাকায় আমাদের লোকসান। খাদ্য বিষয়ে আমাদের Americaর উপর নির্ভর করতে হয়। জানি না, আমাদের খাদ্যমন্ত্রী মহাশয়, কৃষিমন্ত্রী মহাশয় কবে আমাদের দেশকে খাদ্যবিষয়ে স্বাবলম্বী independent করতে পারবেন, কিন্তু স্বাধীনতা আসার ২॥০ বৎসর পরও কোটি কোটি টাকা ব্যয়ে খাদ্য আনতে হয়, কিনতে হয় এবং সেটা আনতে হয় America থেকে।

তারপর দেশকে এগিয়ে নিতে হলে দরকার দেশের industrial progress, সেই জন্য দরকার machinery যন্ত্রপাতি। দামোদর, ময়ূরাক্ষী পরিকল্পনাকে কার্যকরী করতে হলে যে যন্ত্রপাতি দরকার সে একমাত্র দিতে পারে America যার এই সব preject ছিল যেমন Tennessey Valley scheme, etc., এবং তাদের এসব রয়েছে। Englandএ তৈয়ারি করতে দিলে তারা ৪।৫ বৎসরেও তা দিতে পারবে না। সুতরাং খাদ্য ও যন্ত্রপাতি আমাদের আমেরিকা থেকে আনতে হবে। সুতরাং Devaluationএর ফলে আমাদের কিছুই লাভ হচ্ছে না, লোকসানই হচ্ছে। তার পর Sterling Balance। ইংলণ্ডের সঙ্গে গাঁটছড়া বাঁধায় আমাদের অসুবিধা ছাড়া সুবিধা কিছুই নেই। আমাদের দেশ industrially developed যদি হত এবং তার export trade যদি থাকত, তবে হয়ত কিছু সুবিধা হত কিন্তু বর্তমান অবস্থায় লোকসান ছাড়া লাভ কিছুই দেখছি না।

(At this stage the blue light was lit.)

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I wanted 20 minutes.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You have spoken for 20 minutes.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Please give me five minutes more.

তারপর এ শুধু নয় Devaluation ফলে পাকিস্থানের সঙ্গে সংঘর্ষ—ব্যবসা-বাণিজ্য বিপর্যয়। দেশের অনেক কারখানা আজ দুর্দশাগ্রস্ত হয়েছে। Aluminum industry প্রায় বন্ধ। Medicine ঔষধ যারা তৈয়ার করছে তাদের অনেকের কারবার বন্ধ হয়ে গেছে পাকিস্থানে চালান যায় না বলে। এ হল আর্থিক ক্ষতি। তারপর শারীরিক কষ্ট—যারা পূর্ব ও পশ্চিম বঙ্গে আসা যাওয়া করেন, যারা ভুক্তভোগী তারাই জানেন কি অসুবিধা কি দারুণ কষ্ট। এই সব passengerদের নূতন করে টিকিট কিনতে হয়, বেনাপোল, বনগাঁ, ও রাণাঘাট ষ্টেশনে। যাদের অভিজ্ঞতা আছে, তারাই জানেন কি ভীষণ অসুবিধার সৃষ্টি হয়েছে।

তারপর নূতন Constitution সম্বন্ধে বলা হয়েছে exemplary expedition। ঠাট্টা করা হয় নি ত। ২॥ বৎসর লেগেছে এই Constitution frame করতে।

তারপর refugee সম্বন্ধে আমি ২।১টা কথা বলতে চাই। Finance Miniteer মহাশয় সে সম্বন্ধে অতি সাদাসাদাই বলেছেন। এই সম্বন্ধে পরিষ্কার মন নিয়ে আলোচনা করা দরকার। এই refugee কারা? তারা দেশের জন্য অনেক কিছু ত্যাগ স্বীকার করেছেন। কিন্তু আজ তারা অবস্থা ও ভাগ্য বিপর্যয়ে তাদের যথাসর্বস্ব—ঘরবাড়ী, জমিজমা ছেড়ে চলে এসেছেন এবং অসহায় হয়ে ঘুরে বেড়াচ্ছেন। এদের জন্য সাধারণ পরিকল্পনার কথা শুনি। ভাল কথা, কিন্তু বর্তমানে যদি চেষ্টা হত, এদের প্রত্যেকের জন্য ৪।৫ কাঠা জমি requisition করার, তাহলে এরা নিজেরাই ঘর বাড়ী করে নিতে পারত। কিন্তু তা করা হচ্ছে না। আমার সময় নেই; এ বিষয়ে বিস্তৃত আলোচনা অন্য সময় করব।

পরিশেষে অত্যন্ত উদ্বেগের বিষয় আজ পূর্ববঙ্গের অবস্থা সম্বন্ধে যে সব report আসছে, তার যদি কিছুমাত্রও সত্য হয় তবে বলতে হবে সেখানে পূর্ণ অরাজকতা বিরাজ করছে। যে কোন civilised গভর্ণমেণ্টের পক্ষে এটা অত্যন্ত লজ্জাকর ব্যাপার। এই যে death, looting, arsonএর খবর আমরা পাচ্ছি, তাতে সকলেই আমরা অত্যাধিক বিচলিত হয়েছি। এর প্রতিবিধান আশু দরকার। তবে আমাদের মনে রাখতে হবে আমাদের এটা Secular State। এখানের কোন লোক যদি এখানে সম্মান বজায় রেখে চলতে না পারে যদি বাধ্য হয়ে অন্যত্র চলে যায়, সেটা আমাদের Stateএর পক্ষে খুব লজ্জার বিষয়। যদি কেহ নিহত হয়ে থাকে, কারও ঘরবাড়ী পুড়ে দিয়ে থাকে, দোকান পুড়ে দিয়ে থাকে তবে তার ক্ষতিপূরণ করতে আমাদের রাষ্ট্র

কথা। যদি বলা হয় পূর্ববঙ্গে যা হচ্ছে, তার ফলে এখন অশান্তি হতে বাধ্য। কিন্তু আমাদের Secular State। তার internal order বজায় রাখতেই হবে। পূর্ববঙ্গে যে অন্যায় সংঘটিত হচ্ছে, তার ব্যবস্থা গভর্ণমেণ্টের ভিতর দিয়ে করতে হবে। যুদ্ধ করা যেতে পারে বা অন্য কোন ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করা যেতে পারে। কিন্তু আমাদের এখানে তার প্রতিক্রিয়ার ফলে আইন শৃঙ্খলা ভঙ্গ না হয়, যাতে কোন নিরপরাধ ব্যক্তির কোনরূপ ক্ষতি না হয় সেদিকে আমাদের লক্ষ্য রাখতে হবে। সর্বনিরপেক্ষভাবে humanitarian point of viewতে আমাদের বিষয়টা চিন্তা করতে হবে। Secular Stateএর পক্ষে এখানেই তার moral justification.

SJ. SHYAMAPADA BHATTACHARYYA: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the financial statements of the Hon'ble Finance Minister no doubt has been characterised as a Capitalistic budget and as the present world has not as yet emerged out of the meshes of the capital, its impress has been left in that of West Bengal. A friend has asked for a third alternative, but he has not made any suggestion. Between Capital and Labour, a synthesis must be found out and Mahatma Gandhi was pointing out to this world a middle path. In his conception, the rich was not to be reduced to the level of the poor, but the poor and the rich should approach a common level. The idea of a totalitarian State was far from his mind. This should be our aim and we must strive wholeheartedly to gain this end. The Hon'ble Finance Minister has made a candid confession of the state of helplessness of Bengal's finances without any reservation. To him, it is the result of refusal of the Centre to implement the promises and assurances of help made from time to time by way of grants and loans. Moreover, he also was hoping to get a fair treatment in the matter of Deshmukh award. But his hopes were belied. Bengal has never been the pet child during the British days nor is it so in the new order and he ought not to have placed too much reliance upon the justness of Deshmukh decision. Bengal has always contributed towards the building up of others without getting any corresponding benefit. It is no use lamenting over what has been done or not done and truly he has pointed out "that in spite of the time which has been lost and the errors which have been committed, the opportunity for us to step into a future worthy of its past, is still within our grasp".

Placed in this predicament, the Hon'ble Finance Minister has tried to frame his budget, but in doing so, he has starved the Nation Building Departments. To cut our coat according to the cloth and to reduce the expenditure in the face of sudden withholding of grants, he was justified in curtailing the expenditure, but he should have applied the axe of retrenchment in proper quarters in reducing the establishment and other expenses, which are daily mounting up.

In the General Administration the expenses were Rs. 1,80,31,000. It was raised to Rs. 2,21,72,000 and this year it has further increased. In the Administration of Justice it was Rs. 86,97,000 in 1948-49, in the revised estimate it is Rs. 91,32,000 and this year it is Rs. 94,18,000. In Jails and Convict Settlements it was Rs. 65,12,000 in 1948-49, in 1949-50 it was Rs. 71,38,000 and in 1950-51 it is Rs. 91,00,000.

The Civil Supplies Department alone, which is responsible for spending 4 crores has not been touched, in spite of the fact that controls on cloth, kerosene, cement, etc., have been relaxed. While these departments are enjoying the benefits of the new set-up, while all the Directorates are thriving with the Deputies and Assistants and new Directorates are being created every year, departments such as Education, Health, Industries are not being given the attention they deserve. There was a provision of Rs. 1,96,80,000 for Education in 1948-49, the provision for 1949-50 was a crore more, but the whole of it could not be spent. This year a provision of Rs. 3,05,72,000 has been made, but this includes provision for National Cadet Corps and Cooch Behar. It is, however, gratifying to note that

primary school teachers have not been left out of account. Public Health has not enjoyed the same amount of attention as it ought to have. There is practically no difference between the budget for 1949-50 and 1950-51. The scheme of establishing health units all over the countryside still awaits fruition, in spite of the anxiety of the people to contribute their mite and rural water-supply is not being given serious consideration. It is a matter of some satisfaction to find that there are provisions for tractors and irrigation schemes and we shall be happy if these are seriously taken up.

Top priority should have been given to Communications and the Road programme, for without communication, no scheme of improvement of the villages can be successful. There has been practically no increase under this head.

The lower middle class looked forward to the advent of Independence with high hopes and they thought that their wants, their ills, will be wiped out. But although there has been some mention and references to this neglected strata of our society, no concrete plans have been suggested or any provision made for the amelioration of their condition. There ought to have been some more provision for cottage industries such as silk, bell-metals and handloom which could have solved the problems of this Section, but unless the incentive comes from the Government there is hardly any chance for their revival and sandwitched between Capital and Labour the lower middle classes are facing extermination; while Madras is reaping a rich harvest in the matter of handloom clothes, the handloom weavers of West Bengal are faced with a crisis.

The local bodies have also been neglected. Almost all the local bodies are financially hard hit and they can hardly meet the cost of establishment in these days of increase of wages. But they have not been given any substantial help. There ought to have been more provision for improvement of water supply and sewerage without which life in towns have become positively unhealthy. On the other hand the small pittance granted to District Boards from Motor Vehicles Tax has been completely cut off.

I am however glad to find that some provision has been made for the raising of a national militia—which is so much needed in these difficult times and let us hope that proper arrangements will be made for their training and for furnishing works for those who have already passed out. The people are groaning under the burden of taxation direct or indirect and the Sales tax which hit the poor most, has not as yet been lifted. People would have appreciated even a little reduction here and there and the mustard and mustard oil ought to have been exempted.

It is however some satisfaction to find that there is no proposal for new taxation measures, in spite of the financial stringency.

Our problems are numerous and manifold. To find out a solution we must stand by ourselves. Let us not put too much faith in the words or sympathies expressed by our neighbour as well as the Centre. The problem of this Problem Province will not be solved by anybody excepting ourselves. If we have confidence in us, if we stand united, we are sure to come out of the wood.

Bengal with all her sacrifices, her noble tradition, has a part, and an important part to play in the making of nations. Let us not merely criticise and be carried away by cheap slogans. Let us act for the living present, Heart within and God overhead.

SJ. UMESH CHANDRA MANDAL: মাননীয় ডেপুটি স্পীকার মহোদয় এবং উপস্থিত ভদ্র মহোদয়গণ ও মহিলাবৃন্দ—

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please address the Chair and not to bhadra mahoday and mahila brinda.

Sj UMESH CHANDRA MANDAL: মাননীয় ডেপুটি স্পীকার মহোদয়, স্যার, আমি এই পরিষদ-ভবনে একজন নবাগত ব্যক্তি, এই পরিষদভবনের শিষ্টাচার আমার জানা ছিল না, সেই জন্য আমি আপনার নিকট ক্ষমা প্রার্থনা করছি।

আমি এই বাজেট প্রস্তুতির জন্য প্রথমতঃ অর্থ-মন্ত্রী মহাশয়কে আমার আন্তরিক শ্রদ্ধা ও অভিনন্দন জ্ঞাপন করিতেছি। তিনি একজন ভারত-প্রসিদ্ধ অর্থনীতিবিদ। তাঁহার ভাষণে তিনি শুধু বাংলার অর্থনীতি আলোচনা করেন নাই, তথা ভারতের ও পাশ্চাত্য জগতের অর্থনীতির সঙ্গে বাংলার অর্থনীতির যে সংযোগ আছে তাহা তাঁহার ওজস্বিনী ভাষায় বিষদভাবে বর্ণনা করিয়াছেন। সমুদয় দোষ-ত্রুটি অপরের স্কন্ধে অর্পণ করিয়া বাংলার মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীকে নিষ্কলঙ্ক প্রতিপন্ন করিয়াছেন। বাংলার মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলের কোন দোষ বা ত্রুটী আছে কিনা তাহা আমি বলতে চাই না তবে যে সমস্ত সদস্য এখানে ছিলেন তাঁরা যে দোষী তাহা অস্বীকার করিবার উপায় নাই। জাতীয়-করণের কোন কাজ এই মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর দ্বারা করাইয়া লইতে পারেন নাই সেজন্য তাঁরাই দায়ী। মাননীয় অর্থ-মন্ত্রী মহোদয় সি, ডি, দেশমুখের কথা উল্লেখ করিয়া যে দোষ তাঁহার ঘাড়ে অর্পণ করিয়াছেন আমি তাঁহার সঙ্গে সুর মিলাইয়া বলিব বাস্তবিক পক্ষে সি, ডি, দেশমুখের দোষই বটে। তিনি বাংলার প্রতি কোন সুবিচার করেন নাই। ভাবী অর্থকমিশনের সদস্য মহোদয়ের সুবিচারের আশায় আমরা বসিয়া থাকিব।

আমরা বাজেটের প্রতি দৃষ্টিনিক্ষেপ করিলে দেখিতে পাই যে শিল্প জাতীয়করণ বা জাতীয়গঠন সম্পর্কে কোন নীতিই ধরা হয় নাই। ইহা একটা হতাশার কথা।

ঋষি বঙ্কিমের বন্দেমাতরম মন্ত্রে দীক্ষা লইয়া আমাদের নেতৃবৃন্দ কংগ্রেস প্রতিষ্ঠা করিয়াছেন এবং কংগ্রেসের উদ্দেশ্য ছিল ভারতমাতাকে বৃটিশের কবল হইতে উদ্ধার করা। বৃটিশের কবল হইতে মুক্ত হওয়ার পরেই জাতির জনক মহাত্মা ঘোষণা করিলেন, কংগ্রেস শ্রেণীহীন গণতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠা করিবে এবং শিল্প, ব্যবসা-বাণিজ্যসমূহের জাতীয়-করণ করা হইবে। এক পরিবারের সমস্ত স্ত্রী, পুরুষ, পণ্ডিত, মূর্খ নির্বিশেষে যেমন সমান অধিকারী হইয়া থাকে তেমনি ভারতমাতার আমরা সকল সন্তান এই ভারতের যাবতীয় সম্পদে সমান অধিকারী। যতদিন পর্য্যন্ত আমরা সেইভাবে ভারতের সকলে এক পরিবারভুক্ত বলিয়া মনে না করি ততদিন পর্য্যন্ত আমরা শ্রেণীহীন গণতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠা বা শিল্প, বাণিজ্য জাতীয়করণ করা অথবা ভারতের সম্পর্কে আমাদের সমান অধিকারের কথা পুস্তকে লিপিবদ্ধ থাকিবে মাত্র। অর্থ-মন্ত্রী মহাশয় তাঁহার ভাষণে উল্লেখ করেছেন যে, রিফিউজিদিগের সাহায্যকল্পে এ বছর দুই কোটী টাকা ধার্য্য করিয়াছেন। গত বছর এইরূপ একটা অঙ্ক ধরা হইয়াছিল এবং তাতে দেখা যায় যে মাত্র ১ লক্ষ ২০ হাজার রিফিউজি তাহার দ্বারা উপকৃত হইয়াছিল এবং এইভাবে যদি প্রতি বৎসর দুই কোটী টাকা ধার্য্য হয়, তবে মাত্র দুই লক্ষ রিফিউজির সংস্থান করতে পারব, কিন্তু আমাদের রিফিউজির সংখ্যা ১৪ লক্ষ। এইভাবে রিফিউজির সমস্যা সমাধান করলে চলবে না। আজ রিফিউজির সমস্যা সারা ভারতের তথা সকলের পক্ষে একটা গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ঘটনা। আমরা যদি এই রিফিউজির সমস্যা সমাধান না করতে পারি তাহলে বাংলাই শুধু নয় সারা ভারতের স্বাধীনতা বিপন্ন হবে, ইহাতে বিন্দুমাত্র সন্দেহ নাই।

আমি বলতে চাই যে, বাস্তবিক পক্ষে শিল্প, ব্যবসা-বাণিজ্য যদি জাতীয়করণ না করা হয় এবং রিফিউজির সংস্থান তার দ্বারা না হয়, তাহ'লে আমাদের পক্ষে রিফিউজির সমস্যা সমাধান করার আর কোন উপায় নাই।

এবার কুচবিহার সম্পর্কে দু-একটা কথা নিবেদন করিব। আমাদের কুচবিহার একটি ক্ষুদ্র রাজ্য ছিল। ৪৪০ বৎসর ধরিয়া বর্ত্তমান রাজবংশ কুচবিহার শাসন করিয়া আসিতেছিলেন। কুচবিহার বাংলা দেশের শিরোভূষণ হিমালয়ের পাদদেশে অবস্থিত। আমরা কুচবিহার রাজ্যে একরূপ সুখেই ছিলাম। আমাদের সব কিছু ছিল—Council, High Court, Judge's Court, Criminal Court, Collectory Court, Police, Military—সব আমাদের ছিল। তথাপি কুচবিহার বঙ্গভুক্ত হ'ল কেন। যখন কংগ্রেস ঘোষণা করল সারা ভারতে সাধারণতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠা করবে তখনই আমরা কংগ্রেসের সঙ্গে সুর মিলিয়ে বললাম যে আমরা রাজতন্ত্রের বিলোপ চাই। সেই জন্যই আজ কুচবিহার স্বেচ্ছায় বঙ্গভুক্ত হইয়াছে। কুচবিহারের বঙ্গভুক্তির আগে Central Governmentএর শাসনা-ধীনে যায় গত ১২ই September তারিখে। সেই সময় মহারাজা ও কেন্দ্রীয় গবর্ণমেণ্টের মধ্যে একটা পারস্পরিক চুক্তি সম্পাদিত হয়। উক্ত চুক্তিতে আমাদের কুচবিহারের যে সমস্ত রাজকর্মচারী আছে তাদের সম্পর্কে বলা হয়েছে

"The Government of India hereby guarantees either the continuance in services of the permanent members of the public services of Cooch Behar on conditions which will not be less advantageous than those on which they were serving before the date on which the administration of Cooch Behar is made over to the Government of India on the payment of reasonable

compensation." কিন্তু আমাদের অর্থসচিব মহাশয় তাঁর বাজেট অভিভাষণে বলেছেন যে "The employees of the former administration numbering close upon 3,000, who are continuing as servants of this Government, have been assured that subject to selection by suitable agency and to the requirement of the public service they will be finally absorbed into the service under Government of West Bengal." এই কথাতে আমাদের কুচবিহারের সকলেরই মনে মনে ত্রাসের ভাব সৃষ্টি হয়েছে। সকলেই বলছে যখন এই কুচবিহার রাজ্য কেন্দ্রীয় গবর্ণমেণ্টের অধীনে গিয়েছিল, তখন কেন্দ্রীয় গবর্ণমেণ্ট আমাদের চাকরী সম্পর্কে যে আশ্বাস দিয়েছিলেন তারপরে ১লা জানুয়ারী Dr. Roy'ও তাঁর অভিভাষণে সেই রকম উক্তিও কোরেছিলেন, কিন্তু আমাদের মাননীয় অর্থমন্ত্রী মহাশয় এই রকম কথা এখন কেন বলছেন? তাহলে সেখানকার শতকরা কত লোক চাকুরী হইতে বরখাস্ত হবে? মাননীয় অর্থমন্ত্রী মহাশয় এর জন্যে একটা কারণ দেখিয়েছেন, সেটা হচ্ছে কুচবিহারের বাজেটে deficit কিন্তু এই deficit প্রকৃত deficit নয়। তিনি বলেছেন Union Subject-এর আয় ব্যয় যদি আমরা ছেড়ে দিই তবে State Subject-এর ১৯৫০-৫১ সনের বাজেটে আয় ৪৩·৭৭ লক্ষ-ব্যয় হয়। ৬০·৬১ লক্ষ টাকা, সুতরাং ঘাটতি হয় ১৬ লক্ষ ৮৪ হাজার টাকা। কিন্তু এই যে আয়-ব্যয় দেখিয়েছেন এতে Dominion Subjects-এর আয় ব্যয় দেখান হয় নাই। Dominion Subjects-এর আয় আমাদের ৫৮ লক্ষ টাকা এবং ব্যয় প্রায় ৩৭ লক্ষ টাকা, এতে প্রায় ২১ লক্ষ টাকা আমাদের উদ্বৃত্ত আছে। দেশীয় রাজ্য অন্তর্ভুক্তি হওয়ার সময় Dominion Subjects-এর আয় Province-গুলিকে দেওয়া হবে বলে ভারতীয় State-ministry Department-এর আমাদের মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় জানাইয়া দিয়াছেন। সুতরাং এই প্রায় ২১ লক্ষ টাকা আর পশ্চিম বঙ্গ গবর্ণমেণ্টই আশা করি পাইবেন। তখন তাহলে কুচবিহারকে আর ঘাটতি জিলা বলা যায় না। অধিকন্তু কুচবিহারের শিক্ষাকর প্রভৃতি এই ধরণের অনেক কিছু কর আমাদের কোন আইন নাই। সমগ্র জেলায় education, বিশেষতঃ Rural primary Education Cess Act যদি প্রবর্তিত হয় তাহলে কুচ-বিহারের আয় সেদিক দিয়া বৃদ্ধি পাবে। সুতরাং এই সমস্ত দিক যদি বিবেচনা করা যায় তাহলে কুচবিহারের বাজেটে দেখা যাবে কখন ঘাটতি নাই। অথচ এই ঘাটতি উল্লেখ কোরে কিছু সংখ্যক কর্মচারী যদি সরকারী কর্ম হইতে বরখাস্ত হয় তাহলে সেটা বড়ই অন্যায় হইবে। প্রায় সমস্ত কর্মচারী State Congress-এর সঙ্গে কুচবিহারের বঙ্গভুক্তির দাবী সমর্থন কোরেছিল। সেইজন্য আমি নিবেদন কোরব Bengal Government যেন এই retrenchment সম্পর্কে বিবেচনা করে।

কুচবিহারে আমরা প্রায় ৭ লক্ষ লোক আছি, তার মধ্যে শতকরা ৫ জনের বেশী শিক্ষিত নই, বিশেষ কোরে backward ও সিডিউল কাস্টের লোক শতকরা প্রায় ৮৫ জন। আজ যদি কুচবিহারকে বাংলার জেলাগুলির সমপর্য্যায়ে আসতে হয় তাহলে কুচবিহারবাসীকে শিক্ষায়, দীক্ষায় তাদের সমান কোরে নিতে হবে। আশা করি পশ্চিম বঙ্গ গবর্ণমেণ্ট এই অনগ্রসর কুচবিহারকে শিক্ষিত করার জন্য একটা সুষ্ঠু পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করিবেন। আমাদের তৎকালীন সরকার একটা পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করিয়াছিলেন; তার ফলে ৫০০ প্রাইমারী স্কুল, ১০০ মধ্য ইংরাজী স্কুল State Institution করিয়া লওয়ার পরিকল্পনা ছিল।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Your time is up.

Sj. UMESH CHANDRA MANDAL : আমি আর পাঁচ মিনিট সময় চাই। এই স্কুলগুলির মধ্যে কতক-গুলি State স্কুল হইয়াছে। কতকগুলি grant-in-aid স্কুল আছে। তার মধ্যে State স্কুলগুলির dearness allowance নিয়ে শিক্ষকদের বেতন অন্যান্য West Bengal স্কুলগুলির সমান হইলে কুচবিহারের aided schoolগুলির শিক্ষকদের বেতনের দ্বিগুণ হইবে। অথচ aided স্কুলগুলির grant মাত্র 5 *per cent.* বার্য্য হওয়ার ফলে সেই সব স্কুলের শিক্ষকদের অত্যন্ত দুর্দশা হইবে। Primary স্কুলগুলি বেশীর ভাগই পাশাপাশি গ্রামে অবস্থিত, যদি এই রকমই চলে তাহলে সেই সমস্ত স্কুলগুলি ভেঙ্গে পড়তে পারে এবং আমাদের শিক্ষা পাওয়া অত্যন্ত কঠিন হয়ে উঠবে। তা ছাড়া আমাদের এই অনগ্রসর ৫টা subdivision-এর মধ্যে এক সদর ছাড়া আর কোথাও H. E. girl স্কুল নাই। আমি আশা করি আমাদের পশ্চিম বঙ্গ গবর্ণমেণ্ট প্রত্যেক sub-division-এ একটা কোরে girls' H. E. school প্রতিষ্ঠা করবেন।

কুচবিহারে ২০ হাজার refugee আছে। এই refugee-দের তৎকালীন গবর্ণমেণ্ট এক কপর্দকও সাহায্য করেননি। তারা দু বৎসর যাবৎ অর্দ্ধাশনে ও ছিন্নবস্ত্র পরিধান কোরে গাছতলায় বসে দিন কাটাচ্ছে। আশা করি আমাদের Relief মন্ত্রী মহাশয় এদিকে দৃষ্টিদান কোরে ঐসমস্ত refugee-দের গৃহ নির্মাণের জন্য টিন প্রভৃতি এবং কিছু প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিষের ব্যবস্থা করবেন।

Sj. ANNADA PRASAD MONDAL: মাননীয় ডেপুটি স্পীকার মহাশয়, আমাদের মাননীয় অর্থ সচিব মহাশয় বাজেটের যে বক্তৃতা দিয়েছেন, আজকে দেশের যে অবস্থা সে অবস্থায় এবং যে রকম রাজনৈতিক সমস্যা, সাম্প্রদায়িক ও সামাজিক আবহাওয়া রয়েছে, সে অবস্থায় তাঁর চেয়ে ভাল বাজেট আর কেউ দিতে পারতেন বলে আমার মনে হচ্ছে না।

Income-tax সম্বন্ধে আমার বিশেষ কোন অভিজ্ঞতা নাই। সুতরাং income-tax কমানর যুক্তি সার্থক কি অসার্থক সে সম্বন্ধে আমি কিছু বলতে পারব না। কিন্তু আমি এটা বলতে পারি আমাদের দেশ যেভাবে এগুবে, যেভাবে আমাদের সমাজে সাম্য প্রতিষ্ঠা করতে হবে, সে দিক দিয়ে দেখ্‌তে গেলে আমাদের বড়দের কাছ থেকে অধিকতর পরিমাণে tax নিয়ে ছোটদের বিতরণ করবার সময় এসেছে। আমার মনে হয় বৈপ্লবিক কার্য্য-পন্থা যদি এই ভাবে taxation দ্বারা না গ্রহণ করা যায়, তাহলে আজ জাতি যে রকম নিম্নস্তরে আছে তাতে তাদের রক্ষা করা যাবে না। অবশ্য আমি এ কথা বল্‌তে পারব না income-tax যা আছে তার চেয়ে কমিয়ে দিলে বেশী আয় হবে কিনা। এতে আমি অভিজ্ঞ নই তা আমি আগেই বলেছি। তবু এই সম্বন্ধে আমি বলতে পারি যে আজকে যে অবস্থা এসেছে সেটা বিবেচনা কোরে এখানে অনেক গঠনমূলক কার্য্যের ব্যবস্থা গভর্ণমেণ্টকে করতে হবে, এবং সেই সমস্ত গঠনমূলক কাজ কিভাবে এগিয়ে নিয়ে যেতে পারব সেইটাই সর্ব্বাগ্রে আমাদের বিবেচনা করতে হবে। আমার মনে হয় বাজেটে যদি এই রকম ব্যবস্থা থাকে যে সমস্ত দেশে চরকা বিতরণ করা হবে, তাহলেও মনে করি দেশের লোক চরকা গ্রহণ কোরে সুতা কাটবে না। মহাত্মা গান্ধী বলেছিলেন চরকা না নিলে আমাদের বস্ত্র সমস্যা দূর হবে না, কিন্তু আজ পর্য্যন্ত আমরা চরকা গ্রহণ করছি না। সেই জন্য চাই গঠনমূলক কাজ। তারপর জমিদারী-প্রথা লোপ করা যে বিশেষ দরকার কেউ তা অস্বীকার করতে পারে না। প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয় সে দিন বলেছেন জমিদারী-প্রথা লোপ করতেই হবে। এটা কংগ্রেসের নির্ব্বাচনী প্রতিশ্রুতিও ছিল সে প্রতিশ্রুতি অবশ্য পালন করতে হবে। কিন্তু সে ব্যবস্থা আজও হয়নি যে জমিদারী-প্রথা লোপ হবে। আমি জানি যে আমাদের কাছে একটা circular এসেছিলো co-operative basisএ সমস্ত জমি আবাদ করার জন্য। আমাদের দেশের লোকের opinion চাওয়া হয়েছিল তাতে দেশের লোক আপত্তি করেছিল। এখন সরকার যদি সমস্ত জমি দখল কোরে সমবায় প্রথায় চাষ করেন তাহলে কৃষক বিদ্রোহী হবে। আজকে জমির যদি কোন বিশেষ ব্যবস্থা না করা যায়, আর জমিদারী-প্রথা লোপ কোরে গভর্ণমেণ্টের খাজনা যেমন আছে সেইভাবে যদি আদায় করা হয়, তাহলে জমিদারের কর্ম্মচারীরা যেভাবে জমিদারীতে যে রকম অত্যাচার করেছেন গভর্ণমেণ্টের কর্ম্মচারীরা তার চেয়েও কম অত্যাচার করবেন বলে মনে হয় না।

তারপরে আমার বক্তব্য এই যে গঠনমূলক কাজই আমাদের দেশে এখন সব চেয়ে বেশী দরকার। এবং কুটীর-শিল্পের মূল্য বেশী দিতে হবে। গ্রামে গ্রামে কুটীর-শিল্পের পুনর্ব্বর্তন করতে হবে। কিন্তু বাধ্যতামূলক কুটীর-শিল্প গ্রহণের ব্যবস্থা করা যাবে না। কারণ আজকে আমাদের মধ্যে হতে কুটীর-শিল্পের মনোভাব চলে গিয়েছে, এখন আবার সেই মনোভাব নূতন কোরে তৈরী করতে হবে, জনসাধারণের মধ্যে। বৈপ্লবিক ভাব নিয়ে জনগণের মধ্যে প্রবেশ করতে হবে, তাদের বোঝাতে হবে দেশের মধ্যে কৃষক-প্রজা-মজুর রাজ প্রতিষ্ঠা করবার বীজ কোথায় নিহিত আছে। সেটা বোঝাতে হবে। কেবলমাত্র উত্তেজনা সৃষ্টি করলে চলবে না, ঐ কার্য্যে মারামারি ধরাধরি করলেও চলবে না। দেশে কোনরকম উপদ্রব সৃষ্টি কোরে গভর্ণমেণ্টকে বিব্রত করলে চলবে না, শান্ত আবহাওয়ার সৃষ্টি করতে হবে এবং তার মধ্যে গভর্ণমেণ্টকে বাধ্য করতে হবে এই সমস্ত পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করতে। মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলেছিলেন আপনাদের মধ্যে যত ছোট ছোট শিল্প আছে তাদের সংঘবদ্ধ করুন। ছোট ছোট শিল্পের যাতে উন্নতি করতে পারেন তার জন্য কাজ করে যান। কিন্তু দেখা যায় লোকের মধ্যে শীঘ্র সে উৎসাহ আস্‌তে পারে না কেন পারে না তার কারণ আছে। আমরা আজকে যে অবস্থায় এসেছি, বহুদিনের পরাধীনতার পর আমাদের যে স্বাধীনতা এসেছে, সে আজ মাত্র আড়াই বৎসর। এই আড়াই বৎসরের মধ্যে আমরা লোকের মধ্যে সে উৎসাহ সঞ্চার করতে পারি নাই। মাত্র আড়াই বছর আমাদের স্বাধীনতা এসেছে। আমরা অনেক দুঃখের ভিতর দিয়ে অগ্রসর হয়েছি। আমাদের লক্ষ্য ছিল কৃষক-মজদুররাজ অর্থনৈতিক ও সামাজিক সাম্য, কিন্তু সেই লক্ষ্য যদি আজ অবহেলিত হয় তবে বিদ্রোহী হয়ে যাবে সমস্ত দেশ।

Nationalisation of Industriesএর কথা অনেকে বলেছেন কিন্তু সমস্ত industries nationalise করার সময় এখনও আসেনি। ক্রমে ক্রমে industries nationalise করতে হবে। কিন্তু Central Government তা করছেন। প্রাদেশিক Government এটা যে করবেন না তা আমার মনে হয় না। আমি এই সম্বন্ধে বেশী বলতে চাই না। দুই-একটি কথা মাত্র বল্‌বো। Mr. Hasem আমাদের অনেক কথাই বলেছেন, যেমন, "If they continue to follow the present policy, West Bengal

would have to stand for years before the Centre with a beggar's bowl for the very existence of her people. The policy of the Centre was to nourish other parts of India at the cost of West Bengal" তিনি পশ্চিমবঙ্গের বন্ধুর মত থেকে Deshmukh awardএর নিন্দা করেছেন। কিন্তু আমার বলতে ইচ্ছা হচ্ছে, পশ্চিমবঙ্গকে কেন্দ্র হতে বিচ্ছিন্ন করে তিনি দেশের নিরাপত্তা নষ্ট করতে চাচ্ছেন কিনা। আমি বলব কেন্দ্রে যত বেশী ক্ষমতা হয় ততই ভাল। আর একটা কথা বলতে চাই তিনি বলেছেন Sovereign Bengal আমাদের লক্ষ্য হওয়া চাই। আমি বলছি Soverign Bengalএর নমুনা আমরা ১৯৪৬ সালের ১৬ই আগষ্ট দেখেছি। ১৬ই আগষ্ট এখানে-যে রকম বর্ব্বর আক্রমণ এবং বর্ব্বর সংগ্রাম চলেছিল সেটা পৃথিবীর ইতিহাসে নূতন। সেই বর্ব্বর সংগ্রামের প্রতিধ্বনী এখনও শোনা যাচ্ছে। স্বাধীন সরকার ভারত ও পাকিস্থানকে আমি বলতে চাই ভারত ও পাকিস্থানে যদি সংখ্যালঘুদের উপর অত্যাচার হয় তাতে আমাদের কাহারও কোন লাভ হবে না বরং খুব ক্ষতি হবে। পাকিস্থানে যে সব হিন্দু আছে তারা নির্য্যাতিত হবে যেমন হচ্ছে এবং এখানের নির্দ্দোষ মুসলমান তার ফলে নির্য্যাতিত হবে। এখানে পাকিস্থানের নির্য্যাতনের প্রতিক্রিয়া স্বরূপ নিরপরাধ মুসলমানের উপর অত্যাচার করা রাষ্ট্র বিরোধী কাজ হবে। যদি পাকিস্থান অন্যায় করে যায় এবং আমরা যদি সেটা সহ্য করতে পারি তবে পাকিস্থান বাধ্য হবে পৃথিবীর কাছে একটা moral এবং Legal জবাবদিহি দিতে। আমাদের এটা Secular State। এই রাষ্ট্রে মাইনোরিটির উপর অত্যাচার করা চলতে পারে না। মহাত্মা গান্ধীর আদর্শে যদি আমরা অহিংসার পথে চলি তাহলে তাতে আমাদের লাভই হবে বেশী এবং ক্ষতির মাত্রা হবে কম।

তারপর যাঁরা বল্ছেন যে সমস্ত পুলিশ খারাপ ব'লে সমস্ত পুলিশকে বিলোপ করে দিতে হবে তাঁরা ভুল বলেছেন। আমি মনে করি যে তাদের বিলোপ করা যায় না। আমি জানি পুলিশের মধ্যে অনেক অন্যায় আছে। পুলিশের মধ্যে ঘুস দেওয়ার অন্যায় কাজ হচ্ছে। পুলিসের মধ্যেও যেমন রয়েছে বাইরেও আমাদের মধ্যে অনেক অন্যায় রয়েছে। যেমন আমরা দেখতে পাই চোরাকারবারীর ব্যাপারে। চোরাকারবারীর ব্যাপারে শুধু Governmentএর কর্মচারীরা যে দোষী তা নয়, আমরা যদি ঘুস দেই আমরাও কম দোষী নই।

তারপর বলা হয়েছে ধানের দর বেশী ক'রে দিলেই দেশের ও কৃষকের মঙ্গল হবে কারণ ধান্য ব্যতীত অপর সমস্ত জিনিষের দর বেশী। আমি একথা স্বীকার করি না। অধিকাংশ দ্রব্যের দর নিশ্চয় আরও বেড়ে যাবে ধানের দর বেড়ে গেলে। যদি Government সমস্ত জিনিষের দর কমাতে চান তাহলে ধানের দর বাড়িয়ে দিলে আমাদের কোন লাভ হবে না এবং কৃষকদেরও এতে কোন মঙ্গল হবে বলে মনে করি না।

Sj. SATISH CHANDRA ROY SINGH SARKER : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, আপনার আদেশ আমি অমান্য করতে পরি না। কিন্তু ঘড়ির দিকে তাকিয়ে দেখ্ছি মোটে ৭ মিনিট বাকি আছে। আশা করি আজকে যদি আমার কথা শেষ করতে না পারি কালকে আমাকে আরো কিছু সময় দিতে হবে।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You go on; we shall sit late hours.

Sj. SATISH CHANDRA ROY SINGH SARKER : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, আজ প্রথম এই পরিষদ ভবনে এই বাজেট আলোচনায় কিছু বল্বার সুযোগ দিয়ে আমাকে আপনারা যে অনুগৃহীত করেছেন তার জন্য আমি ধন্যবাদ দিচ্ছি। এই বাজেট আলোচনা করবার পূর্ব্বে কুচবিহারের পক্ষ থেকে ব্যক্তিগত ও সমষ্টিগতভাবে আমার একটা কর্ত্তব্য আছে সেটা বাজেট আলোচনায় যোগদান করবার পূর্ব্বে আরম্ভ করতে চাই। কুচবিহার একটা ক্ষুদ্র দেশীয় রাজ্য। নানা কথা বিবেচনা করে তাকে আজ এই বৃহত্তর বাংলার সঙ্গে সংযোগ করে দেওয়া হয়েছে। এইভাবে আমাদের একটা সুযোগ-সুবিধা দেওয়া হয়েছে যাতে আমরা কুচবিহারকে উন্নত করতে পারি আমাদের আশা-আকাঙ্খা যাতে ফলবতী হতে পারে তার জন্য মহা সুযোগ আমাদের কাছে উপস্থিত। এই জন্য আমি State Ministryকে কুচবিহারের জনসাধারণের পক্ষ থেকে এবং নিজে ব্যক্তিগত-ভাবে আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ জানাই। প্রথমেই আমি বিশেষ করে বাংলার সরকারের কর্ত্তৃপক্ষকে ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি। তারা আমাদের শত দোষ, শত ত্রুটি, শত অভিযোগ থাকা সত্ত্বেও সাদরে তাঁদের কোলে আমাদের স্থান দিয়েছেন এই জন্য আমি তাদের ধন্যবাদ জানাই। বস্তুতঃ পক্ষে আজ বাংলার ভাগ্য ও কুচবিহারের ভাগ্য এক। কুচ-বিহারের উন্নতি করতে হলে isolated থেকে কোন উন্নতি হবে না। বৃহত্তর প্রদেশের মধ্যে সংযুক্ত থেকে আমরা নিজেদের উন্নতি করতে পারবো। বাংলার উন্নতি ও কুচবিহারের উন্নতি আজ ওতোপ্রোতভাবে জড়িত। আমি আশা করি এবং আমার দৃঢ় বিশ্বাস যাঁরা পশ্চিম বঙ্গের উন্নতিকামী তাঁরা মূক জনসাধারণের—dumb

millionsএর জন্য সর্বপ্রকার ব্যবস্থা করবেন। যাতে তারা সর্ব বিষয়ে উন্নত হতে পারে, তাদের standard of living বাড়াবার জন্য চেষ্টা করবেন এবং আশা করি তাঁরা কুচবিহারের সম্বন্ধেও চিন্তা করবেন। বাংলার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে কুচবিহারের উন্নতির চিন্তা তাদের কাম্য বলে তাঁরা যেন মনে রাখেন।

যাহোক আজ এই বাজেট পড়ে সঙ্গে সঙ্গে আমি দেখতে পাই আমাদের অর্থসচিব মহাশয় আমাদের সামনে তুলে ধরেছেন একখানি দর্পণ। যে দর্পণে আমরা বাংলার ভবিষ্যতের ছবিটা দেখতে পাই।

আমি আমাদের অর্থসচিব মহাশয়কে ধন্যবাদ দিতে চাই তিনি প্রথমেই বাংলার যে একটা background দিয়েছেন যে backgroundএর ভিতর দিয়ে সমস্ত বাংলাকে দর্শন করতে হবে। সেই background থেকে দেখা যায় যে বাংলা একটা problem province—a province which has got manifold and multifarious difficulties. এমনিভাবে তিনি সেটা শুনিয়েছেন যে বাস্তবিক সেই background যদি দেখি তাহলে আমাদের আর বাজেটের দিকে দৃষ্টি দেবার কোন প্রয়োজন হয় না। ভারতবর্ষ আজ সর্বপ্রকারে তার social, economic and political problems নিয়ে যেখানে এসে দাঁড়িয়েছে সেটা তিনি খুব ভাল করে দেখিয়েছেন। তিনি বলেছেন এই economic crisisএর মূলে আছে income-tax ও jute duty. Central Governmentএর কাছে আমরা যে প্রার্থনা নিয়ে হাত পেতেছিলাম সেটা সফল হয় নাই। এত কথার পর এই বাজেটে আমরা আর কি আশা করতে পারি। কিন্তু তা সত্ত্বেও যেভাবে বাজেট রচিত হয়েছে সেটা প্রশংসার যোগ্য যদিও তার দোষ আছে স্বীকার করি। তারপর এই বাজেটে দেখতে পাই what are the burning problems of Bengal—বাংলা কি চাচ্ছে, বাংলা কি চায় সেই জিনিষটা স্পষ্ট হয়ে উঠেছে এই বাজেটের ভিতর।

Independence declared হবার পর চাষী ভাইরা এসে আমাকে বলে বাবু, আমাদের দেশের ভাষায় দু-একটা কথা বলি আপনারা হাসবেন না, বাবু ভাত কাপড় না পাই। আমাদের পেটে ভাত নাই, পরণে কাপড় নাই এ কেমন স্বাধীনতা হল? কাজেই দেখা যাচ্ছে ভাত কাপড়ের কথা তাদের মনের মধ্যে জেগে উঠেছে। তারা ভেবেছিল, দেশ স্বাধীন হ'লে তারা দু-বেলা থেকে চার বেলা খেতে পাবে, একখানা কাপড়ের জায়গায় তারা চার খানা কাপড় পাবে। তাদের মনের মধ্যে এই রকম ধারণা রয়েছে। গরীব, চাষী, গাড়োয়ান যারা মজুরী করে খায়, তারা ভাব্ছে খেয়া ঘাটে মাঝি মাল্লা যারা পার করে দ্যায়, তাদের আর এখন পয়সা দিতে হবে না, জোতদার জমিদার তাদের আর খাজনা দিতে হবে না, ইত্যাদি এই ধরণের কথা তাদের প্রাণে জেগে উঠেছে। তারা বলছে এখন আর কোন ট্যাক্স দিতে হবে না, এখন আর এই সব লাগবে না। তাহলে বলুন আজ burning problem of the day কি? চাষী চায় কাপড়, তারা চায় ভাত, তারা চায় যাতে তাদের ট্যাক্স না দিতে হয়। এই ট্যাক্সের উপর এত তাদের অশ্রদ্ধা। সামান্য চৌকিদারী ট্যাক্স যা মাসে হয়ত দু-আনা, চার আনা, এও তারা আর সহ্য করতে পারছে না। তার জন্য তারা ট্যাক্স খাজনা সব মাফ চায়। ওরা বলে আপনারা মা বাপ, আপনারা ভাত কাপড় দিন। তাই এই কথা বলবো যে বাংলার burning problem কি, সেটা সব দিক দিয়েই দেখ্তে হবে। বাস্তবিক সেইভাবে বাজেটে আমরা কতখানি পেয়েছি, এটা দেখবার জিনিষ। আজ বাজেটের মধ্যে আর একটা জিনিষ আমাদের search করে, তালাস করে দেখতে হবে, find out করতে হবে, আমাদের living high করে তুলতে হবে, আমাদের standard of living বাড়াতে হবে। বর্তমান বাজেটের মধ্যে এই জিনিষটা আমরা পেয়েছি কিনা, তা দেখতে হবে। আর একটা problem হচ্ছে এই যে আমাদের স্বাধীন ভারতের যে Constitution গত আড়াই বছর ধরে বহু খেটে খুটে সমাপ্ত হয়েছে, যদিও অনেকে বলবেন স্বীকার করবেন যে Oppositionএর বহুলোক এর মধ্যে ছিলেন, যাঁরা কংগ্রেস দলভুক্ত নন, সেই জন্য কংগ্রেসের সমস্ত idealকে Constitutionএর মধ্যে তাঁরা ফুটিয়ে তুলতে পারেন নাই। Constitutionএর যে weakness আছে, সেটা আমি এখন বলবো না। সেটা যখন Indian Parliamentএর সকলে সেখানে এক বাক্যে স্বীকার করে নিয়েছেন, তখন সেটা আমাদের স্বীকার ক'রে নিতেই হবে। এর সঙ্গে আর একটা জিনিষও আমাদের দেখতে হবে সেটা হচ্ছে, This constitution has been based upon adult franchise। সেটা প্রাপ্তবয়স্কদের ভোটের উপর, একুশ বছরের ছেলে মেয়ে আরম্ভ করে যার অশীতিপর বৃদ্ধ পর্যান্ত সকলেই ভোট দিতে পারবে। আমাদের দেশে literacy যা spread করেছে, আমার মনে হয়, সেটা 15 *per cent.* এর বেশী spread করে নাই। আর বাকী ৮৫ জন এখনো অশিক্ষিত। এর জন্য আমরা ব্যবস্থা কি করছি? এই illiteracy অচিরে দূর করতে না পারলে আমাদের Legislation franchise ইত্যাদি এই সমস্ত জিনিষ চাষী ভাইদের কি করে বোঝাবো? শুধু Legislationএর ভেতর দিয়ে দেশের দুঃখ দূর করতে পারবো না। এই জিনিষটা তাদের কেমন ক'রে বোঝাবো যে তোমরা তোমাদের পছন্দমত লোক বাছাই করে ওখানে পাঠিয়ে দাও তাঁরা সেখানে গিয়ে তোমাদের

জন্য চেষ্টা করবে, এটা সত্যই জনুধাবন কথা। এই দিক দিয়ে বর্ত্তমান বাজেট কতদূর এগিয়ে গিয়েছে, সেটা দেখবার জিনিষ। কাজেই আমার মনে হয় এটাই আমাদের নিজস্ব problem। এর উপর আবার কাউ আছে। আমাদের দেশে তরীতরকারী কিনতে গেলে বলে একটা কাউ দাও। কিন্তু আমাদের বোঝার উপর শাকের আঁটী একটা আছে। বর্ত্তমানে যেসব problem আছে তার উপর আবার আর একটা প্রধান problem এসে দাঁড়িয়েছে, সেটা হচ্ছে refugee problem. That is increasing daily and daily by leaps and bounds. এমনভাবে বাড়ছে যে Central Government এর responsibility গ্রহণ করেছে। Central Government সমস্ত refugeeদের টাকা দেবার ব্যবস্থা করছে। এখন সেই Central Government পর্য্যন্ত আজ বিব্রত হয়ে পড়েছে। কাজেই এত বড় problemটা যা আমাদের বাংলার উপর এসে পড়েছে সেই problemটাও আমাদের দেখতে হবে। এত বড় problemএর উপর আর একটা problem এসে পড়েছে, যেটা সারা ভারতকেই বিব্রত করে ফেলেছে। এই যে problem পশ্চিম বাংলার এই problemকে অর্থসচিব মহাশয় একটা burning problem বলেছেন এজন্য তাঁকে আমাদের আন্তরিক শ্রদ্ধা জানাচ্ছি। এই problemএর কি করে solution হয় তার দিকটা আমাদের দেখতে হবে। যেটা economic দিক, জিনিষের বাজার নাই আজ, টাকা আসবার পথ নাই, তার সমস্ত পথ রুদ্ধ, communication রুদ্ধ, আজকে মাল পাঠান যাচ্ছে না। এখানে strike, সেখানে dead lock. কাজেই টাকা আসছে না। এই সবই অর্থমন্ত্রী মহাশয় দেখিয়েছেন। সর্বপ্রথম ও প্রধান problemই হচ্ছে refugee problem। যতদিন পর্য্যন্ত আমরা এই refugee সমস্যার সমাধান করতে না পারবো, আমরা আশা করি না, ততদিন অন্যান্য problemও আমরা সমাধান করতে পারবো। যতই জনসাধারণের মধ্যে dissatisfaction বাড়বে, ততই গভর্ণমেণ্টের উপর অনাস্থা ও অশ্রদ্ধা আসবে। কাজেই refugee যারা, তারা একটা গভর্ণমেণ্টের উপর বীতশ্রদ্ধ হয়ে, একটা প্রাদেশিক communal tensionএর ভেতর দিয়ে একটা ঘা খেয়ে এখানে এসে দেখছে। এখানেও তাদের কোন আশ্রয় নাই, জায়গা নাই, জমি নাই, আহার বিহারের স্থান নাই। এই রকম অবস্থায় লাখে লাখে refugeeর দল dissatisfi.d হয়ে থাকবে ও সেই dissatisfaction অন্য সকলের মধ্যেও ছড়িয়ে পড়বে। তারা বলবে তোমাদের গভর্ণমেণ্ট দুঃখীর দুঃখ দেখে না, তারা দেখে সুখীর সুখ, কেবল তেলো মাথায় তেল দেয়। এই প্রসঙ্গে একটা কথা আমার মনে হ'ল। গ্রাম্য লোকে আমায় জিজ্ঞাসা করেছিল, বাবু রাজনৈতিক আন্দোলন করলে নাকি জেলে দেয়? সেখানে নাকি আরও একটা সুবিধা আছে খাবারও দেয় এবং অন্যান্য খরচ খাবদ টাকা পয়সাও দেয়? জেলের ভেতর তাদের daily allowance দেয়, family maintenance ও অন্যান্য amenities, facilities তাদের দেওয়া হয়। এই যে সুখসুবিধা আছে যা কম্যুনিষ্টরা জেলে গিয়ে পায়, তারা অশিক্ষিতদের ভেতর এ কথা ছড়িয়ে দেয়। তারা বলে তোমরা এখানে যা রোজগার করতে পারো না, জেলে গেলে এর চেয়ে আরও বেশী পাবে। এই ধরণের "ঘুষ" দিয়ে সেই নিরীহ অশিক্ষিত লোকদের তারা নিজেদের দলভুক্ত করে নেয়। এটা আমাদের অবশ্যই check করতে হবে। তা করতে হ'লে এই refugeeদিগকে শান্ত রাখতে হবে। যাতে তারা সুষ্ঠুভাবে তাদের সংসারযাত্রা নির্বাহ করতে পারে, তার ব্যবস্থা আমাদের সমস্ত পরিকল্পনা দিয়ে করতে হবে।

আর একটা কথা এই যে tension, communal discord এই জিনিষটা যতক্ষণ দেশে আছে, যতক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত না দেশে শান্তি স্থাপিত হচ্ছে, ততক্ষণ আমাদের নিস্তার নাই। এই anti-social activity দমন করবার জন্য extra police, extra C. I. D., extra I. B. নিয়োগ করা হয়েছে। বাজেটে দেখতে পাই তার জন্য কত লক্ষ টাকা অতিরিক্ত বরাদ্দ করা হচ্ছে। কাজেই আমাদের টাকা কোথা দিয়ে বেরিয়ে যাচ্ছে, সেটা আপনারা লক্ষ্য রাখবেন। Undivided Bengalএ যে টাকা খরচ হ'ত, এখন তার চেয়েও বেশী খরচ হচ্ছে। আমরা কি সকলে তাহলে anti-social—

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Your time is over. I have allowed you more than 23 minutes.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, it is his maiden speech. So let him be allowed a few minutes more.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: All right, Mr. Sarker, you please go on.

Sj. SATISH CHANDRA ROY SINGH SARKER: I shall try to finish as quickly as possible.

এই যে anti-social element এটা কথায় বললে তবু হবে না। আমাদের দেশশুদ্ধ সকলেই কি গভর্ণমেণ্ট বিরোধী? সকলেই কি কম্যুনিষ্ট, সকলেই কি anti-social element যার জন্য আমাদের গভর্ণমেণ্টকে প্রত্যেকের পিছে পিছে একটা করে spy লাগিয়ে দিতে হবে? এই জিনিষটা আমাদের নিজেদের কলঙ্ক, এটা আমাদের জাতীয় কলঙ্ক, এটা সমাজের কলঙ্ক, এটা দেশের কলঙ্ক, এই কলঙ্ক আমাদের দূর করতে হবে। আমাদের চিন্তা করতে হবে আমরা চেয়েছিলাম কি? আমরা চেয়েছিলাম সুখ, আমরা চেয়েছিলাম শান্তি, আমরা চেয়েছিলাম ছেলেমেয়েদের মানুষ করবার অধিকার। ইংরেজকে তাড়িয়ে দিয়ে আমরা নিজেরা কাটাকাটি, মারামারি করবো, আমরা নিজেরা কামড়াকামড়ি করবো, আমরা capitalist labourএ ঝগড়া করবো, deadlock করবো—এটা কখনও দুনিয়ার রীতি হতে পারে না।

আমাদের চিন্তা করতে হবে আমরা কি চেয়েছিলাম। আমরা চেয়েছিলাম সুখ, চেয়েছিলাম শান্তি, আমরা চেয়েছিলাম আমাদের ছেলেপিলেদের মানুষ করবার অধিকার। ইংরেজকে তাড়িয়ে দিয়ে আমরা নিজেরা মারামারি, কাটাকাটি করবো। সামান্য একটা কিছু নিয়ে নিজেরা কামড়াকামড়ি করবো, এটা দুনিয়ার কোন জাতির লক্ষ্য হতে পারে না। We have achieved this independence not as a gift but we have earned this independence and to defend this independence is a thing which is more troublesome. কাজেই independence যে আমরা অর্জন করেছি সেটাকে দৃঢ় করতে হবে, stabilise করতে হবে, এবং সেটা করতে হলে in co-operation with the Government করতে হবে। Anti-propaganda, anti-activity দিয়ে দেশের উন্নতি, দেশের সুখ শান্তি কখনো হয় না। History will say the truth in the other way. আমাদের এই স্বাধীনতা তিন বৎসরও হয় নাই। আমাদের Constitution ২৬১২৬শে জানুয়ারী তারিখে প্রবর্তিত হয়েছে, এর পর থেকে আমরা যে independence enjoy করব যদি ভিতরে ভিতরে প্রত্যেক সম্প্রদায়ে সম্প্রদায়ে, শ্রেণীতে শ্রেণীতে বিবাদ করে, এই স্বাধীনতা কায়েম না করতে পারি, একে যদি stabilise না করতে পারি তাহলে জগৎ হাসবে, জগৎ আমাদের কলঙ্ক দেবে, আর বলবে বাংলার লোক স্বাধীনতা রক্ষা করতে পারে নি। বাঙ্গালী নিজেদের ভিতর মিত্রভাবে মিলিত হয়ে কোনও কাজ করতে পারে না।

কাজেই আমি বলব এই যে refugee problem এটাও Governmentএর সঙ্গে co-operationএ কাজ করে এটার সমাধান করতে হবে। নৈলে বিচ্ছিন্নভাবে সমুদ্রে জল ঢালার মতন কাজ যদি করতে হয় তদ্দ্বারা কি হবে। আমাদের জমি অনেক পতিত আছে। কৃষকেরা অনেক জমি ফেলে রাখে। তাদের ফেলে রাখা প্রত্যেকটা plotএ এই যে আমাদের সব গৃহহারা ভাই তাদের জায়গা করে দিতে হবে।

কিন্তু এই বাস্তুহারাদের পুনর্বসতির কাজটাও আমাদের অহিংসার ভিতর দিয়েই করতে হবে। আমরা যদি হিংসার ভিতর দিয়ে সমস্যাটার সমাধানে অগ্রসর হই, যদি আমরা হিংসার ভিতর পা দিই তাহলে আরও নতুন সমস্যা দেখা দেবে। Every action has got its reaction. হিংসা দিয়ে যেটা করব সেটা react করবেই করবে। কাজেই হিংসার ভিতর দিয়ে কোন জিনিষের সমাধান করা চলে না। মৈত্রীর ভিতর দিয়ে স্নেহের ভিতর দিয়ে কাজ করতে হবে এই হল দুনিয়ার রীতি। আমরা সকলেই মনে করি যে দশের জন্য এখানে ছুটে এসেছি, তাই যদি হয় তাহলে বলব প্রত্যেক মেম্বার even the Speaker মহোদয় নিজ নিজ বাড়ীতে এক একজন refugeeকে স্থান দান করুন।

(The member reached the time limit.)

Sj. SATISH CHANDRA ROY SINGH SARKER: I am sorry I could not finish my speech and I will ask your permission to continue it to-morrow.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am sorry I cannot allow you to do so because there are other speakers who are to speak today and we are hard pressed for time.

Sj. SATISH CHANDRA ROY SINGH SARKER: But I have not as yet touched on the main points.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am helpless. You have already spoken for 30 minutes and I am under the painful necessity of not allowing you any more time.

Sj. SATISH CHANDRA ROY SINGH SARKER: I will finish it tomorrow in 10 minutes time if no more time could be allowed today.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I cannot allow you to continue to-morrow There are still two more speakers for today. I can now allow you 5 minutes more within which you will please finish your speech.

Sj. SATISH CHANDRA ROY SINGH SARKER: I had an idea to continue to-morrow but I am sorry I am not allowed to do so. However within the 5 minutes allowed I will try to finish my speech.

একটা জিনিষ বাজেটের মধ্যে আমরা দেখছি যে the budget must be based upon sound principles but what is that principle here? I had searched for it in vain in this budget. Neither is it based upon *per capita* on the population basis nor is it based upon the percentage of the receipts and expenditure.

বাজেটের মধ্যে—Education (শিক্ষা), sanitation, agriculture আর গ্রামের উন্নয়ন এই ৪টি জিনিষমাত্র আমি এখানে আলোচনায় প্রাধান্য দিতে চাই। কিন্তু আমার যখন আর বেশী সময় নাই সংক্ষেপেই বলব—যে টাকাটা আমাদের Educationএর বাবদ বাজেটে ধরা হয়েছে—তাতে আমরা মাথাপিছু ১।৬ বেশী পাব না। এতে কি education হবে? আবার Medicalএর দিক দিয়ে যদি দেখেন তাহলে আরো কম পড়ে। তার পরে Agriculture and grow more foodএর দিক দিয়ে যদি দেখতে চান, তাহলে দেখবেন—সেটার আরো মজা আছে। তাতে দেখানো হয়েছে যে আমরা এত টাকা এই বাবদ ব্যয় করি, আর সঙ্গে সঙ্গে দেখানো হয়েছে যে এত টাকা Agriculture বিভাগ থেকে আয় হয়। এই রীতিটি ইংরেজ আমল থেকেই চলে আসছে। কাজেই ঐ যে ধরণ ওটা আমার মনে হয় ঠিক নয়। আমাদের একটা জিনিষ হচ্ছে—We can set apart an allotment for our nation-building activities and then we can spend the balance for any other purposes that the Cabinet may desire. যা হোক একটা কথা শেষে বলতে চাই—সকল জিনিষের মূল ভিত্তি—আমার বন্ধুবর যে বলেছেন সেটা হচ্ছে education. এই educationএর উপরই বেশী জোর দিতে হবে। Compulsory educationএর কথা বহু বৎসর ধরে আলোচনা হচ্ছে এবং এটা এখন প্রায় axiomatic truthএর মতন হয়েছে, অথচ তার জন্য যে খরচ ধরা হয়েছে—সেটা too small.

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

Sir, one minute more. I will only say a few words for our Northern Bengal and nothing else.

আর আমার সময় নেই, বসবার আগে আমি এই দাবি জানাচ্ছি যে সেস্ নিয়ে যে education দেওয়া হচ্ছে কিন্তু এখনো সেটা compulsory education হয়নি। আমি এই দাবী জানাচ্ছি যে educationটা যেন compulsory করা হয়, এর জন্য কৃষক-মজুর টাকা দেবে, মধ্যবিত্ত লোকদেরও টাকা দিতে হবে। Compulsory educationএর জন্য যদি further taxation করা হয়, তাতেও আমরা রাজি কিন্তু "On that condition that the taxation that we should pay must be spent for education only and for no other purpose". কিন্তু education ছাড়া এ দেশকে big করবার আর কোন উপায় নাই। কাজেই compulsory educationএর যাতে প্রচলন হয় তার জন্য চেষ্টা যেন করা হয়।

Sj. KANAILAL DASS: মাননীয় ডেপুটি স্পীকার—মাননীয় অর্থসচিব মহাশয় ১৯৫০-৫১ সালের যে budget পেশ করিয়াছেন তাহা সময় উপযোগী হইয়াছে। যেমন আয় তার তেমন ব্যয়ের ব্যবস্থা হইয়াছে।

বর্তমান পশ্চিম বাঙ্গলা সমস্যাবহুল প্রদেশ, সমাজবিরোধী, দেশবিরোধীদের কার্য্যকলাপ, communal trouble এবং Partitionএর দরুণ বিরাট refugee সমস্যা আজ দেখা দিয়াছে। এই সব সমস্যার দিকে লক্ষ্য রেখে আমাদের প্রবীণ অর্থসচিব মহাশয় যে বাজেট পেশ করিয়াছেন তাহা ঠিক হইয়াছে। আয় এবং ব্যয়ের হিসাব মাননীয় সদস্যদের সামনে রহিয়াছে। ১৯৪৯-৫০ সালের আনুমানিক আয় ব্যয়ের হিসাব এবং revised estimate সম্বন্ধে আলোচনা করিলে দেখা যায় যে আনুমানিক ব্যয় অপেক্ষা বেশী আয় হইয়াছে। প্রায় ১ কোটি ১১ লক্ষ টাকা বেশী হইয়াছে। ১৯৪৯-৫০ সালের বাজেটে ১ কোটি ১০ লক্ষ টাকা ঘাটতি অনুমান করা হইয়াছিল, কিন্তু প্রকৃত পক্ষে ১৯৪৯-৫০ সালে আয় বেশী হওয়ার দরুণ ১ কোটি ৪৭ লক্ষ টাকা উদ্বৃত্ত হইয়াছে।

Customs, tax on income other than Corporation tax, Provincial Excise, Stamps, Forest, Registration, ইত্যাদি খাতে বেশী আয় হইয়াছে, তেমনি অন্যান্য খাতে কিছু পরিমাণ আয় কম হইয়াছে। মোটামুটিভাবে আয় ১ কোটি ৪৭ লক্ষ টাকা বেশী হইয়াছে।

১৯৫০-৫১ সালে আয় অনুমান করা হইয়াছে ৩৩ কোটি ৮৯ লক্ষ টাকা, এবং ব্যয় করা হইবে ৩৫ কোটি ২২ লক্ষ টাকা,—প্রায় ১ কোটি ৩৩ লক্ষ টাকা ঘাটতি হইবে। মূলধন খাতে ১৪ কোটি ৯১ লক্ষ টাকা ব্যয় দেখান হইয়াছে।

Damodar Projectএর জন্য ৪ কোটি ৬১ লক্ষ টাকা, ময়ূরাক্ষী পরিকল্পনার জন্য ২ কোটি টাকা, Road developmentএর জন্য ২ কোটি ৫৩ লক্ষ টাকা, Kanchrapara পরিকল্পনার জন্য ৭৫ লক্ষ টাকা, এবং food supply এর জন্য ১ কোটি ৬০ লক্ষ টাকা ব্যবস্থা করা হইয়াছে।

Revised budgetএ দেখান হইয়াছে ১ কোটি ৪৭ লক্ষ টাকা উদ্বৃত্ত হইয়াছে; কিন্তু অন্যান্য খাতে ৮ কোটি ১২ লক্ষ টাকা ঘাটতি হইয়াছে। ঐ ঘাটতি Reserved fundএ যে ১০ কোটি ১৯ লক্ষ টাকা আছে তাহা হইতে লইয়া ৩ কোটি ৫৪ লক্ষ টাকা থাকিবে।

নূতন বৎসরে Revenue খাতে ১ কোটি ৩৩ লক্ষ টাকা এবং অন্য খাতে ৪ কোটি ২৭ লক্ষ টাকা ঘাটতি হইবে, সুতরাং opening balance হইতে বাদ দিলে ঘাটতির পরিমাণ হয় ২ কোটি ৬ লক্ষ টাকা। তবে আনন্দের কথা এই যে ঘাটতির জন্য নূতন কোন tax ধার্য্য হইবে না, এবং গভর্ণমেণ্ট ব্যয় সংক্ষেপ করে ঐ ঘাটতি পূরণের চেষ্টা করিবেন। প্রবীণ ও বিচক্ষণ অর্থ-মন্ত্রীর উপর আমাদের আস্থা আছে এবং আশা করি ১৯৫০-৫১ সালের আর্থিক অসুবিধা তিনি ধীরে ধীরে দূর করিতে পারিবেন। পশ্চিম বঙ্গের প্রধান সমস্যা খাদ্য-সমস্যা। তাহাও কিছু পরিমাণ দূর করিতে সক্ষম হইয়াছে। গত বৎসরে ২৪ হাজার একর বেশী ভূমিতে চাষ করা হইয়াছে এবং ঐরূপে বেশী ফসলও পাওয়া গিয়াছে।

পাটশুল্ক এবং আয়কর বাবদ পশ্চিমবঙ্গের যাহা পাওয়া উচিত ছিল, তাহা পায় নাই। তাহা সত্ত্বেও জন-কল্যাণের জন্য ব্যবস্থা যতদূর সম্ভব Provincial revenue হইতে করা হইয়াছে। অনেক কাজ করা উচিত ছিল। অনেক কাজ করা হয় নাই এবং অনেক কাজের জন্য এই নূতন বাজেটে ব্যবস্থা করা হইয়াছে।

মাননীয় Deputy Speaker মহোদয়, আমি আর ২।১টী কথা বলে আমার বক্তৃতা শেষ করব। Scheduled Casteর education সম্পর্কে—সেখানে দেখতে পাই যে মাত্র ১১ লক্ষ টাকা ধরা হয়েছে। বিহার ও অন্যান্য প্রদেশে অনেক বেশী বরাদ্দ হয়েছে—বিহারে ১৮ লক্ষ টাকা। প্রায়ই দেখা যায় Scheduled Caste বাংলাদেশে যাহারা সাধারণতঃ নিম্নবর্ণ হিন্দু—বাউড়ি, বাগদী, ডোম প্রভৃতি—তারা শিক্ষা বিষয়ে খুবই অনগ্রসর। এই সামান্য টাকায় তাদের শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা বেশী দূর অগ্রসর হতে পারবে না। এটা খুবই কম ধরা হয়েছে। এদের যদি সত্যিকার education দিতে হয় তবে বাজেটের এই অঙ্কটা আরও কিছু বাড়ান দরকার।

তার পর Public Health সম্বন্ধে—Rural water supply খাতে ১৯৪৯-৫০ সালে এক লক্ষ টাকা ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছিল। কিন্তু এবারও ৯০ হাজার টাকা ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে। এই Public Health খাতের বরাদ্দ দেখে মনে হয় যেন পুকুরে এক ঘটি জল দেবার ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে। তবুও যাহা এখনও দেওয়া হয়েছে তাতে দেখা যায় এর থেকে Scheduled Casteর বাড়ীতে tube-well দেবার ব্যবস্থা করা হয় নাই। একটা-দুটো জোর হয়েছে। এই যে টাকাগুলি বছর বছর ব্যয় হচ্ছে তবুও Scheduled Casteদের বাড়ীতে tube-well দেবার ব্যবস্থা নাই। আশা করি মন্ত্রী মহোদয় এদিকে একটু দৃষ্টি দিবেন যাতে তারা tube-well পায়, তার জন্য কিছু টাকা reserve রাখা উচিত। তারপর এই tube-well management সম্বন্ধে যে dual arrangement আছে তাতে অনেক গোলমাল হয়, কার কাছে approach করতে হবে, কার হাতে কি ক্ষমতা অনেক সময় তা নিয়ে গোলযোগ হয়। এই গোলমেলে ব্যবস্থার অবসান করা উচিত।

আর একটা বিষয়, relief and rehabilitation সম্বন্ধে। এ সম্বন্ধে অনেকেই বক্তৃতা দিয়েছেন—অনেক কিছুই বলেছেন। আমি বেশী কিছু বলব না—বলতে চাই—যে টাকাটা দেওয়া হয়েছে, সেটা যথেষ্ট নয়। এবং এ বছর যেমন এ বিষয়ে বাজেটে একটা আলাদা খাত করা হয়েছে—Scheduled Casteর জন্যও তেমনি আর একটা separate head—Scheduled Caste welfare বলে করা উচিত। কারণ দেখুন এই Schedule Casteরা অত্যন্ত গরীব, গ্রামে এরা জীর্ণ কুটিরে, খালি, পায়ে, খালি গায়ে, কোমরে

একটা ছেঁড়া ন্যাকড়া জড়িয়ে বাস করে। দিনের পর দিন এরা পরিশ্রম করে যায়, বাংলার মাটিতে ফসল ফলায়। অথচ এরাই শীতকালে গায়ে দেবার মত কোন বস্ত্র পায় না। এদের জন্য বিশেষ সাহায্য দরকার। তাই অনুরোধ আর একটা separate head এদের জন্য খোলা হোক।

মাননীয় Deputy Speaker মহোদয়, আমার বক্তব্য শেষ হয়েছে। পশ্চিমবঙ্গের প্রাণস্বরূপ যে দামোদর পরিকল্পনা, ময়ূরাক্ষী পরিকল্পনা, Irrigation, Road development, Education এবং Medical aid বাবদ প্রচুর ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে। এক কথায় পশ্চিম বাংলার বাজেট যেরূপ হওয়া দরকার সেরূপ হয়েছে। আমি ঈশ্বরের নিকট প্রার্থনা করি আমাদের প্রবীণ ও বিচক্ষণ অর্থসচিব মহাশয় সম্পূর্ণ নীরোগ হন এবং সুস্থ শরীরে ও সবল মনে বাংলার অর্থ বিভাগ পরিচালনা করুন।

Sj. NISHAPATI MAJHI : মাননীয় ডেপুটী স্পীকার মহাশয়, অর্থ বিভাগের মাননীয় মন্ত্রী-মহোদয় দেশ বিদেশের অবস্থা এবং পশ্চিম বাংলার রাজনৈতিক ও অর্থনৈতিক দুরবস্থার মধ্যে নানা বাধাবিঘ্ন অতিক্রম করে যে বাজেট উপস্থিত করেছেন তার সমালোচনায় অনেক সদস্যই তাঁকে অভিনন্দন জ্ঞাপন করেছেন। কিন্তু ধন্যবাদ প্রসঙ্গে যেসব কথা উল্লেখ করেছেন তাতে উদ্বাস্তু সমস্যায় আকুল হয়ে মিঃ হাসিম কতকগুলি পথ নির্দ্দেশ করেছেন। কিন্তু তিনি বোধ হয় জানেন পশ্চিম বাংলায় সংখ্যালঘুদের সুখ, শান্তি ও আনন্দের কোন বাধা নেই। এই প্রদেশে মুসলমান, হরিজনগণ এবং আদিবাসিগণ যেরূপ মিলন ও আত্ম-উন্নয়ন কাজে লিপ্ত হবার সুযোগ পেয়েছে ভারত ডোমিনিয়নের তুলনায় অন্য ডোমিনিয়ন যদি সেরূপ কাজে লিপ্ত হতেন তাহলে পশ্চিম বাংলার পারিপার্শ্বিক অবস্থা এত চঞ্চল হতো না। মিঃ হাসিম একটি মূল্যবান প্রস্তাব করেছেন—"পূর্ববঙ্গ হতে পশ্চিমবঙ্গে আগত অথবা পশ্চিমবঙ্গ হতে পূর্ববঙ্গে—উদ্বাস্তুরা যাহাতে উভয় দেশে সম্মানের সঙ্গে বাস করতে পারে তার যথোচিত ব্যবস্থা উভয় বঙ্গের গভর্ণমেণ্ট যেন করেন।"

পশ্চিম বাংলার গভর্ণমেণ্ট নিজের মাতা ভগ্নীর ন্যায় সংখ্যালঘু স্ত্রীজাতিদের সম্মান রক্ষা করে চলেছেন। স্বাধীনতা লাভের পর কোন গ্রামে, কোন সহরে কেউ তাদের গাত্র স্পর্শ করেছে বলে কোন কথা কেউ বলতে পারবে না। কিন্তু এ কথা কি আজ পূর্ব বাংলার দিকে তাকিয়ে বলতে পারা যায়? সেখানকার স্ত্রীজাতি শুধু চঞ্চল হয়ে উঠেছে বললেই যথেষ্ট হয় না, সংবাদ পত্রের শতাংশের এক অংশও যদি সত্য হয় তাহলে এরূপ পাষণ্ড আচরণ একবাক্যে নিন্দনীয়। তপশীল জাতির বিষয়েও আমি যে সংবাদ পেয়েছি তাতে তপশীল জাতির অসহায় অবস্থার কথা বার বার স্মরণ করছি। তপশীলরা সর্ব্বত্রই অর্থহারা। পথের খরচের অভাবে তারা সব কিছু অত্যাচার নীরবে সহ্য করছে। তাদের দুরবস্থার দিকে উভয় ডোমিনিয়নের নেতৃবৃন্দের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Majhi, you will continue your speech to-morrow.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7-40 p.m. till 3-30 p.m. on Friday, the 24th February, 1950, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Friday, 24th February, 1950, at 3-30 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 11 Hon'ble Ministers and 55 members.

STARRED QUESTION

(to which oral answer was given)

Requisition of private houses after 15th August, 1947

***43. Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Land and Land Revenue Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of private houses that have been requisitioned after 15th August, 1947—

(*A*) in the Province—

(1) by the Government of West Bengal, and

(2) by the Central Government through the Government of West Bengal, and

(*B*) in the town of Calcutta—

(1) by the Government of West Bengal, and

(2) by the Central Government through the Government of West Bengal;

(*ii*) the purpose for which the houses have been requisitioned;

(*iii*) the number of business institutions of manufacturing concerns that have been dislodged from their normal activities as a result of such requisition;

(*iv*) the number of owners that have put in objections to such requisition; and

(*v*) the number of owners—

(*A*) whose objections have been accepted and the requisition dropped, and

(*B*) whose objections have not been accepted?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government have any scheme of building their own houses with a view to release the requisitioned houses particularly those whose owners are not willing to let them out to Government?

(*c*) if the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the time by which the derequisition is expected to be completed?

MINISTER in charge of the LAND and LAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra Sinha): (*a*)(*i*)(*A*)(1) 2,475.

(2) 36.

(*B*)(1) 1,442.

(2) 27.

(*ii*) For providing accommodation to Government offices, public institutions and stranded persons—Government employees and others, including refugees—the finding of accommodation for whom is considered to be in the public interest.

(*iii*) Nil.

(*iv*) 1,842.

(*v*)(*A*) 1,443.

(*B*) 399.

(*b*) Government have building schemes which are under execution but they do not propose at present to release the requisitioned houses which are surplus to the requirement of owners. As the houses are requisitioned the question of the owners' willingness to let them out does not arise.

(*c*) Does not arise in view of answer to (*b*) above.

General Discussion of the Budget.

Sj. NISHAPATI MAJHI: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহাশয়, কাল আমি পশ্চিম বাংলার গভর্ণমেণ্ট সংখ্যালঘুদের নিজের মাতা, ভগ্নী ও ভ্রাতার ন্যায় সম্মান রক্ষা করে চলেছেন একথা উল্লেখ করেছিলাম এবং এখানকার আদর্শ গ্রহণ করবার বিষয় বলেছিলাম। আমার কথা--ভারত ইউনিয়নের মহামান্য প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয় পূর্ব্ব বঙ্গের বর্ত্তমান পরিস্থিতিতে উদ্বেগ প্রকাশ করে কালই বলেছেন--বাংলার সমস্যাকে আজ সর্ব্বাগ্রে স্থান দিতে হবে। লৌহ যবনিকার অন্তরালে পূর্ব্ব বাংলায় যে সব ঘটনা ঘটেছে বা ঘটছে তা' উপেক্ষার বিষয় নয়। তিনি সংবাদ পত্রের নিকট কৃতজ্ঞতা প্রকাশ করেছেন এবং সঠিক সংবাদ দেবার জন্য পাকিস্থান সরকারের নিকট দাবী জানিয়েছেন। তিনি বলেছেন পূর্ব্ব বাংলায় যা ঘটেছে তা কলিকাতায় বা পশ্চিম বাংলায় দু'একটি স্থানের ঘটনা অপেক্ষা অনেক বেশী ভয়াবহ। উভয়ের মধ্যে তুলনাই চলতে পারে না। তিনি আরও বলেছেন, পশ্চিম বাংলার মাননীয় প্রধান মন্ত্রী যেরূপ কঠোর ও দ্রুত হাঙ্গামা দমন করেছেন তজ্জন্য আমি কৃতজ্ঞতা প্রকাশ করছি।

এজন্য বলতে হয় কৃতজ্ঞতার নিদর্শন স্বরূপ মাননীয় মুসলিম সদস্য বন্ধুদের বাজেটের সাধারণ আলোচনায় পশ্চিম বাংলার সরকারকে, ভারত ইউনিয়নকে ধন্যবাদ জ্ঞাপনই যথেষ্ট নয়। সরকারী খুটিনাটি কার্য্যের সমালোচনা করে ব্যক্তির অপেক্ষা সমষ্টির কল্যাণের জন্য তাঁদের এবং অন্যান্য সদস্য মহাশয়দের তৎপর সচেষ্ট হতে হয়েছে। কেননা অপকর্মের তুলনায় সুকর্মের আয়োজন এই প্রদেশে বহুদিন যাবত বিশেষ কিছু কার্য্যকরী হয়নি। এজন্যই আজ মানুষে মানুষে অমিলন ও অর্থনৈতিক দুরবস্থা। সে দুরবস্থার জন্য জাতীয় সরকার দায়ী নয়। জনাব আবদুল ওয়াহেদ সরকারের অভিমত এক মন ধানে ৯৲ টাকা খরচ হয়। কিন্তু সরকারের নিয়ন্ত্রিত দর ৭।। টাকা। এতে চাষী ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হচ্ছে। তাছাড়া ডি, পি, এজেণ্ট সাড়ে সাত টাকায় ধান কিনে সরকারী গুদামে যে ধান পৌঁছিয়ে দেয় সে ধান রাইস মিল মালিকদের ৮৸০ আট টাকা বারো আনায় কিনতে হয়। তিনি একজন অধিক জমির মালিক এবং রাইস মিলেরও মালিক। তিনি নিজের এবং মালিকদের স্বার্থটাই বড় করে দেখেছেন। আজ তাই তাঁকে প্রশ্ন করি, দেশের স্বাধীনতা লাভের পর ব্যক্তিগত স্বার্থ, মালিকানা স্বার্থ বড়, না সমষ্টির স্বার্থ তথা কৃষক, মজুর ও দরিদ্র মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণীর স্বার্থ শ্রেষ্ঠ? অবশ্য তিনি একদিকে নিজেদের স্বার্থের কথা বলেছেন, অপর দিকে পল্লীর জন্য কপট অশ্রুপাত করে পল্লীর উন্নতির জন্য বাজেটে অর্থ বরাদ্দ হয়নি বলে গভীর আক্ষেপ করেছেন।

পশ্চিম বাংলায় আড়াই কোটি লোক, তার মধ্যে লাঙ্গলচাষী, ভাগচাষী, ঠিকাচাষী, মজুরচাষী প্রভৃতির সংখ্যা ১ কোটি ১৭ লক্ষ। মোট জমির পরিমান ৩ কোটি ৬০ লক্ষ বিঘা মাথা পিছু চাষের জমির পরিমাণ প্রায় ৩ বিঘারও কম। কিন্তু তিনি যাদের কথা বলেছেন তাদের জমির পরিমাণ ৫০ বিঘা হতে হাজার বিঘার অধিক। এইরূপ অধিক পরিমান জমির মালিক হওয়ায় জমি বণ্টনই এই প্রদেশে কৃষি উন্নতির প্রধান কাজ। অথচ বাংলায় ভূমি রাজস্ব কমিশন এবং মি: এম, কে, এলমাহাট বহুবিধ প্রস্তাব এই প্রদেশের জন্য প্রদান করেছেন। কিন্তু জমির মালিক জমিদার নিজেদের স্বার্থ সামান্য ক্ষুন্ন হবে বলে জমি জায়গা তো দূরের কথা, সামান্য ফসলের পরিমান অধিক দিতেও অধিকাংশই নারাজ। তবুও দেখা যাচ্ছে, যে ফসল লাঙ্গলচাষী ও মজুর কঠোর পরিশ্রম করে অর্জ্জন করে তাতে তাদের বছর কুলায় না। অথচ অধিক জমির মালিক নানা প্রকারে সরকারের নিকট ফসলের অধিক মূল্য দাবী করছেন। তাঁরাই সুযোগ পেলে সরকারী নিয়ন্ত্রিত ৭।। টাকা মূল্যে ধান ক্রয় না করে আরো অল্প মূল্যে ধান চাষীর নিকট কেনেন। অথবা ওজনে, হিসাবে ঠকিয়ে লাভের অঙ্ক বৃদ্ধি করেন। নিজেরাই অথবা তাঁদের অনুগত ব্যক্তিরা ডি, পি, এজেন্ট ও ধানচাল ক্রয়কারীর লাইসেন্স গ্রহণ করেন। আবার তাঁরাই সরকারকে প্রশ্ন করেন, কেন ৭।। টাকায় ধান কিনে সেই ধান ৮৸ টাকায় বিক্রী করা হয়। তিনি কাল্পনিক হিসাব রচনা করে পরিষদে বলেছেন--১ মন ধান তৈরী করতে ৯৲ টাকা খরচ হয় কিন্তু ৭।। টাকায় পাওয়া যায়।

এই দেশে ১ কোটি ১৭ লক্ষ জনের মধ্যে শতকরা ৩ জন কৃষকও নগদ মজুরী দিয়ে কৃষিকাজ করেন না। কারণ মজুর মজুরী দিয়ে সময় মতো জলসেচ, জলনিকাশ, ফসল রোপন, বপন, ছেদন ও ফসল রক্ষার সুষ্ঠু ব্যবস্থা হয় না। তাছাড়া অধিক লাভের আশায় এদেশের জমিদার ও অধিক জমির মালিকগণ আইনের বেড়াজালে ভাগচাষী,

[illegible]চাষী, মজুরচাষী শ্রেণী স্বজন করেছেন। দশশালা বন্দোবস্তের পর হতেই এইরূপ ভূমিদান প্রথা প্রবর্তন হওয়ায় যারা ডাঙ্গা, ডহর, খাল, বিলে জমি তৈরী করেছিল তারা জমির মালিক হতে পারেনি। বাকী খাজনার দায়ে এবং দায় বিপদের সুযোগে প্রকৃত জমির মালিকের কাছ হতে কৌশলী ব্যক্তিরা জমি জায়গা অপহরণ করেছেন। অবশ্য কোন কোন সদাশয় জমিদার এবং কৃষিদরদী ব্যক্তি তখনকার দিনে জলাশয়, বাগান, রাস্তাঘাট, গোচর মাঠের জন্য যথাসর্বস্ব দান করেছেন। তাঁরা গ্রামের পঞ্চায়েত কমিটির দ্বারা প্রকৃত কৃষক মজুরের স্বার্থকে রক্ষার জন্য ন্যায় বিচারেরও ভিত্তি স্থাপন করেছিলেন। কিন্তু আজ দেখা যায়, সেই সমস্ত কৃষিদরদী ব্যক্তির কোন কোন সন্তানেরা নতুন ধাঁচে নতুন করে প্রকৃত কৃষকদের বঞ্চিত করে নিজেদের সুখ ও স্বাচ্ছন্দ্যের দিকে ঝুঁকে পড়েছেন। বাজেটের সাধারণ আলোচনায় এই জন্য ভূমিরাজস্বের আয়ের দিকটা সম্বন্ধে তিনি কোনরূপ উচ্চবাচ্য করেননি।

আজ তাই তাঁকে জানানো উচিত, কংগ্রেস ভূমিদাস প্রথা উচ্ছেদের জন্য শুধু নির্বাচনী ইস্তাহার প্রচার করেই ক্ষান্ত হন নাই, সত্বর কার্যকারী ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বনের জন্যও অগ্রসর হয়েছেন। এতে মাত্র এই প্রদেশে ভূমিরাজস্বের খাতে ২ কোটি ৬ লক্ষ টাকা সরকারী আয় হবে না, আরো বহু কোটি টাকা আয় বাড়বে এবং প্রকৃত লাঙ্গলধারীর হাতে জমি পড়লে জমির রক্ষণাবেক্ষণ ও উৎকর্ষ বৃদ্ধি হবে। অনিক জমির মালিকের জমির উর্বরা শক্তি নষ্ট হয়েছে। সেচ ব্যবস্থা ও জল নিকাশের আয়োজন পঙ্গু হয়েছে। তাছাড়া কম খরচে, কম পরিশ্রমে জমির মালিকরা অধিক লাভের আশা করায় ফসলের পরিমাণও বছরে বছরে কমে গিয়েছে। অসমতল ভূমিগুলি এবং টুকরা টুকরা জমিগুলিতে যৌথ উপায়ে চাষ করা সম্ভবপর হচ্ছে না। অথচ আমাদের দেশে যৌথ উপায়ে কৃষি-কাজে জলসেচ, সার প্রয়োগ, বীজরক্ষা, ফসল তোলা, ঝাড়া ও ক্রয় বিক্রয় ইত্যাদি, যাবতীয় কাজ একদিন ভাল ভাবেই চলত। মধ্যস্বত্ব ভোগীদের দ্বারা এই কাজের সর্বনাশ সাধন করা হয়েছে। তাঁদের নিজেদের লাভটাই তাঁরা বড় করে দেখেছেন ফলে আজ বিহারের সাঁওতাল, উড়িষ্যার কৃষিমজুর এবং অন্যান্য অঞ্চলের অধিবাসীগণের সঙ্গে তাঁদের সে আত্মীয়তা নেই। একদিন অখণ্ড বাংলায় যারা কৃষকদের অস্পৃশ্য ছিল কিন্তু তারাই ছিল যোদ্ধা এবং কৃষিশিল্পের কর্ণধার। তাদের সংখ্যা আজ হ্রাস পেয়েছে। এই প্রদেশে মাহিষ্য, উগ্র ক্ষত্রিয়, সদ্‌গোপ এবং নবশাখ জাতিরা কৃষিক্ষেত্রের কর্ণধার হয়ে অতি কষ্টে কৃষিকাজকে সচল করে রেখেছেন। মুসলমান ও আদিবাসী হরিজনদের মধ্যে অধিকাংশই ভূমিহীন। কৃষকদের মধ্যে এদের সংখ্যা খুব বেশী। এদের ভূমির উপর অধিকার দিলে এরা আরো অধিক সময় কৃষিকার্যে নিযুক্ত হতে পারবে এবং এই প্রদেশে ধান ব্যতীত গম, কলাই, তৈলবীজ প্রভৃতি উৎপাদনের জন্য প্রকৃতপক্ষে কৃষকরাই অধিকদিন কাজে লিপ্ত থাকবে। বাজেটের আয়ের দিকে রয়েছে জুট ডিউটি ১ কোটি ৫ লক্ষ, নিকৃষ্ট অন্য ইনকাম ৪ কোটি ৩৯ লক্ষ। আমার মতে এইরূপ সামান্য আয়কর দ্বারা এ প্রদেশের জাতিগঠন কাজের ব্যয় বহন হতে পারে না। এই ট্যাক্স বৃদ্ধি করবার উদ্দেশ্যে যদি মাননীয় অর্থসচিব মহাশয় কোন বিল নতুন প্রবর্তন করেন, তাহলে এদেশের আর্থিক অনটনের অজুহাতে দরিদ্র জনসাধারণের কল্যাণ কাজ পঙ্গু হবে না। দরিদ্র ও মধ্যবিত্ত পরিবার নামে অধিক জমির মালিক এবং কলকারখানার মালিক এবং বড় বড় জমিদার জাতিগঠন কাজে অর্থ দিয়ে বর্তমানে কোন সাহায্য করছেন না বললেই চলে। কারণ তাঁরা অনেকেই মনে করছেন, তাঁদেরই পরিবারভুক্ত মন্ত্রী ও বড় বড় অফিসারগণ যখন রাষ্ট্রের সর্বময় কর্তা হয়েছেন তখন ব্যয়ের চেয়ে আয়ের দিকটাই নূতন করে গড়ে নেওয়া সহজ। এজন্যই এগ্রিকালচার ইনকাম ট্যাক্স মাত্র ৫৯ লক্ষ ৪০ হাজার টাকা, মোটর ট্যাক্স ৪৭ লক্ষ, অন্যান্য ট্যাক্স এবং ডিউটিজ যৎসামান্য, কিন্তু সেল্‌স্‌ ট্যাক্সের পরিমাণ ৪ কোটি টাকা এবং প্রাদেশিক আবগারী ট্যাক্স ৫ কোটি ৮৭ লক্ষ টাকা; তার মধ্যে পচাই, তাড়ি প্রভৃতি কর আদায় হয় প্রায় তিন কোটি টাকা। অর্থাৎ ভালভাবে বিবেচনা করলে দেখা যায় ৭ কোটি টাকা গরীবের কাছ থেকে আদায় হয়। আমি তাই প্রস্তাব করছি, এই ৭ কোটি টাকা থেকে যদি গরীবকে অব্যাহতি দেওয়া সম্ভব না হয় তাহলে এর তুলনায় অবস্থাপন্ন পরিবারের নিকট হতে রাষ্ট্রের বর্তমান দুর্দিনে নূতন ট্যাক্স আদায়ের পথ যেন শীঘ্র অবলম্বন করা হয়। গরীব চাষী এবং মজুর একটাকা উপার্জন করে প্রায় দশ আনা খাদ্য দ্রব্য ক্রয় করতে বাধ্য হয়। সেই মজুরের মুখের অন্ন অপহরণ করবার জন্য চালের দর বাড়াবার কথা খাদ্য চাষী সঙ্ঘের কর্ণধার ডাঃ ঘোষ উল্লেখ করেন নি। তিনি এবং আরও অন্যান্য কৃষকদরদী বন্ধু চালের দর না বাড়িয়ে ধানের দর বাড়ান যায় কি না একথা ভালভাবে বিবেচনা করতে বলেছেন। যানবাহন খরচ, গুদাম ভাড়া, কমিশন, ব্যাগ, ঝড়তিপড়তির খরচ হ্রাস করে পশ্চিম বঙ্গ সরকার বিশেষভাবে বিবেচনা করে দেখেছেন যে দেড়মণ ধানের দাম ৭॥ টাকা হিসাবে ১১৲ টাকা ৪ আনা; মিলিং চার্জ ১। আনা, কমিশন, গাড়ী-ভাড়া ও গুদাম ভাড়া ২। আনা, রেল গাড়ী ভাড়া।৵ আনা, বস্তা ৮ আনা, ঝড়তি-পড়তি ইত্যাদি।৵ আনা—মোট ১৬৵০ আনা। কিন্তু ধানচাল শুধু এই প্রদেশ হতেই [illegible] করা হয় না, বিদেশ হতেও কিনে আনতে হয়। ২৭॥৵ হতে ২৯৲ টাকা এই

চালের গড়পড়তা দর। কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের সাহায্য বাদ দিয়েও ১৬৵ দরে তা বিক্রি করা যায় না। এ ক্ষেত্রে বাইরের আমদানীর লোকসান এবং প্রদেশের ক্রয় কার্য্যের সামান্য লাভের দ্বারা সারা বছরের হিসাবে দেখা যাচ্ছে যে যৎসামান্যই ধান চাল ক্রয়-বিক্রয় দ্বারা লাভ হয়। ১৯৪৮-৪৯ সালে প্রদেশে ধান ও চাল কেনা হয়েছিল সবশুদ্ধ ৭০ লক্ষ ৬০ হাজার ৬২৮ মণ চাল ও ৮৭ হাজার ৩ শত ৯৬ মণ ধান। অর্থাৎ এক লক্ষ মণ ধানও ক্রয় করা হয় নি। বিদেশ হতে ২,২৪৪,২০৫ মণ চাল এবং ৮০১,৪৯১ মণ ধান কেনা হয়েছিল। সুতরাং এই হিসাবে প্রায় ২৩ লক্ষ মণ ধান অধিক উৎপাদনের জন্য জাতীয় সরকার প্রকৃত উৎপাদনকারীদের সাহায্য এবং ব্যয় লাঘব করবার জন্য কর্ম্মপন্থা অবলম্বন করবার উপায়ই বিবেচনা করছেন। একমণ ধান উৎপন্ন করতে ৯৲ টাকা খরচ হয়, এ কথা আজ যাঁরা বলছেন, তাঁদের এ কথার মধ্যে কোন প্রমাণ বা যুক্তি নেই। যুদ্ধের পূর্ব্বে ভূমি-রাজস্ব-কমিশন এবং ব্যাঙ্কের তদন্ত কমিটির হিসাবে দেখা যায় যে এক একর ভূমিতে ১৪৲ টাকা হতে বড় জোর ১৯৲ টাকা ব্যয় হত আজ যদি সেই ব্যয়ের পরিমান তিন বা চার গুণ বেশী ধরা যায়, তাহ'লেও প্রমাণ হয় যে প্রায় ২৬৲ টাকা এক বিঘা জমিতে খরচ হচ্ছে। সে ক্ষেত্রে গড়পড়তা ৫ মণ ফসলের উৎপাদন ধরলে তার দাম হয় কম করেও ৭৲ টাকা হিসাবে ৩৫৲ টাকা। অতএব লাভ প্রতি বিঘা জমিতে ৯৲ টাকার মত।

ডি, পি, এজেণ্ট এবং হাস্কি' মেসিনের জন্য মাননীয় ব্যক্তিগণ অনুমোদনের স্থলে উচ্ছেদের জন্য চিঠিপত্র ও মতামত প্রেরণ করলে এ দেশের কল্যাণ হ'ত। আজ চাষী অল্প মূল্যে ধান বিক্রয় করতে বাধ্য হচ্ছে এবং পল্লী অঞ্চলে ভানারী পাওয়া যাচ্ছে না বলে হাস্কিং মেশিন ও ডি, পি এজেণ্টের ব্যবস্থা করতে হয়েছে। মাননীয় খাদ্যমন্ত্রী তথাপি দৃঢ় হয়ে, এই প্রদেশে যে মোট ৯৯২টি সংখ্যা যথা, জলপাইগুড়ি--৩; বাঁকুড়া--৬০; মালদহ--৬; বসিরহাট--২২; ২৪-পরগনা--১০৬; মুর্শিদাবাদ--৮; কৃষ্ণনগর--৭২, পশ্চিম দিনাজপুর--৩; মেদিনীপুর--২৬০ খড়্গপুর--৭৯; হাওড়া--৯৩; বর্দ্ধমান--১০৫; কাঁথি--৫৬; হুগলী--১১৮; বীরভূম--০; তৎপর তার সংখ্যা হ্রাস করবার জন্য খাদ্য বিভাগকে নির্দ্দেশ দিয়েছেন এবং এই সমস্ত মেশিনগুলি সমবায় সমিতি কর্ত্তৃক পরিচালিত করে এবং মালিকদের ক্ষতির হাত হতে অব্যাহতি দেবার অনুরোধ জানিয়েছেন। এরূপ মেশিনে চাল তৈরীর দ্বারা গ্রামের লোক অধিকাংশ উপকৃত হয় না। চাল মেশিনে তৈরী করে অন্যত্র বিক্রির গোপন ব্যবস্থা অনেক ক্ষেত্রে হয়ে থাকে। খাদ্যবিভাগ এ-থেকে এক ছটাক চালও খরিদ করতে পারেন না। জলপাইগুড়ি--১৪, পশ্চিম দিনাজপুর--৫৩, মালদহ--২৭, মুর্শিদাবাদ--৩৪, নদীয়া--৩৩, আলিপুর--৫৮, বসিরহাট--৩৬, মেদিনীপুর--৩৬, কাঁথি--৭১, খড়্গপুর--৪৪, বর্দ্ধমান--৭৪, বাঁকুড়া--৮১, বীরভূম--৪৫, হুগলী--২০; মোট--৬২৬টি ডি, পি এজেণ্টের বিষয়ে মাননীয় মন্ত্রী প্রফুল্ল চন্দ্র সেন মহাশয় সমবায় বিভাগের রেজিষ্টার মহাশয়কে নির্দ্দেশ দিয়েছেন। এই প্রদেশের ৩৯টি সেণ্ট্রাল ব্যাঙ্ক এবং সর্ব্বার্থসাধক প্রভৃতি সমবায় সমিতিকে ধান-চাল ক্রয়ের এজেণ্ট নিযুক্ত করবার যেন সত্বর ব্যবস্থা হয়। তা'হলে দেখা যাবে এই ব্যবস্থার দ্বারা ৭॥ টাকা ধান কিনে ৮৸৹ টাকা দিলে ব সরকারী গুদামে বিক্রি করে সমবায় সমিতিগুলি নিম্নলিখিত সুবিধাগুলি পাবে। যথা--

	প্রতি মণ।
কমিশন ফি . . .	৵৹
গুদাম ভাড়া . . .	✓৹
যানবাহন খরচ . .	।৹
ঝড়তি-পড়তি . .	।✓৹
মোট . .	১।৹
ধান্য মূল্য .	৭।৹
মোট .	৮৸৹

এই ৮৸৹ দরে ধান কিনে ১৪।✓১০ দরে চাল কিনতে হয়। কারণ:--

দেড়মণ ধানের দাম . . .	১৩৵৹
দেড়মণ ধানের মিলিং চার্জ .	১✓১০
মোট . . .	১৪।✓১০

বরাবর চাষীর নিকট হতে মিলমালিকরা ধান কিনে যদি সরকারকে সরবরাহ করতেন, অর্থাৎ তাঁদের ব্যক্তিগত স্বার্থটাকে সময় সময় প্রবল করে না তুলতেন তাহলে প্রতিবিধান ব্যবস্থার জন্য ১৲ টাকা অধিক দিয়া ধান ক্রয় করতে হ'ত না। অবশ্য পূর্ব্বেই বলেছি এরূপ ধান ক্রয়ের পরিমাণ ৮৭ হাজার মণ। তা'ছাড়া সব জায়গায়

রাখিবার দিন নাই। কৃষি-মজুর রাজ্যের প্রতিষ্ঠাতা মহাত্মা গান্ধী গণভোটের দ্বারা বাজেটের সাধারণ আলোচনা কামনা করেছেন। সেখানে বাক্যের উচ্ছ্বাসতরঙ্গের নিশ্চয়ই অবসান হবে। অতএব আজ আমরা যে ধাঁচে, যেরূপে, যে ভাষায় বাজেটের সাধারণ আলোচনায় লিপ্ত হয়েছি তার দিন শেষ হয়ে এসেছে। বয়স্কদের ভোটের দিনও মাননীয় প্রধান মন্ত্রীমহাশয় ঘোষণা করেছেন। তাদের আগমনের শুভমুহূর্ত্তে যদি আমাদের আত্মচেতনাবোধ বলে কিছু থাকে, সততা বলে কিছুর আত্মগৌরব আমরা করি এবং ন্যায়বিচার বলে পরিচয় দিতে চাই তা'হলে সর্ব্বাগ্রে দরিদ্রের মূলধন এবং দরিদ্রের সংগঠন শক্তিকে বাড়িয়ে তুলতে হবে। কেন্দ্রীয় ও প্রাদেশিক সরকার খাদ্য, পশুপক্ষী ও মৎস্যপালন, বন, কৃষি ও পল্লী-শিল্প, সমবায় ও দর্গতসেবা ও পুনর্গঠন বিভাগকে একত্রে কাজ করবার জন্য নির্দ্দেশ দিয়েছেন। এজন্য জলসেচ, স্থানীয় স্বায়ত্তশাসন দপ্তর প্রভৃতি সমুদয় বিভাগে অধিক সংখ্যক কর্ম্মী কর্ম্মের সহযোগী হয়ে উঠেছেন। এখন গ্রামের লোক বা সহরের অধিবাসিগণ যে কোন দপ্তরে সহজেই সহযোগী হতে পারবেন, আমাদের সহযোগ আন্দোলনকে সার্থক করবার জন্য পল্লীতে পল্লীতে কৃষক-মজুরের সমবায় সমিতিসমূহকে শক্তির আধাররূপে সুপ্রতিষ্ঠিত করতে হবে। অতীতের লেন-দেন কারবার, হিসাব পরীক্ষা এবং সমবায়ের আদর্শ প্রচারই যেন কাম্য না হয়। আজ সমবায়কে কার্য্যকরী করতে হবে আর্থিক, নৈতিক, দৈহিক ও সামাজিক উন্নতি সাধনের জন্য।

মাননীয় সদস্যগণ নিজ নিজ নির্ব্বাচনমণ্ডলীতে পূর্ব্ব প্রতিষ্ঠিত সমবায় সমিতিগুলির পুনর্গঠন এবং নূতন সমবায় সমিতি প্রতিষ্ঠার আয়োজন করলে সত্যই দেশের কল্যাণ হবে। দেশের সরকারী ও বেসরকারী শক্তি নানাদিকে, নানাভাবে বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়ে রয়েছে, তাকে একমুখী করে, সুনিয়ন্ত্রিত করে গরীবের ডাল-ভাতের, ঘর-বাড়ীর, ঔষধ-পথ্যের ও শিক্ষা-দীক্ষার সুষ্ঠু আয়োজন করতে হবে। তা'হলে আমাদের গ্রামের ক্ষেত্র মৃতের মত অসাড় হয়ে থাকবে না। সেখানে শৃগালের দলও চীৎকার করে আর কাজের মানুষকে চঞ্চল করতে পারবে না। "জয় হিন্দ"।

Mr. C. E. CLARKE: Mr Speaker, Sir, my first duty is to add my congratulations to those which have already been voiced by so many speakers who have already taken part in this discussion.

Sir, acknowledging the skill and long years of experience in financial matters which the Hon'ble the Finance Minister brings to the preparation of his budget, I am reluctant to criticise or commend. Considering the difficulties which today assail this State, I think that many are agreeably reassured at the condition of West Bengal's finances, and in general acknowledge, that except in certain minor respects, largely questions of opinion, in which we may differ from the Hon'ble Minister, the available resources could not have been better disposed. I note with approval but also with concern the provision which he has made for a decline in revenue under certain heads, because, while not wishing to appear as a pessimist, I believe we must accept that the present trials which are facing us in the economic sphere on this side of India, as in the whole world, have still to develop their maximum effect, and must necessarily have repercussions on the economic conditions and the tax income of this State.

In his Budget Statement, the Hon'ble Minister has given us an impressive review of the political and economic factors which make the background to our financial administration. I particularly endorse, Sir, his statements that the problems of West Bengal are "economic, and it is on the economic front that the problem has to be tackled first". And again, where he has said that "it is of the utmost national importance that conditions are created in the country in which industry may find a propitious field to grow and thrive. For, unless this can be done there can be no other way to secure the required measure of economic prosperity". These are wise words, all the wiser for their simplicity and we shall do well to ponder their truth in the present difficulties which confront this State.

There are many of varying political persuasion who believe—and the doctrine has admittedly earned the support of some reputable adherents—that redistribution of wealth is the solution of twentieth century economic problems. To put it bluntly, we should take from the rich and give to the poor, and, in particular, the profits of private enterprise should go largely, if not entirely, to the labour which by physical effort produces the goods.

The Hon'ble Minister has convincingly countered the argument that the first of these—the mechanical redistribution of wealth—is the cure of our ills. Let me examine for a moment, in the context of this country, the second, which has gained a degree of recognition from today's laudable humanitarian spirit, that the welfare of the less fortunate in this world's goods is the responsibility of the community, and this responsibility should rest most heavily on those elements whose producing capacity is greatest. I do not for a moment deny the community's responsibilities or the principle that we must strive for an improvement in the standard of living which will benefit the majority of the people rather than the already fortunate few. We live in an age which has come to condemn the neglect of the past as unworthy of our human heritage. But in pursuing our worthier principles we must not overlook the practicalities of how the desirable end is to be achieved. The Hon'ble Minister has commented on the improved tone of labour relations and the materially better figures in the loss of man days by industrial labour during 1949 in comparison with preceding years. But at what cost has this improvement been bought? He has realistically admitted that "the present level of production is in many cases still below the installed capacity of industry and compares unfavourably with their own performances during the war". "The latest available reports", he said, "indicate that there has been a further decline in most important sectors of the economy", so that while man hours have increased production per individual is still falling. The inevitable result is to increase the cost of production. The price of India's manufactures and products, both at Home and Overseas, has consequently risen. Already she has lost in many directions her former price dominance in world markets and by further increases in the costs of production she is pricing herself out of her traditional foreign markets.

The Hon'ble Minister has said that business is at a standstill. I feel that this perhaps expresses our forebodings too gloomily, but there is no doubt that it has been badly affected and one of the chief causes of its malaise is the labour policy of the last few years which has been indecisive and irrational. If this has not been responsible for the demise of the goose which lays the egg of prosperity, it is time that we recognised that the bird is by no means in the best of health, and that the potentialities of further decline are so serious that it behoves everyone concerned with the affairs of the State to turn their careful attention to the examination and solution of these problems which beset our economy.

I should like to express to the Hon'ble Minister my satisfaction that he has found it possible to present his budget without resorting to an increase in the burden of taxation. I am gratified because I believe that any further increases would be as catastrophic to India's interests as those I have already quoted and for the same reason. Hon'ble members may say that in the commercial field taxes to a larger extent come out of the pocket of the shareholder; but this is by no means entirely correct as the Hon'ble the Finance Minister will endorse. A large part of taxation represents a direct burden on commercial enterprise irrespective of the margin of profit and hence must increase the cost of production and thereby price levels, thus introducing again the question of India's success or failure in the competition of world markets. But even that aspect of direct taxation which affects the shareholder's pocket is, as the Hon'ble Minister has so lucidly explained, a vital factor in the economic wellbeing of the country. The standard of living which depends on the total wealth of the community can only be raised by an increase in production. To establish the means of production capital is required, and to secure that capital sufficient incentive in the form of interest returns must be given to those who have the money to contribute. If taxation reduces that incentive below the risk level consequent on the given circumstances, the necessary credit will not be forthcoming, the country's production will be circumscribed and limited, costs of production for the small units which can be

financed with the available resources will be proportionately higher, the success of competition in price levels overseas will be affected and the spiral of an economy running down will be set in motion.

In conclusion I would once again like to congratulate the Hon'ble Finance Minister on the presentation of this budget.

Sj. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU: স্পীকার মহোদয়, বাংলা দেশের জননেতা শ্রদ্ধেয় শরৎ চন্দ্র বসু মহাশয়ের মৃত্যুতে বিষাদের ঘনীভূত ছায়া পড়েছে তা অপনীত হতে না হতে পূর্ববঙ্গে যে পৈশাচিক কাণ্ডটা ঘটছে তৎসম্বন্ধে ভারতের প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয় যে বিবৃতি দিয়েছেন তা থেকে পূর্ববঙ্গের পরিস্থিতির ভয়াবহতা পরিষ্কারভাবে উদ্ঘাটিত হয়ে গেছে। কলিকাতায় যে সামান্য একটা ঘটনা ঘটেছে--সেটাও ঘটেছিল বাগেরহাট এবং খুলনার ঘটনার প্রতিক্রিয়ারূপে, কিন্তু আমাদের পশ্চিমবঙ্গের প্রধানমন্ত্রী মহাশয় অতি সত্বরই, যে দাঙ্গাটা বেধে উঠেছিল তাকে সংযত করে দেন চারদিকে কড়া পুলিস পাহারার ব্যবস্থা করে। তারপর এখানে যে ঘটনাটা ঘটেছে সে ঘটনা পূর্ববঙ্গের তুলনায় অতি সামান্য। এবং এখানে আরো দেখা গেছে যে minority যারা, নিজেদের আত্মরক্ষা করবার যথেষ্ট সুযোগ তাদের এখানে আছে। শুধু যে minorityর বা মুসলমান সমাজের কয়েকটি লোক নিহত হয়েছে তা নয়, সঙ্গে সঙ্গে এখানে যারা majority সেই হিন্দুদের মধ্যেও অনেকে নিহত ও আহত হয়েছে। কিন্তু পূর্ববঙ্গের ব্যাপার সম্পূর্ণ অন্যরূপ। আজ সেখানে যে ঘটনা ঘটছে তাতে আজকের এই ব্যাপারে আলোচনা করতে গিয়ে বেশী সেই কথা মনে হয়, পূর্ববঙ্গের যারা minority হিন্দু তারা কি দুরবস্থায় পড়েছে। আমরা সকলেই জানি যদি হঠাৎ কোথাও একটা সাম্প্রদায়িক ঘটনা ঘটে সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই যদি গভর্ণমেন্ট তাকে দমন করবার চেষ্টা না করেন তাহলে সেটা কেমন দ্রুত বেড়ে যায় তা আমরা জানি। আজ পূর্ববঙ্গে পৈশাচিক ঘটনা ঘটেই চলেছে। সেখানে নারীর উপর এমন কি শিশুর উপর পর্যন্ত যে অত্যাচার চলছে সে অত্যাচারের কথা শুনে কোন মানুষই অভিভূত না হয়ে পারে না। আজ পূর্ববঙ্গের সংখ্যালঘুদের সম্বন্ধে আমরা কি করতে পারি সেই কথাটা বিশেষ করে ভাবতে হবে। পূর্ববঙ্গ ও পশ্চিমবঙ্গ কখনো বিচ্ছিন্ন ছিল না, যে স্বাধীনতা আমরা লাভ করেছি সেই স্বাধীনতা আনয়নে পূর্ববঙ্গের দান অনেক বেশী। সেখানে আমরা পৃথক নই, তাই আজ তাদের দুঃখ, তাদের নির্যাতন আমাদের বুকেও লাগে। সেই জন্য আমাদের প্রধানমন্ত্রী মহাশয়কে অনুরোধ করছি পূর্ববঙ্গে যে সব পৈশাচিক ঘটনা ঘটছে এর জন্য হয় যুদ্ধ ঘোষণা করতে হবে নয়তো সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়কে এখানে ফিরিয়ে আনতে হবে। এছাড়া গত্যন্তর নাই। জানি আমাদের এই ক্ষুদ্র পশ্চিমবঙ্গে এত লোকের স্থান হবে না, সেই জন্য আমাদের কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের কাছে যেতে হবে এবং ভারতীয় অন্যান্য প্রাদেশিক সরকারের কাছে যেতে হবে। ভারতবর্ষের স্বাধীনতার জন্য যারা দুঃখ, নির্যাতন ও লাঞ্ছনা ভোগ করেছে তাদের কি শুধু হাতে হাত দিয়ে আমরা চুপ করে বসে থাকব? এখানে যাঁরা মুসলমান আছেন তাঁরা থাকুন। আমরা জানি U. P., C. P., বোম্বে ও মাদ্রাজ প্রভৃতি প্রদেশ যেগুলি বিভক্ত হয়নি সেই সব জায়গায় যারা minority মুসলমান তাদের উপর কোন হামলা হয় নাই। বাংলা আর পাঞ্জাব বিভক্ত হয়েছে। কিন্তু বিভক্ত হবার সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই পশ্চিম পাঞ্জাব থেকে সমস্ত হিন্দু পূর্ব পাঞ্জাবে চলে এসেছে, সেখানে পূর্ব ও পশ্চিম পাঞ্জাবের মধ্যে কোন গোলযোগ নাই। আমরা যদি পূর্ববঙ্গের সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের সওয়া কোটি লোকদের ফিরিয়ে আনতে পারি তাহলে এখানে যারা সংখ্যালঘু, তারা, যেমন ভারতের অন্যান্য প্রদেশে নিরাপত্তার সহিত সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায় রয়েছেন তেমনি থাকবেন। বিশেষ করে আমার বক্তব্য এই যে পূর্ববঙ্গ গভর্ণমেণ্ট যে কথাই বলুন না কেন, তাঁদের উপর বিশ্বাস করে থাকা উচিত নয়। এমন কি আমাদের Deputy High Commissionerকে পর্যন্ত বলা হয়েছে যে তিনি যেন বাইরে না যান। এমনই সেখানকার অবস্থা যে অন্য এক সরকারের প্রতিনিধিস্থানীয় লোকের--তিনি হিন্দু বলে তাঁর নিরাপত্তার ব্যবস্থা করতে পারেন নাই তাঁরা। এই জন্যই বলছি যাঁরা এখানে আসবেন এবং যারা পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে এসে গিয়েছেন তাঁদের জন্য যাকিছু ব্যবস্থা আমাদেরই করতে হবে। গভর্ণমেণ্টের তহবিলের টাকা একাজের পক্ষে যথেষ্ট নয়, একাজে জনসাধারণের সহযোগিতা আমাদের চাইতে হবে এবং ভারতবর্ষের সর্বত্র তাদের স্থান করে দিতে হবে। এর জন্য শুধু West Bengal Government নয় বাংলার জনসাধারণকেও সমবেতভাবে চেষ্টা করতে হবে। নতুবা অন্য কোন উপায় আছে বলে আমি মনে করি না।

বন্ধুগণ,—

Mr. SPEAKER: Please address the Chair.

Sj. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU: স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমাদের এখানে শিক্ষা খাতে যে ব্যয়ের ব্যবস্থা আছে তাতে দেখি যাঁরা প্রাথমিক বিদ্যালয়ের শিক্ষক তাদের মাইনে ২০৲ টাকা থেকে ৩৫৲ টাকা মাত্র; এই সামান্য বেতনে বাস্তবিকই কারো জীবিকা চলতে পারে না। যাঁরা মোটা মোটা বেতন পান--তাঁদেরই শুনি চলে না,--তবে সামান্য এই টাকা মাইনে পেয়ে কি করে তাঁরা সংসার যাত্রা নির্বাহ করবেন। চালের দাম যেখানে ১৬।।৩ টাকা সেখানে যে টাকা তাদের জন্য বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে তা দিয়ে তারা কি করে চালাবে? গভর্ণমেণ্টের তহবিলে টাকা নেই কিন্তু শিক্ষক যাঁরা তাঁরা সব সময় অভাবের তাড়নায় থাকলে কি করে তাঁরা আমাদের ছেলেদের ভাল শিক্ষা দেবেন? তাই আমার মনে হয় এই বাবদে যে টাকা ধরা হয়েছে তা যথেষ্ট নয়, অর্থসচিব মহাশয়ের দৃষ্টি আমি এদিকে আকর্ষণ করছি। আমার আর একটা বক্তব্য এই যে মেয়েদের একটা ছাত্রী-আবাস একান্ত প্রয়োজন। কিন্তু সে সম্বন্ধে কোন পরিকল্পনা দেখ্‌তে পাচ্ছিনে। মফঃস্বল থেকে--বিশেষ করে গ্রামাঞ্চল থেকে--যে সব ছাত্রীরা আস্‌তে চান তাদের জন্য একটা ছাত্রী-নিবাসের একান্ত প্রয়োজন; কিন্তু সরকারের পক্ষ হইতে তার কোন কার্য্যকরী ব্যবস্থা এযাবৎ করা হয় নাই। তাছাড়া এ-বারে, বৈজ্ঞানিক শিক্ষা বা গবেষণা সম্প্রসারণের কোন বরাদ্দ বাজেটে নাই। গত বছরে দু লক্ষ ৫০ হাজার টাকা এই বাবদ ধরা হয়েছিল, এবারে কোন অর্থই ধরা হয়নি দেখে আশ্চর্য্য হচ্ছি। আজ সারা পৃথিবীতে বৈজ্ঞানিকের সাহায্যে সব কিছু পরিচালিত হচ্চে, আর আমাদের বাংলা দেশই কি শুধু পিছিয়ে থাকবে? আজ আমাদের ব্যবসা, বানিজ্য, কৃষি, শিল্প সব কিছুতেই বিজ্ঞানের সাহায্য নিতে হবে, তবে দেশে প্রাচুর্য্য আসবে। আমাদের দেশে যে খাদ্যাভাব রয়েছে সেটার জন্যও আজ বৈজ্ঞানিকদের সাহায্যই দরকার। আমাদের এখানে খাদ্য যা উৎপন্ন হয় তা লোক সংখ্যার অনুপাতে খুব কম। এই উৎপন্নের পরিমাণ যদি double না করতে পারি তাহ'লে আমাদের জীবিকা নির্বাহের ব্যবস্থা কিরূপে হবে। বন্ধুগণ, সেই জন্য আমি বলছি--জীবনের প্রতি পদক্ষেপে বৈজ্ঞানিক পদ্ধতির অনুসরণ প্রয়োজন এবং তজ্জন্য সরকারের পরিকল্পনা থাকা দরকার।

স্পীকার মহোদয়, বাজেটে adult educationএর জন্য ৩ লক্ষ টাকা ধরা হয়েছে। দেশের জনগণের শিক্ষা না থাকলে জাতি বাঁচতে পারে না। আমি দেখে আশ্চর্য্য হচ্চি যে আজ যখন আমরা সমস্ত পৃথিবীর সঙ্গে এক তালে চলতে চাই--তখন আমাদের adultদের educationএর জন্য মাত্র তিন লক্ষ টাকা ধরা হয়েছে। আমার মনে হয় আমাদের দেশে প্রাপ্তবয়স্কের শিক্ষার যতই ব্যাপক বন্দোবস্ত সুরু হবে ততই যে সমস্ত সমস্যা আমাদের দেশে রয়েছে তার সমাধান করা আমাদের পক্ষে সহজ হবে। এ বিষয়ে এমন একটা পরিকল্পনা গ্রহণ করা উচিত ছিল যার ফলে কয়েক বছরের মধ্যেই adultদের শিক্ষিত করে তোলা যায়।

তারপর আমাদের সীমান্ত রক্ষাটা একটা বড় সমস্যা। আমাকে সীমান্তে অনেক সময় যেতে হয়, তার ফলে আমি দেখেছি সেসব স্থলে পাকিস্থানী মনোবৃত্তিসম্পন্ন বহু লোক বাস করে। যদি কখনও একটা কিছু গণ্ডগোল হয় তাহলে তারা সহজেই আমাদের বিপন্ন করতে পারে। সেই জন্য সীমান্ত সুরক্ষার জন্য বিশেষ বন্দোবস্ত করা দরকার। আমাদের অবশ্য National Volunteer Corps তৈরী হয়েছে, কিন্তু আমাদের সীমান্ত সমস্যা যেখানে বিরাট সেখানে এ আয়োজন যথেষ্ট নয়। সুতরাং এ দিকে সরকারের নজর দেওয়া দরকার।

আমাদের মাননীয় প্রফুল্ল চন্দ্র সেনের চেষ্টায় খাদ্যাভাব দূরীকরণের আন্দোলন খানিকটা বেড়ে গিয়েছে। আমি অনেক জায়গায় ঘুরে দেখেছি। কাঁথির একটা গ্রামে একটা প্রদর্শনী উদ্বোধন করতে গিয়ে দেখি সেখানে একজন চাষী দুইবিঘা জমিতে প্রায় ৫৪ মন ধান ফলিয়েছে। কাটোয়াতেও একজন এক একর জমিতে প্রায় ৫৩ মণ ধান ফলিয়েছে, এটা খুব উৎসাহের কথা। যদি এই রকম এক একটা চেষ্টা চলে তাহ'লে আমাদের যে সেচের ব্যবস্থা বর্ত্তমানে আছে এর ভিতরেও জমির ফসল বাড়ানো চলে। আবার অনেক জায়গায় compost সারও চলছে, সঙ্গে সঙ্গে কচুরিপানা ধ্বংস হয়ে যাচ্ছে। এই প্রসঙ্গে আমি আর একটা প্রস্তাব করতে চাই--যেসব জায়গায় Agriculture Assistantগণ রয়েছে, সেই সব জায়গায় assistantদের যার এলেকায় যত বেশী ফসল ফলবে তাকে পুরস্কার দেয়া হবে এই রকম একটা ব্যবস্থা সরকার হতে করা হলে তাদের উৎসাহ বাড়বে বলে আমার মনে হয় এবং তার ফলে দেশে শস্যফলনও বৃদ্ধি পাবে।

খাদ্যশস্য ক্রয় খাতে ৪৫ কোটি ৭১ লক্ষ টাকা ধরা হয়েছে। এই খাতে সরকারের প্রায় ১ কোটি টাকা ক্ষতি হয়। আমি এই কথাই বলতে চাই এই যে ১ কোটি টাকা ক্ষতি করে খাদ্য সরবরাহ করা হয় অথচ সরকার জনসাধারণকে সন্তুষ্ট করতে পারে না। Government যখন আমাদের co-operative movement encourage করছেন তখন তাঁরা যদি খাদ্যদ্রব্য এই co-operative societyর মারফৎ বিতরণ করেন তাহলে লোকসানভয় থাকবে না। আমি কয়েকটি co-operative movementএর সঙ্গে জড়িত আছি। আমি

দেখেছি তাতে লোকসানত হবেই না বরং দু'পয়সা লাভ হবে। এবং তারা এই লাভ দিয়ে জনহিতকর নানা কাজ করতে পারে। Civil supplyর জন্য Governmentএর যথেষ্ট লোকসান হয়। সরকার কেন আজ এত টাকা লোকসান দিচ্ছে। এইদিক থেকে যদি কাজের চেষ্টা করা হয়, কতদিন এই সঙ্কটের অবস্থা থাকবে বলা যায় না--এই দিক থেকে যদি ব্যবস্থা করা হয় তবে লোকসান অনেক কম হবে।

(At this stage blue light was lit.)

আমি আরো ২।৪ মিনিট চাই।

Mr. SPEAKER: All right.

Sj. HEMANTA KUMAR BASU: তারপর আমাদের দেশের লবণশিল্পের কথা ধরা যাক। আমাদের দেশে কয়েকজন French expert এসেছিল। সমস্ত মেদিনীপুরে যেসব যায়গায় লবণ অধিক পরিমাণে আছে সেসব যায়গা পরিদর্শন করেছেন। কি report দিয়েছেন জানি না। কিন্তু আমি দেখেছি Bengal Salt Co. লবণ তৈরী করে বেশ দু'পয়সা করছে। এই Bengal Salt Co. মারফৎ co-operative systemএ যদি এই লবণশিল্প আমরা গড়ে তুলি তাহ'লে আমার মনে হয় এখন যা উৎপাদন হচ্ছে তার চেয়ে আরও অধিক উৎপন্ন হবে। আজকে সমাজের মধ্যে এই যে একটা বিরাট বৈষম্য দেখছি, একদল লোক অত্যধিক দরিদ্র আর এক দল লোক অত্যধিক ধনী, এই বৈষম্য থাকবে না যদি আমরা দেশে শিল্প co-operative basisএ গড়ে তুলতে পারি।

অতি আনন্দের কথা যে রবীন্দ্রনাথ মেমোরিয়াল ফাণ্ডে ১ লক্ষ টাকা বাংলা দেশ এবং বাংলা Governmentএর তরফ থেকে দেওয়া হয়েছে। আচার্য্য প্রফুল্ল চন্দ্রের তহবিলে ৫০ হাজার টাকা দেওয়া হয়েছে। কিন্তু আমাদের "ভুঁইয়া" সমিতি আমাদের কাছে কিছু টাকা চেয়েছিল। এরা মেদিনীপুরে বেশ কাজ করছে। বীরেন্দ্রনাথ শাসমলের কথা অনেকেই জানেন। সেদিক থেকে আমার মনে হয় সরকারের ৪।৫ হাজার টাকা এখানে দেওয়া উচিত ছিল।

আমাদের কলিকাতা এবং কলিকাতার আশে পাশে যে সমস্ত রাস্তা আছে তাতে বর্ত্তমানে যে transportএর ব্যবস্থা আছে তাতে লোকের বহু দুঃখ-কষ্ট হয়। এই transport ব্যবস্থার উন্নতি করতে হবে। বর্ত্তমানে যে "বাস" সংখ্যা আছে তা বাড়িয়ে বেশী করা দরকার। আমাদের সরকারের পরিকল্পনা ছিল ৪ শত bus চালু করা কিন্তু এ যাবৎ মাত্র ১৪০টা চালু করা হয়েছে। লোকের এখনও চলাফেরার যথেষ্ট অসুবিধা রয়েছে। যতশীঘ্র সম্ভব আমাদের busএর সংখ্যা বাড়িয়ে দেওয়া দরকার। এবং কলিকাতার আশেপাশের পল্লীর সঙ্গে সংযোগ রেখে এই busএর ব্যবস্থা করা দরকার। বন্ধুগণ, আর আমি কিছু বলতে চাই না। আমি এই কথা বলে শেষ করছি।

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish I could congratulate the Finance Minister because he had to work hard in the present state of his health, but I regret I cannot do so, because the outlook that he has presented to us is rather—I do not know how to characterise it—definitely capitalistic. Not merely that. I can understand a capitalistic pleading or a special pleading for the capitalists from Mr. Walker, a representative of the capitalists, or a definite special pleading for the labourers from Mr. Deven Sen, the Secretary of the Indian National Trade Union Congress. But as a Finance Minister, although he represents the Chamber of Commerce Constituency, he cannot take brief for his clients in this case. The Finance Minister, as a matter of fact the Government, is to reconcile even the irreconcilable opposites. The Government is to see to all aspects and make an adjustment. The Finance Minister cannot take brief for his clients. That is the first thing that impresses me.

Then the Finance Minister says that although there have not been many strikes, the labour has been inefficient and therefore there has not been the desired production. I do admit that labour is inefficient in this country (Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Question), but it is high time that I should tell you that most of our capitalists are an inefficient and a greedy lot. I do not wonder that Mr. Deven Sen tries to question my comment that the labour is inefficient. In the existing circumstances, nobody would

expect a miracle from the labourers, from the way in which they are to live and the education that they have. If you want more efficiency from them, you have to change your outlook. You have to give them better housing, better education and other better facilities. And with that also you will get the result only after some time. Then, Sir, my friend Sri Kuber Haldar said, the other day, that if you give the labourers more money, they will spend it on alcohol. Sir, if we see a zemindar drink, do we deprive him of anything or check him if he drinks? Have you ever cut down the salary of an I.C.S. officer because he drinks or the pay of a Police Officer because he drinks? When the question of paying labour comes you bring in this theory. I would like that prohibition should be there in this country, but I want prohibition all round and not for the labour only. Sir, I do not like this sort of cheap tricks. I was rather sorry—I did not expect this from our Finance Minister—when he said that ideological obsession is a height of folly. Yes, I do admit that ideological obsession is the height of folly. I do also accept that worship of the mammon is the height of stupidity. But ideological obsession should be distinguished from ideological fervour. A nation is dead if that nation has no ideological fervour. Had there been no ideological fervour, Indian Insurance, Banking and Indian Textile Industry would not occupy the position that they do today. I know there are some friends here also who in 1906 carried loads of gunny bags which were called as Indian cloth and sold them so that the Indian industry might flourish. At that time we said, "Buy Swadeshi". At that time we did not say that unless there was incentive people would not do anything. Now the question of incentive has come in. Why? Because profiteering has come in. After the last two wars profiteering tendency has gone up and no one now wants to part with his money. It is a very bad tendency. Now, we must give up this time-worn, mid-Victorian economic theory of this kind of incentive. Now one must realise if my neighbouring house is dirty, if there is cholera in my neighbour's house, even if my house is clean members of my family may be attacked with cholera and therefore from that standard of self-interest we must act. We have never seen anywhere so much iniquity in economic income. What Sri Aurobindo Ghosh said was "We have seen how high individuals can rise and how low a nation can fall". Here also in the economic field we have seen the big capitalists having palatial buildings in Calcutta, Bombay, Poona, Madras, Dehra Dun and in other places. They are not satisfied with that. There are also men who have no sufficient accommodation to put their heads in. Unless this economic iniquity goes I do not know what is going to happen. There is bound to come a deluge and we shall all be swept away in that deluge. We must read the signs on the wall and if we do not read the signs on the wall we do so at our peril. And then another thing. Our Finance Minister has said that so many people cannot live on agriculture alone. I admit so many people cannot live on agriculture alone and that there must be industries. I admit it but there must be some relation between the industrial development and the agricultural development. When in the middle of the 19th century England did only go on multiplying her industry and bringing the agricultural foodstuffs from other countries with the vast armaments and her vast navy, England's idea was "Rule Britannia, rule the waves" and therefore the counter-cry of Germany was "Germany, Germany above all in the world" and this led to world wars. Therefore I do say that this ancient theory must go and if in this country we must grow industries then we must also have sufficient food for those people who are in the industry. If we cannot do that then we must take away labour from the industry and engage them on agriculture. Unless there is a balance the whole thing would be upset. Therefore when one talks of industry this should be borne in mind.

Now the position of West Bengal is a peculiar one. In no other province is there so much urban population, we have 80 lakhs of urban population

and we have about 10 lakhs of people, every day coming to Calcutta as daily passengers and then there are about 10 lakhs more who do not produce any foodstuffs. Such a huge population living on the agriculturists, who do not produce any foodstuffs, living on the agriculturists—which is the case in no other province of India—is a difficult one. Therefore we must see to it. Unless we see to it there will be no food. Already we have not got sufficient food. We may have sufficient rice, barely sufficient rice I will say—the Budget Statement deals with different statistics. I do not know about statistics—we may have sufficient rice, but we have not got sufficient milk, we have not got sufficient vegetables, we have not got sufficient fish. Men cannot live on rice alone. Therefore I do say when we think of the growth of industry we must think of all these things; otherwise there will be a crash, I tell you. However you may say that you will import from other countries—that may or may not materialise—in the ultimate analysis no one ever knows what will happen. Therefore we must produce sufficient foodstuff

Then, another question has cropped up, the question of nationalisation of industries. The Hon'ble the Finance Minister has said "We must think less in terms of this nationalisation of industries". Our election pledge was abolition of zemindary, nationalisation of industries and prohibition. But the way in which we are moving towards that reminds me of what Pandit Motilal told me once in joke "election pledges are just like marriage pledges, meant to be broken". Is it coming to that? My friend Mr. Mandal told us yesterday that let us go slowly and slowly. It reminds me of Shakespeare's "Creeping like a snail unwilling to school". What would happen if we go slowly "unwilling to school"? I tell you that it is a regular capitalistic conspiracy in this country to overawe the Government, overawe the Government of India, to coerce them to this position. I do say with all sense of responsibility that the capitalists have captured many papers and are also trying to capture more so that they may propagate their doctrine because they like Herr Hitler believe that truth is nothing but persistent propaganda. But when it comes to us from the Hon'ble Finance Minister it pains us most I tell you, industry must be nationalised —the sooner the better. Let us get rid of these capitalists—the sooner the better. I may remind through the Hon'ble Speaker what His Excellency the Governor said the other day. Even while I was a Minister a big capitalist came to me and told me, "You cannot nationalise the industry". I said, why? Because you have not got sufficient personnel. Then I said you are there; you can work on behalf of the Government. If you can ask that the brightest jewels of India should come to the Government service on a maximum salary of Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000, then why can't you work? He said, "Will the capitalists come"? Then I said, "Do you think India will call you patriotic and have you got any right to live in India if you do not serve the nation at this hour of crisis?" Therefore I do say nationalisation of industry is possible. If the Hon'ble the Finance Minister or our Chief Minister can sacrifice money and come to serve as Ministers I cannot see any reason why the Tatas and the Birlas cannot serve the Government with less salary and nationalise the industry. So, it is no argument. Therefore, I do say in all humility that these things have got to be given effect to, otherwise we shall be drifting somewhere—we do not know where. Of course you may say, for some time we may not do it; for some time we may simply build new key industries under the Government but others we may not do. But our capitalists only think of their privileges and nothing else. After building their industries on the sacrifice of the people, on the patriotic fervour of the middle class they now think that patriotic fervour is an outmoded, obsolete thing, is not to be considered at all. This is a very dismal picture of the whole thing. This is so far about the ideological background.

Now, I come to the budget proper. This is the third budget that the Hon'ble Finance Minister has presented to us. I thought something

definite will have taken shape by this time. He said in the Budget Statement about the Grow More Food Scheme that as certain schemes were not progressing satisfactorily, therefore the revised expenditure had to be diminished. What does it prove? It proves that in the Grow More Food Campaign we have not succeeded at all, but in one scheme we have succeeded and succeeded well, that is the development of the Secretariat. I want to give you figures.

	Lakhs.
Civil Secretariat expenditure 1947-48 (7½ months) ...	23·63
On that basis for one year	31
In 1948-49—	
Budgeted	35·2
Revised	48·42
Actual	50
In 1949-50—	
Budgeted	50·6
Revised	61·3
Actual has not come to our knowledge.	

Now, in 1950-51, budgeted, 65·13 lakhs; but in undivided Bengal, in 1946-47, 49·37 lakhs were the Civil Secretariat expenses. Therefore, it has progressed not merely in an arithmetical progression but in a geometrical progression, and the geometrical progression, I am afraid, will not stop till there is enough space to put in a chair and a table in the Secretariat. So it seems to me that this is the position, but I may remind the Hon'ble the Finance Minister—he knows it very well—I see he has come—that on the question of efficiency, congestion and efficiency vary in inverse ratio—I know efficiency has got to be increased but efficiency cannot increase in this way—if efficiency has got to be increased it may be increased by giving sufficient amenities to lower grade staff. In no country in the world so many people come as daily passengers and spend five or six hours of their daily life in simply coming and going, and when they come to the Secretariat they come exhausted. After two hours' work they begin to yawn and sometimes doze. It is not their fault; it is the law of nature. You may violate the law of nature but nature won't let you go. Therefore Government must think of other remedies. If you waste people's energy in this way and then you want to get work from them, it is an impossible business. Therefore, expanding the Secretariat in your own way won't do. In the Grow More Food Campaign you could not spend money because schemes were not good, schemes were not progressing well. But there are two departments in which there is sufficient development, namely, the Secretariat and the Police Department. Many friends will say, when there will be disorder what are you going to do? Are you not to increase the police? I agree that disorder has to be stopped but what has been the result? Have we been able to stop the disorder by increasing the police? Therefore we must think what is to be done.

I want to give certain figures about police expenditure. For the first 7½ months of 1947-48 it was 203 lakhs; on that basis for one year 325 lakhs. 1948-49, budgeted, 366·5, revised, 400, actual 417; and 1949-50, budgeted 461, revised 443, we do not know the actual up to now. 1950-51, budgeted 482 and the total police expenditure including other heads is 511 lakhs; but in undivided Bengal, 1946-47, 477 lakhs. That is the position about the police but with what result?

Therefore, in all humility, I do say that this should be done. I appeal to the Chief Minister again, as I appealed last time, that he should set up a Committee for Economy in Expenditure. I do not thereby say that everything should be cut down. None but a mad man would suggest that but

I do suggest in all humility again—he said in his speech also that he would consider the matter and refer it to his Cabinet—and I do appeal to the Chief Minister and the Finance Minister to see to this matter. Otherwise we shall be simply converting the State into a Police State and not a welfare State.

Now, coming to the "Rehabilitation" we see that the budget provision was for 428 lakhs, but in the revised it dropped down to 146 lakhs. Then the cryptic sentence in the Budget Speech runs thus "the drop in the provision in the 'Revised' in relation to the 'Budget' is mainly due to smaller expenditure on relief". Why? Was there no necessity for relief? Or were there so many changes in the Relief Secretariat or in the Relief Ministry that nobody could make up his mind as to what to do? What is the reason? We are absolutely in the dark. I hope the Hon'ble Finance Minister or some Minister concerned will at least let us know where we are. Why that money was not utilised? Simply providing in the budget a lump sum of money here or a lump sum of money there does not help us while at the end of the year we see that no result is achieved. I am a layman in that way. I am not an economist. You may call me a quack. I am not an expert of the type who says that Michael Madhusudan Datta and Bankim Chatterjee are not different but same person, but I do say in all humility that this thing should be done in such a way as would help achieving the desired result.

I now come to the Civil Supplies Department. I was a Minister myself and now I am outside the Ministry. I know the machinery and I know the country as well. Knowing the whole thing, knowing the whole position I do say that with the present control, it is impossible to stop black-marketing and this sort of corruption. If we want to keep this control for a longer time, it will clearly discredit the administration, it will discredit the Congress and we shall be in a bad plight. Therefore, in the name of the good administration, in the fair name of the Congress I appeal to my friends to consider this matter. If the figures given in the budget are correct, there has been 11 per cent increase in the production of rice and last year we heard there was 10 per cent. deficit. The only control that we have is about rice. What about other controls? We have no control over fish; we have no control over vegetables; and cloth control is also practically no control. It is something like oscillating between control and decontrol. We do not know where we are. Therefore, I do say in all humility that if this department is abolished, it will be better for the country and so many crores of rupees will be saved and that money can be spent for other purposes.

As regards Grow More Food Campaign I say that this campaign will not succeed as it has not succeeded in the past, unless we make the tiller of the soil the owner of the land. What is necessary under the circumstances is that we must try to do that. Then the zemindari system should be abolished. Of course I know that in the Constitution there is some new clause which will make it difficult to achieve that end, but still we can say that this clause is wrong and we can change it. That is how democracy functions. No Constitution is immutable. We can change the Constitution and we can appeal for a change in the Constitution.

The Hon'ble NALINI RANJAN SARKER: I want Dr. Ghosh to say this to the High Command.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Of course I will. Without betraying any confidence I can tell you that in spite of the opposition of Pandit Nehru and Sri Rajagopalachari, we passed this control of cloth in the Working Committee and I was one of those who supported it. So, do not think that we do not say these things to the Working Committee.

The Hon'ble NALINI RANJAN SARKER: I think nothing; I want the result.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: About the abolition of zemindari also if we only think that adequate compensation must be paid, we will never be able to abolish the zemindari system. Of course I do not want to create another set of beggars in the country by simply taking away everything from the zemindars. They should be given a rehabilitation allowance, so that they can start life anew, but if we think of adequate compensation, then the promised abolition of the zemindari system will be fraught with many difficulties. Therefore, they should be given a rehabilitation allowance and not adequate compensation.

Similarly, nationalisation of all industries is necessary. If you call it appropriation, I do not know what this appropriation means; appropriation means rehabilitation. Whatever the language may be, if it is necessary in the interests of the country, it must be done. One thing is that we must not be the victims of communistic or any other slogans. Whatever is necessary, we must be able to do that. That is the characteristic of a dynamic organisation; that is the characteristic of a dynamic nation.

Then I come to "Education". The Hon'ble Minister has said that there are so many refugees who are floating about like explosive substances. I do agree. Therefore, last time I said that enough should be done for the rehabilitation of the refugees. I do not know for what reason it has not been done. In the "Education" field also I say that the Calcutta University is producing unmarketable commodities, unsaleable commodities. They are no less explosive substances than the refugees to whom the Hon'ble Finance Minister referred to. Therefore, I do appeal to the Hon'ble Education Minister to remodel the Calcutta University. Unless you do that, unless you plan education—mere talking will not do, there must be planning—if you do not say what it is that you are doing, then they will not listen to that. Therefore, I say that there must be educational planning. I am sorry to say that the Calcutta University registered graduates number only four hundred. It has become a Polit Bureau. Our Chief Minister thought that I was referring to the constituency in the Assembly. No, Sir. Not at all. I said some are elected and most of them are nominated. The Calcutta University should be democratised. Registration should be such that out of 60,000 graduates—I do not know, it may be 1 lakh—at least 50,000 can be enrolled so that they may elect their representative. Registration fees should also be reduced. My humble suggestion is that there should be necessary changes in the constitution of the Calcutta University. I would appeal to the Education Minister to change the constitution of the Calcutta University altogether. That was my appeal last time. But unfortunately the Chief Minister either misunderstood me or it may be my fault, I was not able to express myself properly. So, his answer to my mind was not an answer to the point. Therefore, I again appeal to the Education Minister to plan education, and then I would also say that unless Primary Education is made free and compulsory there is no hope for this country. From the age of 6 to 14 education should be compulsory. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that within ten years we must be able to do it. But already three years have elapsed, and if we go at the snail's pace, I do not know whether I shall be able to see in my lifetime, or for that matter even in the lifetime of the next generation, the fulfilment of this object. Therefore, I do say "hurry up".

About Basic Education I do not want to go into details. I do say that what is going on in Basic Education is not Basic Education, and if the experiment is done in this way, then Basic Education will surely be unsuccessful, and ultimately the Education Minister would say that it is so costly that no Government can do it. Therefore, I wish to draw his personal attention to it, so that Basic Education is run on proper lines and it is Basic Education pure and simple and it is not something else.

The Hon'ble Finance Minister has referred to the Deshmukh Award. But what can the Government of India do? They appointed an expert, and then they have appointed the Fiscal Commission. When there is a quarrel between a Provincial Government and the Central Government, they can only appoint experts, and ultimately the expert's decision has got to be accepted even if it goes against us. If it goes for us, I shall be glad, but if it goes against us it has got to be accepted. Once I told a lawyer friend of mine, a distinguished lawyer, about a certain incident: "Yes, my friend, you are a distinguished lawyer. If a Judge of the High Court gives his decision—he may be a fool—if he gives his decision, his decision is binding on us". Therefore, we may say anything about the Deshmukh Award. We may say harsh words about it, but ultimately we have got to abide by it. Sir, I shall be happy if we get more money, but I shall be happier still if that more money we get is spent properly. What is the use of asking merely for more money? If there is corruption and things like that, I do not know where the money will go.

Sir, I would like to say something in this discussion of the budget about the condition of the Bengali banks. For some time past some of the banks were in a bad condition and some of the banks had to be liquidated.

Mr. SPEAKER: Bank is a Central subject.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Sir, I know bank is a Central subject. Three banks wanted to get amalgamated but the Reserve Bank rules stood in the way. But after certain banks had collapsed, the Reserve Bank immediately thought that these rules should be changed. If the Bengal Government had put pressure on the Central Government or on the Reserve Bank, I think it would have been better. So, I do say these things because the economic position of the whole country would be upset if all the banks are disturbed, and already a good deal has been done to upset the position, and the middle class has been very hard hit.

Sir, I now want to say something about which my friend Sri Hemanta Kumar Basu laid a great stress, about the communal tension; not merely communal tension, but what happened in Eastern Bengal is simply causing headache to us. We are receiving very bad reports about what is happening there. When Maulana Sahib came here, I discussed the matter with him and he also agreed that some one should go to Dacca, and see things there. There were continuous reports for three or four days that there was no incident, and the Government communique about rehabilitation which was considered as satisfactory came out. I wanted to go to Dacca and I telephoned to the Premier of East Bengal. I told him that I wanted to see him as well as I would like to see the condition in Dacca. The Premier of East Bengal welcomed my seeing him but he disliked my seeing things. He told this to me in a very polite language. I asked him why he did not like it, what was his reason. He told me, "The Hindus will think they are to look up to West Bengal or to the Indian Union for their protection and welfare, and we do not like that". Then I pointed out, their High Commissioner came here, Dr. Malek came here, and we had no objection. He said that that was a different matter, and that my visit would have no official recognition. So, in this sort of atmosphere, I did not want to go because without governmental help in the present state of chaos, I would have been absolutely useless there. But in spite of all this I say that peace must be maintained here at all costs, because if peace is not maintained, we shall be weakening the hands of the Government. Whatever step has got to be taken has to be taken by our Government. Pandit Nehru has taken up the matter in all seriousness and is giving it first priority. I have written to him in detail whatever I wanted to say, and I know he has got it. So, it would have been better if Sri Hemanta Kumar Basu had not discussed the various things, not merely that, he has suggested that what Pandit Nehru has said is impossible. I would appeal to him, let us

not make all these suggestions here in this House. What I do sa however, is that we must take steps at the governmental level, and we mu leave it to the Government to take steps. We must give our suggestion to the Government and that too in private, not in this House. It will l out in the Press tomorrow as the opinion of Sri Hemanta Kumar Basu Secretary, Parliamentary Party. So, I do say, let us not complicate matte by making any such statements. You talk on the governmental level. do hope everybody would support us in that. But everybody will call u mad if we kill innocent Muslims here, loot their houses, and commit arso This action is against the policy of India, against the creed of the Congres and against all that we stand for. So, I do appeal to you that the communa tension should be eased and eased in a proper way, and I know the Govern ment of India will help us.

I have dealt with the budget items. I wish I could see more light in th budget and more hope for the common man. It is no good if the commo man's hope is not realised as my friend Mr. Singh Roy said yesterday. appreciated it when in that peculiar village language he described how th poor people lived. Unless you can do something to improve the lot of th common man, there will be deluge and we shall all be swept away. Sir I appeal to the Government to accept all I have said. I do say that I hav not the monopoly of wisdom, nor has anybody on earth that monopoly So, I say let us all put our heads together and solve our problems and mak our country prosperous.

With these remarks, Sir, I take my seat.

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in this tense and distressin situation in both parts of Bengal, one cannot help feeling a sense of unrealit in the general discussion of the budget. Two things naturally com uppermost in our minds, and I shall only deal with these two. The firs and foremost is restoration of peace and confidence in the minds of th minority; and the second problem—the problem of problems today—i that of refugees and their rehabilitation. Sir, it has been said that Govern ment is doing its utmost in both the States, but yet we do not find restoratio of confidence in the minds of the minority. We have got to ask the ques tion what have we got to do under these circumstances. Sir, the peculia position arises because socially and economically the citizens of the tw parts of Bengal have so many inter-relations but the unfortunate politica division has cut the two States asunder which we cannot yet reconcil ourselves to. But we must recognise that we are living under two differen States and however much we feel concerned, however much anxious w become, when we hear of the ill-treatment of persons or members of th minority community in the two States, we should realise that we ourselve cannot do anything to help them. We can only serve them by bringin true facts to the notice of our respective Government who will take up thos facts, forward them to the proper quarters and discuss them. It is tru that the minority communities have got to look to their respective Govern ments for protection, as has been said by the Premier of Eastern Pakistan but alas we must also confess that the protection that was needed the tw Governments have failed more or less to give. Shall we only helplessly look on or have we got a duty to ourselves to perform? I say that whe the forces of disorder get the better of the Government, the responsibilit upon us becomes heavier and we ought to make greater efforts an endeavours to see that the spirit of retaliation is not abroad. For, afte all, if we think coolly after the first blush of our passions is overcome, we should be able to see that retaliation brings in retaliation; retaliatio moves in a vicious circle; and retaliation is not the remedy. We should therefore, implore everyone that though there are very strong reasons fo us which rouse our passion, we must see that that retaliation does not spoil the good name and the good chances of any Government. Sir, that has become our responsibility, but there are a few suggestions which I should

make. Firstly, as our Government has already done, the Government of the other State should also declare that those who are dispossessed of their hearth and home have a right to be rehabilitated there and they also should declare that for every loss of life and injury to the minority community, the members of the majority community who may be participants in the crime or even I should go so far as to say, who may negatively, without being active, contribute to such crimes, should be made to pay for the loss or damage incurred by the members of the minority community. I wish the Government of the two States should take up that attitude. I know this Government is prepared to do it. The next thing is an intensive search to recover looted properties, to make it clear to the looters that they cannot possibly gain by their misdeeds. And I should think that there should be proper arrangements, if necessary, by appointment of special constables to prevent spreading of wild rumours. This should also be done.

Sir, the other question comes in because I know the refugees in some cases have been blamed for participating in these communal disturbances. I believe, the refugees as a class cannot possibly be blamed. It may be that here and there an individual refugee may have taken part, but when I have gone round some of these affected areas I have seen very little evidence that the refugees as a class have contributed to the communal disturbances. At the same time, there is no doubt that the problem of refugees is a very vital one and capable of great mischief. I had, therefore, for a very long time—I think about April, 1949,—made certain suggestions which I will only repeat shortly. We must be prepared to accommodate the refugees who leave, who are compelled to leave, and instead of bringing them down to Calcutta and allowing them to wonder about, we ought to detrain them at places like Bongaon, Ranaghat and other places and take them on to neighbouring camps and then get some forms filled up and decide what classes of refugees require what kind of help. We should allow only those refugees who have a shelter in Calcutta to come straight here, otherwise we shall again see that there is discontent among the refugees and from this discontent troubles will arise here.

Sir, I have suggested that unless the Government acquires some of the waste lands available—a detailed list of which I have given and I am circulating that list again for the information of the members today here with your permission—and, say, some 5 cottahs of land are allotted to the people, you cannot possibly expect that they will be content or that they will not blame the Government for not doing what they deserve.

Sir, I do not want to take up much of your time. I entirely agree with what the Hon'ble Minister has said and said very truly that planning and execution of schemes for national progress need, as all big efforts do, a peaceful atmosphere and he has very aptly put that national development is an art of peace. Therefore, it seems to me that today the main topic, the main consideration, the main question that we have got to apply in the general discussion is the topic of restoration of peace and confidence, the topic of solving the almost baffling problem of refugee rehabilitation and if we can do that, then alone this budget, this planning and provision of money in the budget can be utilised for some useful purpose. Sir, the suggestions with regard to refugee rehabilitation that I have circulated to the members need not be discussed in detail on the floor of the House. I shall be content if the Treasury Benches would apply their mind to it and give it first priority if they want the money provided in the budget to be spent usefully and well.

Mr. C. G. D. WILKS: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, while congratulating the Hon'ble Finance Minister on his admirable sum up of the economic stalemate prevailing in the country, I cannot but express my disappointment at the gloomy financial position of this partition-torn "problem province".

The budget speech seems to be more devoted to a study of the gene condition of the country on a much broader canvas than to the real problei facing West Bengal.

The Hon'ble friend hit the mark when he stated that West Bengal the problem province. The aftereffects of the war and the results (partition have had a disturbing effect on her people and made them bitt and sour. Neither the psychological nor the material fruits of freedoı have come to her people with any message of hope or good cheer. Th result for many in this State has been a sullen aloofness on their part, bor out of frustration and despair. Yet, fundamentally, the problem of Wes Bengal is economic and it is on the economic front that the problem has t be tackled first. Unless West Bengal can be helped out of her economi difficulties, a psychological change helpful on the positive side can hardl be expected. The middle class in West Bengal forms the core of her socia life; that middle class is facing utter disruption today. It is this class i particular that has paid the price of partition dearly. In fact, thousand of families have been cut in two by partition, while culturally still united politically and economically they have been cut asunder. With the slum in business conditions, the scope of employment has been considerabl reduced. The young mutilated province now faces a grim prospect as result of partition and the recent stoppage of normal business activitie between the two Bengals, which formed an indissoluble economic and cultura unit. As a businessman, I feel that the Government have not hithert succeeded in tackling a very delicate problem of inter-Dominion relation in an effective manner. Despite the apparently obstructionist attitude o the Pakistan Central and the East Pakistan Governments, our leaders shoul not give up trying to settle the issues in an amicable manner.

I would remind the honourable members of the House that we profes to be citizens of a Secular State, yet we do not practise our tenets. W rush into a frenzy of hate when five people are killed in a communal clasl yet what do we do when fifty lives are lost in a rail crash. We must se an example of a broader and more magnanimous outlook. We must no look on the present estrangement with communal eyes. If this communa canker is encouraged it will eventually lead to the destruction of this grea country. It is useless for us to talk of retaliation and war when we ar not prepared to implement our threats. Let us search our own hearts We harp on the communal question between West Bengal and East Pakistan What about our own provincial questions? Why do we raise the cry Bengal for the Bengalees, Madras for the Madrasees and so on? I repea we are a Secular State where we should all live in amity and work in unity for the glorification of our Motherland. Therefore at all costs our Government must take a more realistic view of this problem. The encouragement of an exodus of the minorities from either side is a suicidal policy foı each Dominion. At all costs this exodus must be stopped. It is not the immediate economic repercussion which is to be expected but the repercussion which will come in time. Compare our present state of trade with East Pakistan with that immediately after the partition. The exodus of population disrupts the entire economic position and resultant ills follow —such as the present communal tension. I would, therefore, ask the Government to take a firm stand on this exodus. The exodus from each Dominion must be discouraged and prevented at all costs. It must be so arranged that the majority community on either side be held entirely responsible for the safeguard of the minority community even if it be necessary to enforce punitive fines. No kind of glove methods must be adopted.

Analysing the economic background at home, the Hon'ble Minister has rightly emphasised that the fact of the matter is that so long as food and cloth, the two primary needs of the people, remain in short supply, monetary factors are not in themselves powerful enough to correct the situation and

bring to the common man a sense of relief. As is quite natural the general price indices give to food and cloth, the demand for which is highly inelastic, a special weight and a slight change in the prices of food and cloth, therefore, affects the general price level to a considerable extent. Even great improvements in other sectors of the economy may thus fail to make their influence felt on the general price situation so long as the common man struggles hard with his basic problems of food and cloth. This analysis of the cause of our woes reflects the approach of a rational and practical economist. But throughout the budget, I regret to mention I do not find any real effort on the part of my honourable friend to relieve the common man of his worries by arranging an easier and surer supply of food and cloth.

My honourable friend has mentioned that the present level of production, in many cases, is still below the installed capacities of the industries, and compares unfavourably with their own performances during the last Great War. Of course, it cannot be denied that the incentive to and urge for production during a totalitarian war are far more intensive than those during peace time. But it should not be ignored that the authorities and all the agents of production should have pooled all their resources to meet the challenge of crying shortages. It does not certainly testify to the credit of the administration that in spite of their policy of appeasement of labour, they have failed to achieve any appreciable degree of success on the production front, mainly due to the "wait-and-see" policy pursued by the enterpreneurs and the intransigence of labour as a class. It sounds rather queer for the authorities to prepare elaborate blue prints for high-sounding development schemes and nationalisation plans when they fail to utilise the existing installed benefits to our best advantage in order to meet the crying shortages of consumer goods in the country. The much-talked-of Industrial Truce Resolution of 1947 has failed to produce even a negligible fraction of the desired results, as has been frankly admitted by my honourable friend. Though there has been a fall in lost man days from 165·63 lakhs in 1947 and 78·37 lakhs in 1948 to 66·74 lakhs in 1949, "latest available reports indicate that, so far as productivity of labour is concerned, there has been a further decline in the most important sectors of our economy".

On the food front, my honourable friend has frankly admitted that there has been no gain but a fall by 2·5 per cent. in the total area under food-grains. Due to the shortage in internal production the imports of food had to be augmented by 7 million tons over the figures for the previous year though these imports have been fast eating away our reserves of foreign exchange as well as our current hard earned foreign exchange resources. With such an overall gloomy picture looming in the economic horizon of the country it remains to be seen how the authorities propose to achieve absolute self-sufficiency in food from 1951.

Without meaning to offend the personal or religious susceptibilities of any of the honourable members of this House, I would draw their attention to the recent legislation passed by this Assembly banning the slaughgter of cattle in the province. It is common knowledge that no one sends to the slaughter house any milch or fertile cattle when there is such an acute shortage of milk and milk products throughout the country, with consequential high prices ruling in the market. The larger the number of cattle, most of them dry, or yielding a very poor quantity of milk, the larger is the area required for pasture, resulting in a proportionate shrinkage in the area of land which may be put under food or cash crops. For the improvement of our cattle we do not require quantity but quality. It will be fatal to breed from quantity when quality is lacking. We complain of food shortage for human beings. The enforcement of this Bill will naturally lessen the supply of meat to which several communities are accustomed and the increase in the number of our cattle will call for still more food to feed the hungry mouths. Public opinion rightly demands that

our legislators should not be guided by mere sentiment at this formative stage of the nation's history, but think of the wider and long-range implications of any proposed measure adopted by them. As a realist, I would therefore ask that the Bill be suitably amended to make it penal on the part of anyone to rear up cattle in a negligent manner, allow them to roam ownerless on the streets to feed on unhygienic garbage bins, and hold up both the vehicular and pedestrian traffic on our already congested roads.

Despite the blessing of Lord Boyd-Orr to the new food policy of the Government of India and our leaders' urgent call to the nation, the common man hardly appears to have been imbued with the objective of fighting food shortage with his back to the wall and the targets of increased outputs to be obtained partly through reclamation of weed infested and other waste lands with the help of tractors and tube-well irrigation, and partly through intensive cultivation, and by a diversion of acreage under other crops to foodgrains remain a distant dream, so far as this province is concerned.

In the course of his budget speech, my honourable friend has mentioned that the constant influx of refugees from various walks in life in Eastern Pakistan has been causing a severe headache to the Government. But in spite of very liberal expenses incurred so far for the rehabilitation of these displaced persons, little tangible result seems to have been achieved so far. It seems that next to agriculture and development programmes, the heaviest drainage has been caused to the Provincial Exchequer under this head.

Under the head "Refugee Rehabilitation" my honourable friend has made an allocation of Rs. 40,16,000 towards expenditure on refugees, and the further sum of Rs. 193 lakhs (Rupees eighty-three lakhs in the revised estimates and Rs. 110 lakhs in the budget) for the colonisation of refugees, Rs. 55 lakhs—Rs. 26 lakhs in the revised estimates and Rs. 29 lakhs in the budget—for refugee rehabilitation in handloom schemes. But in spite of such a heavy drainage of funds from the Exchequer the authorities do not seem to have succeeded in even touching a fringe of the problem. Even now thousands of this floating population are moving in and around Calcutta and are directly or indirectly responsible for the sporadic outbrusts of violence in the city. Suburban garden houses have been occupied forcibly by these people and temporary hutments built for their accommodation——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Wilks, how long will you take?

Mr. C. C. D. WILKS: Another fifteen minutes, Sir.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You have already spoken for twenty minutes.

Mr. C. C. D. WILKS: Sir, I have skipped over a lot of my speech.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: All right. You may go on after adjournment.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Mr. C. C. D. WILKS: Sir, as I was saying, suburban garden houses have been occupied forcibly by these people and temporary hutments built for their accommodation. The owners are entirely at the mercy of these people and they dare not evict the trespassers out of fear. The authorities too do not extend any help to the aggrieved parties. It is high time that the Government impress upon these displaced persons that they cannot have any land or vocation at their choice. If they want to remain in West Bengal, they must settle in the places allocated to them by the authorities.

Both the Central and Provincial Governments should immediately take up this matter at inter-Dominion level and thrash out a working scheme for the protection of minorities in both the countries. With our horrible experience in West Punjab and Sind, it will not be advisable on our part to allow a mass exodus of the minorities from either country which will have far-reaching repercussions on the economic set up of both.

Sir, I would not like to tax the patience of the honourable members and before I conclude I would refer to the heavy expenses allocated for the Capital Outlay in Provincial Schemes of Trade and the Capital Outlay on Road Transport Scheme.

It appears from the budget that my honourable friend has earmarked a sum of Rs. 147 lakhs—Rs. 72 lakhs in the revised estimates, Rs. 75 lakhs in the budget—for the Road Transport Scheme. The authorities propose to run 400 State buses in and around Calcutta to relieve the heavy congestion in passenger traffic. They want to start three self-contained depots—one in the north, another in the south and a third in the centre of our city for garaging and servicing of the buses. While there should be no objection to the starting of the central workshop or the erection of the garages, I beg to differ from my honourable friend on the advisability of spending Rs. 60 lakhs for the purchase of land and the construction of workshops and garages. I would rather suggest that the Provincial Government should requisition a part of the maidan for the central workshop and garages on a monthly rental rather than make a blocked investment in the purchase of lands. Speaking on the self-same subject in the last budget debate I had suggested that this entire scheme of State Transport should not have been undertaken by the authorities. Had they conceded the facilities they have been enjoying in the matter of purchase of trucks and buses, allocation of routes, supply of petrol, etc., to private industry, enough capital would have been forthcoming from the market to run the scheme.

It sounds rather queer that on a capital investment of Rs. 98 lakhs and a recurring expenditure of Rs. 43 lakhs (page 39, Progress of Development Schemes, pages 115 and 36 of the Red Book), they had received an amount of Rs. 45·6 lakhs while the working expenses amount to Rs. 112 lakhs. Bus transport happens to be one of the most lucrative businesses in an industrial-*cum*-commercial area like Calcutta. Had the members of the Bus Syndicate or other private operators received the same rate of return on their outlay, there would have been no bus services in Calcutta. The fact of heavy congestion in buses has to be accepted so long as more vehicles are not put on the road. I would request my honourable friend to reconsider this matter and abandon the scheme of State Transport by entrusting private enterprises with the task. Such a step if taken will relieve my honourable friend to a considerable extent in balancing the budget and release more money for more constructive schemes which can only be taken by the Government.

Sir, finally a few brief remarks on State Trading. Whilst appreciating the efforts to increase the State fund by State Trading, I am of the opinion that legislators should confine their efforts to legislation and not the money business. There are more immediate and pressing needs that require the constant service of our legislators and the public exchequer would benefit far more in taxation of private enterprise than spending public funds. It is a dangerous practice to endeavour to be a Jack of all Trades and end up by being Master of none.

Mr. D. GOMES: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must congratulate the Hon'ble Finance Minister for doing a good thing out of a bad job. It is obvious that the resources at his disposal being so very limited for reasons beyond his control, he could hardly have done better in the matter of allocation of the expenditure.

The Finance Minister gave a masterly analysis of the economic disequilibrium in the national and international sphere which by affecting the pricing system, affected production and income of the Government. The analysis was learned in itself but its appropriateness from the point of view of a provincial budget was subject to question and unfair critics might say that the Finance Minister was using his dissertation on economics as a smokescreen to cover up the unpleasantness and even trash contained in his statement.

I wonder whether the Finance Minister by his critical observations on matters that directly touch and concern the Government of India, was not creating a healthy convention of inviting comments in the State Legislature on the policy of the Central Government—a convention which would be fully justified having regard to the fabric of the new Republican constitution in which the States have to function more or less as dependent adjuncts rather than autonomous bodies. Having regard to the fact that provincial matters are so often and in so many ways affected by Central policies, it is advisable that the Central Government should have comments not only from State Government in undisclosed correspondence and budget statements but also from State Legislatures in open session.

Take for instance the subject of the relief and rehabilitation of the refugees. The impact of this problem is directly on the province although the Centre does bear a very good part of the burden. This problem is intimately interlinked with foreign and defence policy of the Centre and unless those policies are effectively related to this one, the problem of the relief of the refugees becomes an inexhaustible and interminable one.

May I only state that solicitude for the friendship of a neighbouring State is a very good thing to be aimed at for a civilized Government but the moral obligation for the protection of the lives of the minorities there is equally paramount having regard to the history and understanding at the time of the constitutional changeover. Violence involved in an armed conflict is a very repulsive thing but violence on innocent and unarmed people is worse of the two and when one is faced with two evils, prudence dictates that Government should choose the lesser of the two and frame its policies accordingly.

Union of the two Bengals does not seem to be in the contemplation of the Central or Provincial Governments lest they offend the friendly neighbouring Government; but do they not know that elsewhere people are speaking of the union of Europe or the union of the English-speaking people? The reasonings that hold good there hold good with greater effect with regard to the two Bengals. There should be no shyness in looking at big problems in a big way.

Take the other case of the imposition of the high rate of income-tax. This province being commercially the most important one, the taxation policy of the Government of India has a more direct and more important bearing on this province than on any other province. The Finance Minister has rather critically surveyed the taxation policy of the Central Government. His reasoning is sound and it is rather difficult to surmise as to why the Government of India would not act up to that reasoning and lower the existing level of taxation. It does, however, impress anyone that in the framing of the taxation policy of the Government of India it is desirable that the Finance Ministers of the Provinces equally with the Finance Minister of the Centre should have an effective voice so as to eliminate friction. A discordant note of the type that we have heard from the Finance Minister of this State is neither conducive to the economic revival nor helpful to national solidarity.

Take the case of the Deshmukh Award. Members in this House have expressed their surprise that the justice due to this province has not been done. The profession of tender feelings for this province so often expressed

by our Central Ministers does not seem to find expression in their action. In consequence a feeling seems to gain ground in this province that the Centre really means to keep us in a position of inferiority or that the Government of this province are *persona non-grata* in their relations with the Centre.

I must congratulate the Government for the firm manner in which they have attempted to maintain law and order in the face of the growing menace from the anti-social elements. The police have generally rendered a good account of themselves. But serious complaints against their impartiality have also been heard. It is for Government to instil into the heart of all policemen a healthy fear of the consequences of breach of the rules of impartiality in the matter of affording protection to men in distress.

In the enforcement of the Security Act, however, frequent complaints are heard that innocent people are needlessly harassed in order to show off the power of the police. Some of the policemen are apt to look to the Security Act as a measure that is designed to relieve them of the necessity of scrutinising cases before arresting anybody. Such erroneous and mischievous outlook if prevalent among any class of them should be thoroughly eradicated. Watchful supervision of the police force is ever necessary on the part of Government. The saying that all powers corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely is particularly true with regard to the behaviour of a category of policemen in this country. The need for checking up their behaviour and maintaining constant vigilance over them is very necessary. If Government want the police force of this province to attain the reputation of the London Police, a drastic alteration in the manner of recruitment, in the qualification, training and supervision is necessary. Government should consider whether a high University degree, a good family connection and so-called smartness are all that have to be considered in judging a candidate for the police service, whether kindness, generosity, a humanitarian outlook, love of social service are not also to be fostered during the period of training.

In spite of the Security Act the subversive forces have not been vanquished. One has to look to the walls around the streets to be aware that the forces are very much alive indeed. The posters of the subversive forces are always to be found on the appropriate occasions for the appropriate people written in imaginative language and posted on the most attractive corners in spite of the efforts of our policemen.

Here is a field of work for our Publicity Department as well. The despicable half-truths, malicious falsehoods, the criminal libels that are being circulated by means of these posters have to be countered by the Publicity Department. Their effect must be nullified. A few books and pamphlets will not solve the problem. Government should not hesitate to run the Publicity Department on an expensive scale. If properly conducted, the Publicity Department should be a helpmate to the Education Department, Agriculture and Industry Department no less to the Police Department. If the subversive forces without substantial help and remaining underground can be so successful in the matter, why cannot a department of Government thrive and render greater service to the cause of democracy? It is high time that perverted notions about democracy, capitalism and the actions of Government should be dispelled by a systematic course of legitimate publicity work.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is after a good deal of hesitation that I take part in the debate this evening. As a matter of fact, for the last two weeks I have observed a discreet silence perchance any expression uttered in an unguarded moment of irresponsibility might, instead of soothing troubled waters, tend to complicate the situation all the more. At this crisis of the Bengalee race, when flames of communal passion have burst on both sides of the border endangering the life,

security and honour of our own brothers and sisters, all of us, Hindus and Muslims, would much rather refrain from any communal outbursts or irresponsible statements, which in this delicately surcharged atmosphere, might serve as the fuse of explosion and instead of helping the Government, embarrass their position all the more. I am not one of those who believe, Sir, that we can protect ourselves without the help, without the co-operation, without the sympathy of the majority community as also of the Government that represents the majority in this House. As a matter of fact we have taken the Government into absolute confidence and the Government too have taken us into absolute confidence. At all hours of the day, from morning till 12 o'clock in the night we have referred case after case to the Chief Minister of the State; to his Chief Secretary, his Home Secretary, his Police Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioner, Headquarters, the Deputy Commissioner, Central; to the District Magistrate of Howrah. We have found that barring connivance, barring irresponsible action or should I say, non-interference of certain lower ranks of the police in certain areas which have been responsible for devastations on a huge scale, we have always had response and immediate response from high quarters. We take this opportunity of expressing in no uncertain terms our deep sense of gratitude to the Government for all the protection that they gave. Sir, I emphasize without any fear of contradiction here and now that a decision was arrived at in a representative meeting of the Mussalmans of Calcutta asking me to lead a deputation to Delhi to wait upon Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India. I refused it on the ground that whatever protection, whatever succour, whatever co-operation we should expect, we should expect from the Government of the State. If we have got any grievance, if we have got any complaint to make against any particular set of police officers, we will make a clean breast of it before our own Government. We are the sacred trust of the Government. It is the fundamental and primary duty of a responsible Government to guarantee protection to the minorities and not merely guarantee protection but to actually give that protection in the hour of need. Sir, in that spirit we had gone on a Goodwill Mission to Dacca. We had proceeded to Dacca to study the situation at first hand. We had acquainted ourselves with the developments there and tried to understand the position ourselves. We saw the Chief Minister of Eastern Bengal and impressed upon the leading Muslims of Eastern Bengal that not by acts of reprisal or retaliation the position could be improved because action had its reaction and, in the ultimate analysis of events, whoever might be responsible for the tragic occurrences, it is the minorities that suffered on both sides.

Sir, I will appeal to the saner section of the majority community more specially to the non-Bengalee elements and still more particularly to my Sikh brethren who stood by us and rendered yeoman service to the Muslims when they needed protection most. Sir, I would appeal to them as I would appeal to the Muslims of Eastern Bengal to stand by us. Whoever happened to be responsible for this partition of Bengal or India, it is not for us to apportion the blame at this stage. Minorities on both sides feel absolutely insecure; they are suffering today from a sense of uncertainty and frustration. It is the Government or the State that alone can guarantee protection to them. In that spirit I would appeal to my Muslim brethren that they must not try in any way by any indirect hint or suggestion or insinuation to embarrass the position of the Government. Sir, contrary to my practice I have committed certain things to writing for fear I might be misinterpreted in certain responsible circles. We deplore the recent communal disturbances and the tragic happenings on either side of the border. We sympathise with the people in their deep distress and offer our sincerest condolences to the families of the unfortunate victims in both the countries. Sir, it is no use apportioning blame at this psychological moment of despair and frustration—a moment fraught with deep significance to the minorities. We would much rather refrain from any act

that might make the atmosphere all the more tense, all the more combustible. A single spark in this surcharged atmosphere might lead to conflagration. I would, therefore, appeal to the people in both East and West Bengal for patience, restraint and mental poise at this crisis of the Bengalee race. We nevertheless feel that nothing short of resolute and firm action on the part of the Government of both Bengals—of course, in active co-operation with the people thereof—can forestall the fast-increasing tempo of communal disturbances for all time to come and end the sorry chapter of human miseries and distress. No spirit of complacency either on the part of the Government or the people of both these countries, no surrender to lawlessness and disorder can stop further recurrence of these tragic happenings. In this connection we should make this special appeal to the refugees of both Pakistan and Hindustan to have a sense of the real crisis and not to precipitate events by any hasty action. On the other hand, they should make common endeavours in a common cause for communal harmony and peace conducive to the welfare of the minorities themselves.

Sir, we would also remind the majorities that they would be doing real service to their brothers-in-faith—the minorities in the other country—only by positive service to the minorities placed under their charge. It is Providence that has placed the minorities under their charge and people of both the Dominions, i.e., both the majorities have agreed to guarantee protection to the minorities. They have taken the solemn vow before the bar of public opinion, before the bar of God, before the bar of justice, before the bar of humanity to protect their sacred charge. Under all circumstances, under all provocations, under all storm and stress, they must stand by the minorities. Minorities are an integral part of the nation, they are entitled to the same status, the same position, the same privileges, the same rights, the same facilities, the same opportunities, the same protection and immunity from all risks that exist at the present moment.

Sir, all officials and non-officials, suspected of direct or indirect complicity in crimes, perpetrators of active and heinous crimes and the possible sympathisers thereof must be severely dealt with. Irresponsible statements from responsible or *quasi*-responsible quarters must be discouraged and checked by all possible means at the disposal of the Government. All communal organisations and their activities should be banned. Active perpetrators of crimes and their sympathisers must be treated on the same footing as saboteurs and other subversive elements of society. Movements of the refugees should be regulated as far as possible but never restricted, because we cannot realise the sense of insecurity of the refugees. When we saw our Hindu mothers, sisters and brothers crossing the border, we felt a sense of despair and sorrow. We saw also that Muslim mothers, sisters and brothers in tattered clothes from this side of the Dominion crossing the border in thousands. We appeal to the refugees, both Muslims and Hindus, not to create panic. We have also appealed to the Government of Eastern Bengal to counteract and offset the unfounded rumours and will exaggerations by timely presentation of actual occurrences, actual facts that have occurred across the border. It is not by suppression of facts, it is not by black-out of news that the situation can be improved. It is not by casting aspersions on this Government or that, this State or that that the situation can be eased or the tension removed. The flames of communal passion that have burst out on both sides of the Dominion are a standing disgrace to both the States. It is a direct challenge to our statesmanship, it is a challenge to our sense of public calamity, it is a challenge to our sense of moral values of things, it is a challenge to our capacity to rise to the height of the occasion and survive the general onslaught on the very existence of the Bengalee race. Will the Bengalees, Muslims and Hindus, rise to the height of the occasion or fail?

Janab HUSAN ARA BEGUM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, while congratulating the Hon'ble Finance Minister on the presentation of the budget in his

masterly and experienced manner, I have been disappointed to find that there is no mention of solving the increased demand for education, which is the most essential pillar in national development, especially primary education, including mass education. The world has realised that without literacy and mass education no nation on earth could live in harmony and peace. The people of the world are advancing by strides and bounds; therefore it is incumbent on the Government, now part of a Free Republic, to give their attention to this burning question.

Another important matter has not been mentioned regarding increase in medical relief for the masses. The hospitals at present at Calcutta are full to their highest capacity with the result that it is often impossible to obtain admission due to paucity of space. With the influx of people in Calcutta the condition of the people, especially women and children, has become worse, and many have been left to their fate to die on the streets or prolong their life in misery and distress. The conditions in the *bustees* were terrible to which I had made a reference in my last budget speech, but now many of these *bustees* have been wiped out by fire and destruction, but there are still many remaining in the same insanitary surroundings without any proper arrangements for drinking water, etc. It may be said that the Calcutta Corporation is responsible for this condition, but at present the Government is at the helm of affairs.

I would like to quote a few words of the Hon'ble Finance Minister: "A restlessness and aversion to stability and order seems to be the order of the day. People who easily surrender their judgment to anti-social forces must make up their minds finally whether to seek the redress of their grievances through peaceful, constitutional and democratic means or through the cult of violence which impairs the unity of our thoughts and action. It is poor logic to demand too many things in too short a time and, at the same time, create an atmosphere in which nothing can even be attempted. Obstructing the Government, and that by violent or undemocratic methods, ultimately recoils on the people themselves who become victims to the general insecurity and to the crippling set-back to national progress. If we are to make a success of democracy in this country, we must observe its rules and lend our good sense and judgment to the cause of stability and progress.

As I have indicated, West Bengal stands altogether on a different footing in respect of the magnitude of her problems. It is for the people of West Bengal to keep their heads cool and to think seriously as to how best to lift the State from its present unhappy condition and instal her in the position of glory which was once hers. Unfortunately, the present atmosphere does not encourage one to feel that the situation is properly appreciated even by her own people. They seem still to be lost in a maze of confusion and seeking salvation in fancy phrases and conflicts. This is most unfortunate when what is required is clear thinking and a constructive approach to our problems. The youth of this State, in particular, have reasons to take note of this otherwise depressing situation inasmuch as they will be called upon to make good for this grim inheritance. They must realise the hard fact that the world no longer goes easy for them; it is a relentless, competitive world that they have to conquer by their brain and brawn. It is for them now to train themselves so as to enable them to make their way in fresh fields...... If we fail to handle them properly, it will be so, not because we lack the material ingredients of prosperity, nor because we are faced with problems which make a depression inevitable; but mainly because the people, individually and collectively, lack the courage and the wisdom and the faith, and, above all, the will to utilise the opportunity which lies before them."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in quoting these words of the Hon'ble Finance Minister, may I be permitted to say that at the present moment Calcutta is facing a calamity, an unexpected calamity? The people are in a state of

panic since the past fortnight. Thousands have been uprooted from their ancestral homes. It was presumed that the atmosphere is changing, and many people were returning to their homes which were still left when the situation has again taken a turn since Wednesday last and today there is a regular exodus from Parsee Bagan, Holwell Lane area and Sealdah. Should this state of panic continue? Are the Muslims of Calcutta responsible for the happenings in East Bengal? Are the innocent persons to suffer for the fault of others? If this state of affairs be not checked with an iron hand, if repercussions upon repercussions are taking place, then I am afraid that even the root of Government will be shaken. The Muslims of West Bengal had decided to stake their lot with the Congress since the partition of India, and after the Republic of India's proclamation had put their implicit faith in the Government. Even now in the present disturbance they are silently looking forward for a frank and open gesture from the Government and the restoration of peace. Have the Muslims, even though they are in a minority, no claim on the Government? India has proclaimed herself to be a secular State, and as such they have a right and claim on the Government for the protection of the lives and properties of the Muslims. They who have a claim on the Government are standing as beggars in their own land, earnestly looking up to the Government for the protection of their lives and properties. Thousands have been driven away from their homes. Many have taken refuge in the streets with women and babies knocking about from pillar to post in their own city. Assurances have been given by the Hon'ble Chief Minister to my appeal to him during the debate on His Excellency's speech which was highly appreciated. I am thankful to the Chief Minister for calling out the Military, but matters have gone too far. Were orders carried out in their true sense by those who were in charge in the affected areas? Now, the Muslims are faced again with the same condition prevailing last week.

West Bengal was groaning under the refugee burden, and it is faced with the exodus of its Muslim population. The unforseen has come to pass, and the Muslims of West Bengal are faced with disaster. They have condemned the happenings in the neighbouring country. They are now looking up to the Government to redress their wrongs and to rehabilitate them in their homes so as to live in peace as citizens of India. His Excellency has kindly told me that these people will be rehabilitated, and the Government will make provision for them as far as possible. The Government has promised to rehabilitate these unfortunate people who have lost their homes, all their belongings. There are at the present moment many suggestions, i.e., exchange of population, retaliation, etc., with the words "International", Inter-Dominion phrases and above them the tribunal of the U.N.O. who claim to have the destiny of mankind in their hands. Can India and Pakistan cast off internationalism with only the majority of their Dominions? No country can advance in trade and commerce unless they have an inter-Dominion status. Should India after attaining freedom leave her masses, especially the Muslims, to suffer for the fault of others? Calcutta once claimed to be the second city in the British Empire. Now a big city of the Indian Empire is again under a spell of calamity. It seems that Nature has chosen this city for the visitation of calamities in one form or another, and I wonder where will be the end of these disasters. May I request the Government to maintain peace at all costs? Has the Government seen the medical chart of the Congress Government in one of the prominent dailies of Calcutta? Let us love peace at all costs. Let the communal tension be put down with an iron hand so that the Muslims will feel safe under the Government and live a new life.

Those who clamour for an exchange of population, can these people pause for a moment and think what will be the result? Exodus has to be stopped by both Governments. It means paralysing the Government. Utterance of words sometimes has many devastating results. Once uttered

the mischief is created. Much has been said by the honourable members of this House giving their ideas, and I thank those members who have been kind enough to champion the cause of the poor Muslims who are standing today before the Government of India as one with depression and a feeling of uncertainty for the future. Man cannot fathom the hands of the Creator or what is the will of Providence. I appeal in the name of humanity, I appeal in the name of Mahatma Gandhi who laid down his life for the protection of minorities, to the majorities to take the Muslims in their confidence and give them an opportunity to start a new life, with a guarantee by the Government for the protection of their life; thereby the Government will not repent the day when they have extended an open hand to the Muslims of India, especially of West Bengal.

Point of Privilege.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a matter of privilege, Sir. The West Bengal Security Bill is coming up tomorrow and the notice of it I received only the last night. I do not blame the office for that. The letter was cyclostyled on the 20th and it was posted on that date. It reached Howrah Post Office on the 21st. I do not know whether it was due to the communal disturbances that the letter did not reach me till I reached home last night. So, Sir, it was not possible for me to give notice of amendments by 3 o'clock today. It is hard on us, and I submit, Sir, this Bill should not be taken up on the 25th.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, we are in the midst of the budget discussion. The proper time for you to raise the matter is tomorrow. The position is that so far as the notice is concerned, it was despatched on the 20th. In the ordinary course the postal packets should have been received by the members the next day. If one particular member has not received a particular packet in time, I am sorry for that. But for that reason it is not possible for me to extend the time for sending amendments, and I regret that no further extension of time can be given.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, my point is that firstly sufficient time was not given, and secondly that in view of the disturbances the letter did not reach me in time and it is possible that others also might not have got the Bill and the notice that it would be taken up tomorrow.

Mr. SPEAKER: As far as I can see you are the only member who is complaining about the non-receipt of the papers. Had it been a general complaint, I could have considered it. As a matter of fact, unless there are facts before me that a large number of members have not received the papers, how can I consider the matter? Simply because one gentleman has not received, I cannot extend the time.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, at least permission should be given to me to move short-notice amendments.

Mr. SPEAKER: I shall consider it at the time.

Sj. SHEO KUMAR RAI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, Ham sub sey pahley hamarey Finance Minister, unhon ney jestrah sey elaborate statement banaya hai, uske leay hum unko dhanabad aur badhaie dete hain. Paruntu jistrah ka statement taiyar kiay hain isme hum purey tarah sey sath naheen de saktey hain. Pahley yah jo backward area hai ismen koyee tarah ka provision naheen rakhey hain. Ap log jantey hain, ke, jistrah Hindustan aur Pakistan divide ho giya hai, Jalpaiguri aur Darjeeling ek taraf chala giya hai. Hamen dukh hota hai ke West Bengal Government ka ün jakhon per koie khayal naheen hai. Yahan per ketney backward class rahtey hain unke taraf koie khayal naheen hai. West Bengal Government ko der hai aur Central Government ko bhi der hai communism sey. Hum log

dekh rahey hain ke utter ke aur sey, communist a rahey hain. Akhbar ke serey sey maloom hua hai ke Tibbet men communist infiltrate ker gaya hain aur wahan say communist nichey utter saktey hain. Communist ke khelaf Tibet men madad ponchane ke leay Anglo-American ney jo prestao rakha thá, us presto ko Pandit Nehru ney naheen mana aur rasta deney say inkar kerdiya. Hum unko kahtey hain ke āp Tibbet ko communism ke hathon soup ker Hindustan ko naheen bacha saktey hain. Dushman ko dür rakh ker humko defend karna chahey. Angrez log jab England defend kertey to Suez Canal aur Gibraltar men kertey they. Hum logon ko bhi Hindustan ko Tibbet men defend kerna chahey aur isleay humko semapranth ke logon ko anand men rakhna chahey. Aur jab yeh log sukhi naheen rahenge to communist ko maoka melega oanta ke üper frustration araha hai beshesh kerkey semyapranth ke janta per frustration araha hai. Hamarey utter Bengal men bohut dukh hai isko dekhna chahey. Tibbet janey ka rasta Kalimpong say hai. Darjeeling ke zela per West Bengal Government ke nazar rakhna chahey ta key wahan ke janta sukhi rahey. Santusht rahey aur jahan koie infiltration na ho yeh West Bengal Government ko dekhna chahey, paruntu ashantosh is pranth men barhta hi ja raraha hai.

Sara West Bengal men nomination system ura deya giya hai leken Darjeeling men nomination system jari hai, yeh democracy ke khilaf hai. Hamen dukh hota hai ke wahan jari hai. Janta ko upna prithinidi chun ney ka haq na deker ap apney Government ko yeh haq derahey hain, yeh democracy naheen hai. Magar yeh system abhi tak wahan hai. British ke samai men perbat ke busheon men koie matbhed naheen tha, ab wahan matbhed dekh rehey hain. Yeh Government iske leay responsible hai. Yeh Government British log ko divide and rule ke policy per criticize kerti thi ke wah Hindu Muslim men divide ker rahee hai laken ab purbat men hum kiya dekh rahey hain West Bengal Government chahti hai ke parbat bibhin hojai. Agey yeh log sub Gurkha kahla te they magar ab, Lephcha, Bhutia, Nepalees aur Gurkha sub alag alag kerdeay gayey hain. Lephcha aur Bhutia ko schedule caste ker deya hai. Jub wahan koie Bara Bara Minister jatey hain to wah Tea party men, sub sey alag miltey hain abhi tak Darjeeling men bureaucratic system jari hai. Hum logon nay jab British ke us bureaucratic system ko change keja to pher keon aj wahan yeh system hai. Aj wahan janta ke taraf sey koie representative naheen hota hai. Government ke representative jo kahtey hai wahee hota hai. British Government ke representative ney ap logon ko jail men bhej deya tha, Pandit Nehru aur Sirdar Patel ko jail bhej deya tha, magar ab yeh ek hi rat man desh bhagot kaisey ho saktey hain. Wah logan ney British ke wakht yeh sikha tha ke kaise malik ko khush rakhna chahey, is leay ab wah Congress Government ki Ministry ko khush rakhuey ki koshesh ker rahen hai. Yeh system jo hai bureaucratic system hai. Yeh naheen rahna chahey. Darjeeling ka two-third population Tea gardens men hai, un janta ka kuch naheen hua, hamarey budget men kesan-mazdoor ke leay kuch rakhey naheen hain. Government ki jo policy hai wah kisan-mazdoor ke beshai men abhut policy hai. Abhi tak 24 ghantey ke notice men chabagan sey nekal deya ja sakta tha, leken jab sey Darjeeling men union hua hai, us wakat sey 6 mahina men ejectment suit karkey nekala ja sakta hai. Mazdoor aur kisan ke bishai men is budget men kuch rakha naheen hai. Wahan per jo labour officer rakha hai wah labour officer kuch naheen kerta hai. Teesta Valley men main jab Labour Commissioner aur Havildar saheb ke sath gaya woh wahan kahney lagey ke ap logon ne union men aisy admeon ko keon chuna hai jo jail men gaey hain. Hum kahtey hain jo kam karta hai wahi jail jata hai, Pandit Nehru aur Sirdar Patel ko bhi jail jana para tha. Jab union ke admi manager aur punjipati ke khilaf larengey to jail jana hoga, koibat nahee hai. Ke yeh log kharab admi hain, pher khaney lagey ke manager ne bohut kuch sunaya hai. Havildar saheb kahney lagey ke main Government ko salah doonga ke aisa kanoon banjai ke do (2) ghantey ke notice deker nekala jasakey. Hum kahtey hain ke yeh jo bohut dür sey watan chor ker aey hain, wah kahan jaengey,

unka beshesh koie gaon naheen hai. In garib mazdooron ney jungle ko phar ker khet lagaya tha aur chatano to phor ker mahal banaya tha, ab kahan jaingey. In garib kisanon aur mazdooron ka is mazdoor-kisan Raj men koie bhag naheen hai. Siddhant to apka achha hai magar iski raksha bohut muskhil hai, keon ke hum logon dekna hai ke kiskey hath mey yeh siddhant perti hai Siddhant Serf Siddhand ke had tak rahsakhta hai Bullet ka siddhant hai marna ager achhey admi ke hath men wah bullet jaiey to wah sher mar sakta hai aur purey gaon ko bacha sakta hai aur ager burey admi ke hath men wah bullet jai to wah bohut kharabi ker sakta hai. Jestarah sey humarey rushtpita ki hatiya hoie thi. Jub ham log kuch kahtey hain to sirkar ki mantri mahashey kahtey hain. আপনারা কি চান? আপনারা চেচাচেছন কেন? এই সময় কি হচেছ? কংগ্রেসের ভিতর কেন আপনারা আসছেন না? Hum kehtey hain ke আমরা কি করেছি? আমাদের হাতে কিছুই ক্ষমতা নেই। Yah jo hai, yeh gharib ki ah hai, kisan ki ah hai. Corruption bohut ziada barhta ja raha hai, iskey taraf Government ka bilkul dhiyan naheen hai. Agar hum log gharibon ke leay, janta ke leay, kuch sangstha kertey hain to kaha jata hai yeh subversive movement hai. Yeh communist hai. Yah to wolf aur lamb ka kissa hogiya. Ke ek wolf ney lamb sey kaha ke keon mera pani ghola kertey ho, lamb ney kaha ke hum nichey ap oopper hain kestarap hum pani ghola kersaktey hain pher usney kaha ke gali keon deya. Lamb ney kaha ke kab, usney kaha ke agby sal, lamb ney kaha ke agby sal to hum paida naheen huay they. Wolf ney kaha ke to terey pita ney gali diya tha, aur usko harap ker giya. Istarah sey ajkel kam horaha hai. Jab hamarey Education Minister Darjeeling gaey they to unhon ney kaha tha ke kuch admi ko bhej dena, 3, 4 stipend de denjey. Hum ney 3 admi ko khej deya, do ko de deya aur ek ko naheen diya, kaha yeh subversive movement ka admi hai. Darjeeling Congress Committee ke President ney bhi lekh diya tabbhi, wah kahtey hain, ke yeh subversive movement ka admi hai. Jestarh sey ho yeh sab admi ko apni taraf lena chahey, keonke yeh system sey admi sab Government ke khilaf jâ rahey hain. Isleiy Government ko chahey istaraf dhiyan de. Dhirey dhirey admi Government ke khela jarahey hain. Is Government ko hushyar hojana chaheay. Abhi abhi jetney admi speech kergaey usmen sey 80 per cent. Congress ke member ney Government ke khilaf bhashan deya.

Sja. BINA BHOWMICK: মাননীয় সভাপাল মহোদয়, গত বৎসর আমাদের অর্থসচিব মহাশয় তাঁর বাজেট স্পীচে যেখানে যেখানে কংগ্রেসের নীতিকে আঘাত করেছিলেন-- কংগ্রেসী সদস্যদের পক্ষ থেকে তার তীব্র প্রতিবাদ হয়েছিল। কিন্তু সেই প্রতিবাদ যে একেবারে নিষ্ফল হয়েছিল, অর্থসচিব মহাশয় যে তার কোন মূল্যই দেননি, তাঁর এবারকার বক্তৃতায় সেটা পরিস্ফুট হয়ে উঠল।

অর্থসচিব মহাশয় কংগ্রেসের নীতি-বিরোধী কথা এই পরিষদকক্ষে কেন বারেবারে নিয়ে আসেন তা তিনিই জানেন। তবে সেই ছাত্রাবস্থায় যে *Laissez-faire* theoryর কথা শুনেছিলাম এবং তখনি যে শিখেছিলাম সেটা একটা exploded theory সেই বহুদিনের বাতিল theoryটা যে এতদিন পরে এই পরিষদকক্ষে কংগ্রেসী মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর মুখে শুনতে হচ্ছে সেটা আমাদের একান্ত দুর্ভাগ্য। আমার মনে হয় এই সব বক্তৃতায় কংগ্রেস প্রতিষ্ঠানের মধ্যে যে বিরোধ রয়েছে সেইটাই গভীরভাবে ফুটে উঠেছে। কংগ্রেস এতদিন ইংরাজের বিরুদ্ধে সংগ্রাম করে এসেছিল, সেই সময় সকল শ্রেণীর লোক, শ্রমিক, ধনিক, জমিদার, কৃষক, মধ্যবিত্ত সকলে আমরা একসঙ্গে দাঁড়িয়ে একটা তৃতীয় পক্ষের বিরুদ্ধে সংগ্রাম করেছিলাম। আজ দেশ স্বাধীন হবার পরে সেই বিভিন্ন স্বার্থ ঠিক আগের মত একই প্রতিষ্ঠানে নিজেদের স্থান করে নিতে পারছে না। সেটাই অর্থসচিব মহোদয়ের বক্তৃতার মধ্যে বারে বারে ফুটে উঠেছে। এবং এই ধরণের স্বতোবিরোধকে যতদিন না আমরা কাটিয়ে উঠতে পারছি, ততদিন কংগ্রেস প্রতিষ্ঠানের পক্ষে একটা খুবই বিপজ্জনক অবস্থা। তবে কংগ্রেসের এই স্বতোবিরোধকে এইভাবে এই পরিষদকক্ষের মধ্যে এবং সারা পৃথিবীর সামনে তুলে ধরার কোনই প্রয়োজন ছিল না। কিছুদিন আগে প্রধান মন্ত্রীমহাশয় এই পরিষদ-কক্ষে দাঁড়িয়ে ঘোষণা করেছিলেন যে তিনি Congress campএ একজন heretic এবং তিনি classless societyতে বিশ্বাস করেন না। তারপর অর্থসচিব মহাশয়ের ভাষণ ও

দেখি পুরাপুরি সেই heresyর উপরই রচিত হয়েছে। অন্যান্য মন্ত্রীদের কথা জানিনা—তাঁরাও সেই heresyই সমর্থন করেন কিনা, এ প্রশ্নও মনে জাগে। এবং মন্ত্রীমণ্ডলীকে জিজ্ঞাসা করতে ইচ্ছা করে কংগ্রেসের মূল নীতিকে এই ভাবে অস্বীকার করে কংগ্রেসের নামে এত বড় দায়িত্বপূর্ণ কাজের ভার নেওয়া তাঁদের পক্ষে কি উচিত হ'চ্ছে? কংগ্রেসের নীতির সঙ্গে বিরোধ থাকা সত্ত্বেও যে কংগ্রেসের নামে শাসনকার্য্য চালাচ্ছেন তাঁরা এটা নিজেদের মনের মধ্যে কিভাবে সামঞ্জস্য করে নেন তা তাঁরা নিজেরাই জানেন। কিন্তু কংগ্রেসের নীতিকে যাঁরা পরিহাসের বিষয় বলে মনে করেন না, যাঁরা সেটা seriously গ্রহণ করেন, এবং আজ কংগ্রেস যেটুকু করেছে বা করছে তার জন্য নয়—কেবলমাত্র এতবড় আদর্শের সঙ্গে কংগ্রেসের নাম জড়িত রয়েছে বলেই, যাঁরা আজকেও কংগ্রেসকে আঁকড়ে ধরে রয়েছেন তাঁদের এই ধরণের বক্তৃতায় অত্যন্ত অসুবিধায় পড়তে হয়। তবে আমি মনে করি কংগ্রেসের সদস্য হিসাবে আমাদের সবচেয়ে বড় জিনিষ হচ্ছে কংগ্রেসের ... নীতির অমর্য্যাদা হ'তে না দেওয়া। যে নীতি কংগ্রেসের পক্ষ হতে বারে বারে ঘোষিত হয়েছে, জয়পুর কংগ্রেসেও যে classless societyর আদর্শ গৃহীত হয়েছে, সেই নীতির প্রতি আমাদের সর্ব্বপ্রথম অনুগত হওয়া উচিত। সেইজন্য অর্থসচিব মহাশয় তার বক্তৃতায় যেখানে যেখানে সেই নীতিকে ক্ষুণ্ণ করেছেন সেখানে আমি তাঁর সঙ্গে নিজকে dissociate করে গেলাম।

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: The statement made by the Finance Minister——

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you kindly go to the microphone?

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: If you can hear me it is all right.

I was saying the statement made by the Finance Minister in presenting the budget this year, which I am sorry to say, is in many respects a rather depressing document——

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: May I through you request the honourable member in the interest of the Press and in the interest of the public to go over to the microphone?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have got to hear. Microphones are there to be utilised. I am requesting you to go there.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: (Goes to the mike.) I was saying, Sir, the statement made by the Finance Minister in presenting the budget this year, which I am sorry to say, is in many respects a rather depressing document has two parts. I do not wish to comment anything on the first part covering some 29 pages, not because that they do not raise many important issues and problems for have they not generated much heat and controversy in this House but because I feel that we shall have more and authoritative light thrown on them in the forthcoming Budget Statement of the Finance Minister of the Government of India. Emulating our Finance Minister, before I make my observations on the overall financial position as revealed in the budget, I should like to say a few words on certain salient features of the budget, and following him again, I might start with the development programme. Much righteous indignation has been shown by the Finance Minister at the policy of the Central Government in the matter of making grants and advances for financing development projects. I do not deny that we have cause to be indignant at being deprived of this financial assistance at this late stage when many major schemes, must have been considerably advanced, but, at the same time, I feel that a lot of it is rather misplaced. For coming events were casting their shadows since long before. And even in the last year's budget statement, the Finance Minister gave enough indication to show that the Government of India were trying in all possible ways to curtail these grants and advances. You may also remember, Sir, that in presenting his budget for 1948-49, in a mood of considerable optimism, the Finance Minister had said, "I hope and believe that in planning and executing our future development programmes, lack of money will not prove to be a great obstacle".

In the course of the general discussion I had observed, "I am afraid that both against the background of the present budget and the money market conditions obtaining now, I cannot share the optimism of the Finance Minister that in executing and planning our future development programme lack of money will not prove a serious obstacle". In the circumstances, it rather surprises me that a person with the prescience and financial acumen as are possessed by the Finance Minister could not have foreseen the financial difficulties of the Central and State Governments, or realised the urgent necessity of proceeding with development schemes in a planned and orderly fashion, or of husbanding our resources to the utmost, so that they might be available for financing beneficient development projects. About the development programmes themselves, I do not intend to dilate on the usual criticisms, which are fast becoming hardy annuals, although they still remain true even today, namely, that many of these development projects are not developmental in character and should have been financed out of ordinary revenues, that they are not well planned, nor well executed in many cases as will be borne out by a reference to the progress report which has been circulated to honourable members, and that they do not betray any appreciation of the need for fixing priorities. Even the term "development" appears to have acquired a new connotation. Ordinarily a development scheme should be a beneficent scheme relating to some nation-building department with the object of increasing the wealth of the country and improving the living condition of the masses. But today "General Administration", "Administration of Justice" and even "Police" have a development programme. I wonder why the Civil Supplies Department should have the unique honour or dishonour of being deprived of a development programme. As, however, the Finance Minister has today awakened to an appreciation of the fact that financial difficulties more than anything else are holding up our development projects, there is a very important matter to which I should like to turn the attention of honourable members. It is also bound up with the question of the structure of our public expenditure. It is well known that in undivided Bengal the distribution of expenditure as between territories now comprising West Bengal and East Bengal was in the ratio of 54 : 46. The total revenue expenditure in 1946-47 in undivided Bengal was Rs. 40 crores, and it used to be our contention at that time, when we had the honour of occupying the benches opposite that there was much wasteful and extravagant expenditure. But even assuming total revenue expenditure in 1946-47 as Rs. 40 crores, the share of West Bengal would be about Rs. 21 crores. The revenue of West Bengal today is anything between Rs. 31 and Rs. 35 crores. If we had been maintaining our expenditure on the same standard as in 1946-47 which also include expenditure on the nation-building departments, we would have been saving at least Rs. 10 crores a year and by 1950-51 we would have been able to accumulate a fund of something between Rs. 30 and Rs. 35 crores which we could have utilised for financing development projects, or at least in preventing us from running into debt with the Government of India to the tune of Rs. 24 crores, as has been estimated by the end of 1950-51. Wise stewardship should have taken full advantage of this favourable position to improve the material well-being of the people. But it is sad to reflect that we have let this unique opportunity slip by.

Our incapacity to finance development projects raises the whole question of administrative expenditure. Government have been subjected to much adverse criticisms; the Administration has been characterised as top-heavy which Government deny. I agree that there may be valid reasons,—there may be circumstances and conditions,—which would warrant an increase in expenditure, but that is a case which has to be proved and substantiated. Let us, therefore, examine the conditions today with conditions which obtained in undivided Bengal in 1946-47 to find out if a case for increased expenditure on this scale is justified. Here are some comparative figures. In undivided Bengal in 1946-47 "Police" used to cost us Rs. 4 crores

while today in one-third of the territory, that is, West Bengal in 1950-51 it would cost us Rs. 5 crores. Presidency Police which is virtually Calcutta Police cost us in 1946-47 in undivided Bengal Rs. 57 lakhs. Today in one-third of the territory, that is, West Bengal in 1950-51 it will cost us Rs. 1 crore 67 lakhs. District Police Executive Force used to cost us in 1946-47 in undivided Bengal Rs. 2 crores 78 lakhs and it will cost us in one-third of the territory, that is, West Bengal in 1950-51 Rs. 2 crores and 75 lakhs. Civil Secretariat used to cost us in undivided Bengal in 1946-47 Rs. 49 lakhs while today in one-third of the territory, that is, West Bengal it will cost us in 1950-51 Rs. 65 lakhs. Sir, if there has been a diminution in the territory to be administered and if the cost of running it at the Centre and of maintaining law and order, instead of decreasing, increases heavily, the phenomenon is what is commonly referred to as a top-heavy administration. I have often wondered what is the reason for this, and one explanation that struck me was this. After independence, Government must have felt that they must proceed with development schemes and for that purpose they required a large staff. Then, finding that there was not sufficient money to finance those schemes, Government must have felt that they required a separate staff to examine as to which schemes should be cut down. And then to see whether the process of cutting down process was being done properly, Government probably felt that they required yet more staff to examine this and fix an order of priorities. In some such fashion, the Secretariat personnel must have multiplied. The need for economy in the administrative expenditure, seriously speaking, is immediate and urgent. Government sometimes argue that there is not much saving to be effected by economy measures. I do not quite agree. But even then it is a question of effecting as much economy in expenditure as is possible. The very casual reference to this important subject in the Finance Minister's budget statement is rather disappointing. Last year we were told that a Special Officer had been appointed to examine the question of staff requirements. This year we are informed that "Government in the various departments have undertaken to explore all avenues of economy and to reduce expenditure to minimum consistent with efficiency". This is tackling the problem, I fear, in a rather perfunctory and cavalier fashion. What is urgently required is some sort of a Committee as has been suggested by my honourable friend, the member for Birbhum, some sort of a Committee of this House on which experts might be asked also to serve to examine the whole field of public expenditure.

I would next turn to the problem which is already acute, and threatens to be even more acute in the context of recent happenings in East Bengal. I do not want to refer to the position which is developing in the two Bengals because many speakers have already referred to that. But I am concerned at the moment only with the refugee problem. The expenditure on refugees comes under three heads: "57—Miscellaneous—Expenditure on Refugees"; "82—Capital Outlay on Refugees"; and a debt head "Loans and Advances to Refugees". Practically all the expenditure is borne by the Government of India. But there are certain disquieting features. In the budget of 1949-50 a provision was made for 427 lakhs under the head "57" which has been reduced in the revised to about 1½ crores. The main items in this budget of 427 lakhs were the following:—

Relief	...	**3½ crores.**
Graints-in-aid for rehabilitation	...	**45 lakhs.**

The balance covered establishment and contingency expenses.

In the revised estimate for the current year, while establishment cost has increased, the amount intended for relief, namely, 3½ crores, has been reduced to 77½ lakhs, and the amount intended for grants-in-aid for rehabilitation has been reduced from 45 lakhs to a little over 7½ lakhs.

Thus in the matter of relief and grant-in-aid for rehabilitation to refugees, there has been a reduction of almost 3 crores of rupees, while establishment cost has increased. Now, what is the explanation of this huge reduction? The only reference to it in the Finance Minister's budget statement is that there have been smaller payments for relief. But why have there been smaller payments? Have there been smaller demands by the refugees? I want to know the reason. Again, in the budget for 1949-50 a provision of 486 lakhs had been made for loans and advances to refugees, and it has been reduced in the revised to 137 lakhs. No explanation for this reduction is forthcoming except this rather cryptic observation on page 133 of the Red Book: "Smaller payments of loans than was originally anticipated account for the decrease in the revised". But why should there have been smaller payments? Was the demand so much smaller, or were the conditions attached to the grant of advances so stringent that they could not be fulfilled by the refugees? I believe it was the latter, and therefore we cannot really say that we have been making genuine and serious attempts to assist and rehabilitate the refugees. It is no wonder then that the refugees are dissatisfied with the treatment meted out to them, which they characterise as callous. It is high time that Government realised that their mounting discontent is a source of serious danger to the State and, therefore, in the interest of the refugees as much as in the interest of the State itself, did something to rehabilitate them and to turn them into reasonably contented and useful members of society.

Next, I want to turn your attention, Sir, to a few schemes of State trading. Last year I pleaded that a commercial balance sheet might be given to us so that we might examine their achievements. Unfortunately this has not been done except in the case, to a certain extent, of State buses, and here too it is unsatisfactory. It is unsatisfactory in the first place because the receipts for the coming year appear to me to have been exaggerated. If 146 buses are expected to bring in a gross revenue of about 34 lakhs in the current year, as has been shown in the revised, I doubt very much if 350 buses, even assuming that the Government will be able to put them all on the road, will bring in a revenue of something like 94 lakhs in the coming year. I may mention that originally for the current year the estimate was 87½ lakhs which has been brought down in the revised to only 34 lakhs. In the second place, I believe in the expenditure account sufficient provision has not been made for adequate depreciation, and no provision appears to have been made for insurance. If all these things are taken into account, I do not know how the balance sheet would turn out to be.

Then, there is another item, Grains Purchase Scheme, to which I should like to draw your attention. It comes under "85A—Capital Outlay on Provincial Schemes of State Trading". If you will refer, Sir, to page 117 of the Red Book, you will find a summary of stock position given, which is extremely unsatisfactory, because it appears to take no account of loss, wastage and deterioration. This is how the stock position seems to have been arrived at. To the opening stock, purchases made during the year are added, and sales made during the year are subtracted, and the resulting figure is given as the closing stock. This may be arithmetically correct but in all probability physically and actually wrong. I would therefore again urge upon the Government that from the next year they may be pleased to provide us with commercial balance sheets in respect of all schemes of State training.

(At this time the blue light was lit, but he was allowed to continue.)

Then, Sir, there are one or two minor items to which I should like to draw your attention. Recently there has been a redistribution of ministerial portfolios. Whether any rational principles or any other urgent considerations underlie that redistribution we do not know. But if for better working

Food and Agriculture were combined, then on the same logic Industry and Supply should have been combined. I wonder, Sir, whether you have noticed that of the total revenue expenditure of about 35 crores in the coming year the Chief Minister himself is responsible for 33 per cent. of the total and if we were to add on to it the work that he has to do from time to time for his colleague the percentage would increase to something like 37 or 38. The Food Minister is responsible for about 20 per cent. of the total expenditure. So these two Ministers between themselves are mainly responsible for nearly 60 per cent. of the total revenue expenditure while all the other Ministers put together are responsible for the balance of 40 per cent.

I would say only one word on an item in which I am particularly interested, namely, the Industries Budget. Of course there is not much to be said about it. Business and commerce has been suffering during the last two years because of depressed business and market conditions; and yet Government activity in this matter has been conspicuous by its absence. I have only one suggestion to offer to the Government and I hope they may be pleased to accept it, namely, that they may be pleased to change the name of that portion of the Industries Budget which is called Industries—Industries from its present name to Industries—Cottage Industries, because this will be more appropriate to describe the work that it is doing.

Sir, coming now to the actual financial position the first point I would like to draw your attention to is a feverish attempt made at window-dressing. I was under the impression that this was a practice resorted to by some business concerns only and even then, not by the best among them. But not until I had examined this year's financial statement did I realise that Government accounting also was not exempt from this practice. The way in which heads of expenditure have been created, abolished, recreated, transferred, distributed and divided bears witness to this practice and the result is puzzling to anyone who dares enter the maze of budget figures. Agricultural demand under heads 40 and 71 provided a very good illustration. Expenditure which came under "Development Programme" or under "Capital Outlay on Agricultural Schemes" has been transferred in part or in whole to a new head "Schemes financed from Procurement Bonus". Deprived of Development Grant I can appreciate Government's anxiety to transfer expenditure on development schemes, not even to the head "Grow More Food Schemes" under which only 50 per cent. can be recovered from the Government of India, but to the head "Schemes financed from Procurement Bonus" under which 100 per cent. of the expenditure is paid by the Central Government. On the same analogy I would suggest that the salary and allowances of the Agriculture Minister should be transferred from "General Administration" to the head "Schemes financed from Procurement Bonus" and I hope Government will seriously consider this.

The current year's accounts show that instead of an expected deficit on revenue account of 1 crore 11 lakhs in the budget, there is a surplus of 1 crore 47 lakhs in the revised. Thus, in our calculations of revenue receipts we have been out by about 2½ crores, which does no credit to our budget estimating. Again the closing balance for 1948-49, which becomes the opening balance for 1949-50, was estimated at 75 lakhs in the budget of 1948-49 and 3 crores 65 lakhs in that year's revised, while the actual has turned out to be 10 crores 19 lakhs, or, in other words, a difference in the budget and the actual of 9½ crores. This also does not do much credit to our budget estimating. In the circumstances, the fact that our Finance Minister has left uncovered the negative balance of 2 crores in the budget for 1950-51 need occasion no great anxiety. For in spite of the fact that his revised estimates for the current year may to some extent be upset by relief and other expenditure that has to be incurred in connection with the recent disturbances—I do not know if they can be recouped in any way from the Central Government—yet we may be sure from our past experience

that many items of expenditure, particularly in connection with development schemes, will not materialise. So, ultimately the actuals for 1950-51 are not likely to reveal any deficit.

But the disquieting fact about our budgetary position is that in this province, we have already tapped all available sources of revenue. And what financial advantages we should have had after partition, and to which I have earlier referred, have already been frittered away and we cannot expect much assistance from the Government of India either. Now that we have been disappointed with the Deshmukh Award, there is a tendency to pin our faith on the Finance Commission to be soon appointed by the President. I do not deny that we must have, as we deserve to have, larger shares in respect of income-tax and jute duty. But I would add that, if Australian practices provide any precedent, we shall have to prove our case and satisfy the Finance Commission about our needs and the financial assistance that we may demand. That is why I once again voice the urgent need of setting our own house in order,—of effecting the utmost economy in our public expenditure. Only when we have done that can we with a clear conscience and with great effectiveness press for our demands upon the Finance Commission.

Sir, I started by saying that the Budget Statement was a rather depressing document. This will also be borne out in this refrain which punctuates every Budget Statement. Thus in presenting the budget for 1948-49, the Finance Minister said: "I am fully conscious that whatever schemes we have been able to provide in the present budget do not go far enough to solve our pressing problems and to meet the anticipation of the public". In the Budget Statement of 1949-50 he stated, "I am fully conscious that the provisions we have been able to make for the various projects do not go far enough to satisfy our needs which are vast and varied. But having regard to our resources in men, material and money, these are merely an earnest of our intention to place this province well on the road to prosperity and progress". And the Budget Statement this year contains the following, "I do not for a moment claim that these provisions are sufficient by themselves or commensurate with our vast and varied needs. Yet, having regard to our limited resources in comparison with our needs, these merely indicate that we have taken one more step forward". But, Sir, have we? It appears to me that while one year gives place to another, the Finance Minister's language expressing our achievements hardly registers any change and the road to progress to which the Finance Minister had referred, constantly eludes us. But, Sir, whatever our difficulties and however well intentioned we may be, people are becoming restive. The things they want are food, clothing, shelter and a reasonable standard of living and they look to the Government for the formulation of a plan as will provide them with these things in the quickest possible time. I may reiterate what I said only a few days ago in this House that when the proper time will come, we shall be judged not by our difficulties or by our intentions however good and praiseworthy they may be, but by the measure of our ability to provide these things.

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: মাননীয় সভাপাল মহাশয়, বর্ত্তমান পরিস্থিতিতে আবহের আবহাওয়ায় স্থিরভাবে বাজেট আলোচনা কেমন করিয়া সম্ভব? একদা যাঁহারা স্বাধীনতার পুরোভাগে ছিলেন সেই পূর্ব্ব বঙ্গের ভ্রাতা ও ভগ্নীদের আমরা ভুলিতে পারি না। তাঁহাদের অস্তিত্ব পর্য্যন্ত আজ বিলুপ্ত হইবার উপক্রম হইয়াছে। ছলে বলে কৌশলে এতদিন তাঁহাদের ধর্ম্ম ও কৃষ্টি লোপ করিবার আয়োজন চলিতেছিল, এখন গুণ্ডারাও নগ্নমূর্ত্তি ধারণ করিয়াছে। পূর্ব্ব পাকিস্থানে আজ জনগণের নিরাপত্তা রক্ষার জন্য কোন সরকার আছে বলিয়া মনে হয় না। গুণ্ডারা যাহাই ইচ্ছা তাহাই করিতেছে এবং সরকারী কর্ম্মচারীরা তাহাদের সঙ্গে পরিপূর্ণ সহযোগিতা করিতেছেন। যাঁহারা পূর্ব্ব পাকিস্থান ও পশ্চিম বঙ্গের তুলনা করিতেছেন তাঁহারা ভারতীয় যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের আদর্শ ও পাকিস্থানের আদর্শের কথা নিশ্চয়ই অবগত আছেন। এই দুই রাষ্ট্রে সম্প্রতি যাহা ঘটিতেছে তাহার কোন প্রকারই তুলনা চলে না। পাকিস্থানে জেহাদের জিগীর উঠিয়াছে। পুরুষদিগকে খুন করা হইতেছে,

মেয়েদের বণ্টন করিয়া লওয়া হইতেছে। যে সকল ভয়াবহ সত্য ঘটনার কথা প্রত্যক্ষদর্শীরা বলিতেছেন তাহা শুনিয়া আমরা পাকিস্থানের এই গুণ্ডাদল পশু অপেক্ষাও কত নিম্নস্তরের জীব তাহাই বুঝিতেছি। ভারতীয় যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে যাহারা উত্তেজিত হইয়া ইহার প্রতিশোধ সংখ্যালঘুদের উপর নিবার জন্য উদ্যত হইতেছেন, এখানকার জনসাধারণ ও সরকার সক্রিয়ভাবে তাহাদের দমন করিতেছেন। প্রত্যেকটি সুধীজন ইহাদের দুষ্কার্য্যের এখানে নিন্দা করেন। ভারত ধর্ম্ম-নিরপেক্ষ রাষ্ট্র। এখানে যাহার যে ধর্ম্মই হউক না কেন সরকার ও জনমত তাহার নিরাপত্তা রক্ষা করিতে বাধ্য। ধর্ম্ম নির্বিশেষে প্রত্যেকের এখানে সমান অধিকার। সে অধিকার তাঁহারা নিশ্চিন্ত হইয়া ভোগ করিতেছেন। এই প্রবল উত্তেজনার মুখে সামান্য যাহা ঘটিতেছে, তাহার জন্য আমরা অত্যন্ত মর্মাহত হইয়াছি। এর জন্য আমাদের সরকার বা জনসাধারণকে দায়ী করা যায় না। এই সকল বিপথগামী ভ্রান্ত ব্যক্তিরা এখানে গুণ্ডা বলিয়াই আখ্যা পাইয়া থাকে এবং সরকার ইহাদের উচ্ছৃঙ্খল আচরণ অঙ্কুরেই ধ্বংস করিয়াছেন। জাতির জনককে পর্য্যন্ত আমরা গডসের হাত হইতে বাঁচাইতে পারি নাই। গডসে ব্যক্তি বিশেষ নহে। গডসে বিপথগামী ভ্রান্ত ব্যক্তিদের মনের মধ্যে বিরাজিত। গডসে ভারতীয় যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের কলঙ্ক। কিন্তু দু'একটি গডসের জন্য কেহ হিমালয় পাহাড়ের নিন্দা করিতে পারে না। পক্ষান্তরে পাকিস্থানে ইসলামী আদর্শ যে কি তাহা আমরা ঠেকিয়া বুঝিয়াছি। পূর্ব্ব পাকিস্থানে সরকারী, বেসরকারী, আনসার বাহিনী, সকলে একযোগে যে গুণ্ডামী চালাইতেছেন তাহার তুলনা এক পাকিস্থানেই পাওয়া যায়। সৈন্যদল, পুলিস, আনসার বাহিনী, বেসরকারী গুণ্ডাদল গ্রামের পর গ্রাম লুণ্ঠন করিয়াছে, পুরুষদের হত্যা করিয়াছে, নারীদের বণ্টন করিয়াছে, গ্রামগুলি পুড়াইয়া দিয়াছে। ঢাকা, বরিশাল, কুমিল্লা, ফেনী, রাজসাহী প্রভৃতি সহরে বিশিষ্ট নাগরিকরাও এই চরম অত্যাচারের হাত হইতে নিষ্কৃতি পান নাই। পূর্ব্ব বঙ্গে সংখ্যালঘুদের সমূলে ধ্বংস করিবার জন্য এক বিরাট ষড়যন্ত্র হইয়াছে। একজন মুসলমান এম,এল,এ বন্ধু ইতিপূর্ব্বে বলিতেছিলেন, "ইহা ইসলামী রাজত্ব নয়, পুরাপুরি গুণ্ডা রাজত্ব। হিন্দু-মুসলমান একযোগে আক্রমণ করিয়া এই গুণ্ডা রাজত্বের অবসান করা উচিৎ।" কাশ্মীর যখন গুণ্ডার দ্বারা আক্রান্ত হইয়াছিল তখন অহিংসার অবতার মহাত্মা গান্ধী পর্য্যন্ত এই গুণ্ডাদের বাধা দেওয়া সমর্থন করিয়াছিলেন। কাশ্মীর অপেক্ষাও জঘন্য গুণ্ডামী আজ পূর্ব্ব বঙ্গে চলিতেছে। আজ এই প্রচ্ছদপটে এখানকার বাজেট আলোচনা নিতান্ত অবান্তর হইয়া দাঁড়াইয়াছে। রাষ্ট্রের পুলিস, সৈন্য, শাসনকর্ত্তা, সকলের কি আজ একযোগে পূর্ব্ব বঙ্গের আর্ত্ত ভাই-বোনদের রক্ষায় তৎপর হওয়া উচিৎ নয়? ভারতীয় যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের প্রধান মন্ত্রী ইহার প্রতিকারে অগ্রসর হইয়াছেন, আমরা গভীর ঔৎসুক্য লইয়া অধীর অপেক্ষায় কাল কাটাইতেছি। তাঁহার আহ্বানে আমরা সকলেই যেন এক হইয়া সাড়া দিতে পারি। এখানে যাঁহারা উচ্ছৃঙ্খলতা সৃষ্টি করিবেন তাঁহারা রাষ্ট্রদ্রোহীতাই করিবেন না, তাহাদের মূঢ়তায় পূর্ব্ব বঙ্গে ভাই-বোনদের উদ্ধার কার্য্যে পাহাড় প্রমাণ বিঘ্ন জন্মাইবে।

বাজেটের আলোচনা প্রসঙ্গে, সভাপাল মহাশয়, আমি একটি বিভাগের কথা আলোচনা করিয়াই দেখাইব অযথা আমরা কিরূপ ব্যয়ভার বাড়াইয়া চলিয়াছি। আমাদের শাসন ব্যবস্থা কিরূপে আরও মাথা মোটা হইয়াছে। পুলিস ও সাধারণ শাসন খাতে অবিভক্ত বাংলা অপেক্ষা বিভক্ত বাংলায় ব্যয় ভার কিরূপ বাড়িয়াছে তাহা অন্যান্য সকলে দেখাইয়াছেন। আমি বন বিভাগ সম্বন্ধে আলোচনা করিব। কিন্তু সর্ব্বাগ্রে আমি গত বারের ন্যায় এবারও অর্থসচিব মহাশয়কে তাঁহার প্রস্তুত বাজেটের জন্য আন্তরিক অভিনন্দন জানাইতেছি। বস্তুতঃ তাঁহার মত নিপুণ অর্থসচিব বিরল। কেবল দুঃখের বিষয় তিনি ধনতান্ত্রিকতাকে সমর্থন করেন। তাঁহার প্রস্তুত বাজেটকে আমরা কৃষক-প্রজা-মজুর রাজের উপযুক্ত বাজেট বলিতে পারি না। ধনতান্ত্রিকতার যে ওকালতি তিনি করিয়াছেন ইহা অপেক্ষা যোগ্যতর ওকালতি অপরে কেহ করিতে পারিত কি না সন্দেহ। যেমন সুন্দর ভাষা, তেমনি প্রকাশ ভঙ্গী। তাহা অপেক্ষা উৎকৃষ্ট যুক্তিও অপর কেহ ধনতান্ত্রিকতার সমর্থনে বোধ করি দিতে পারিত না। কিন্তু কংগ্রেসের আদর্শ ত ধনতান্ত্রিকতা নহে। কংগ্রেসের আদর্শ কৃষক-প্রজা রাজ প্রতিষ্ঠা। আমাদের এ সরকার ত প্রজাতন্ত্রী। অতএব এখানে ধনতান্ত্রিকতার জয়গান করা কিম্বা ধনিকের পক্ষে ওকালতি করিতে যাওয়া কি অবান্তর নহে? আজ পৃথিবীতে দুইটি আদর্শের সংগ্রাম চলিতেছে। মার্কিন ধনতান্ত্রিকতা একদিকে অপর দিকে সাম্যবাদ। কংগ্রেস তথা আমাদের প্রজাতান্ত্রিক সরকার সত্যকারের প্রজাতন্ত্রই চাহেন। তাঁহাদের নিজস্ব ধারায় তাঁহারা কৃষক-প্রজা-মজদুর রাজ প্রতিষ্ঠাই করিবেন বলিয়াছেন। জোরের সঙ্গেই এই সকল কথা বহু বার ঘোষিত হইয়াছে সুতরাং অর্থসচিব মহাশয় এত কষ্ট করিয়া নিপুন যুক্তি তর্ক দ্বারা যাহা বুঝাইতে চাহিয়াছেন কংগ্রেসের কাছে তাহার কোন দামই নাই। তিনি কংগ্রেসের ঊর্দ্ধে নহেন। কংগ্রেস Co-operative Commonwealth তাহার লক্ষ্য বলিয়া ঘোষনা করিয়াছে। আজ ধনিকদের সমর্থনে তিনি যে প্রয়াস করিয়াছেন তাহা পণ্ডশ্রম হইয়াছে এই কথা বলিয়াই তাঁহার সাধারণ বক্তব্যের জবাব দিয়া বন বিভাগের কথা অবতারণা করিব। সময় সংক্ষেপ নতুবা অন্যান্য বিভাগের দৃষ্টান্তও আমি দিতে পারিতাম।

১৯৩০ সাল পর্য্যন্ত বাংলায় একজন মাত্র Conservator ছিলেন। ইনিই বন বিভাগের সর্ব্বময় কর্তা ছিলেন। ১৯৪১-৪৩ সালে যে forest cadro নির্দ্দিষ্ট হয় তাহাতে অবিভক্ত বাংলায় ২ জন Conservator রাখা ঠিক হয়। অবিভক্ত বাংলায় বর্ত্তমান বাংলার প্রায় তিন গুণ বনভূমি ছিল। লড়াইয়ের সময় সাময়িকভাবে বন বিভাগের বহু কাজ বৰ্দ্ধিত হয় এবং এই সময় Conservatorএর সংখ্যাও বাড়ান হয়। লড়াইয়ের পর এই অপচয় সঙ্গে সঙ্গে কমান উচিৎ ছিল। কিন্তু তাহা হয় নাই। বর্ত্তমানে পশ্চিম বাংলার বনভূমি প্রায় এক তৃতীয়াংস হইয়াছে তথাপি সেখানে ৪ জন Conservator, একজন Director of Forest হিসাবে ৩০০৲ টাকার অতিরিক্ত মাহিনা পান। অথচ পূর্ব্ব পাকিস্থানে মাত্র একজন Conservator, তিনি ইচ্ছা করিয়া বেতন অনেক কম লন। বাংলায় মাত্র ৩,০০০ বর্গ মাইল বনভূমি, আসামে ২৩,০০০ বর্গ মাইল বনভূমি। আসামে কিন্তু মাত্র ২ জন Conservator. বিহারের বনভূমি প্রায় বাংলার সমান, অথচ সেখানে মাত্র ১ জন Conservator. উড়িষ্যাতেও মাত্র একজন Conservator. বোম্বাই, মাদ্রাজ, উত্তর প্রদেশ, মধ্য প্রদেশ--প্রত্যেকের রেভিনিউ ১ কোটি টাকার উপর। Surplus প্রায় অর্দ্ধ কোটি টাকা। বাংলার রেভিনিউ ইহাদের অর্দ্ধেকও নহে এবং surplus গত বৎসর প্রায় ৮ লক্ষ এবং এ বৎসর অনুমান ১০ লক্ষ টাকা মাত্র হইবে। অথচ Conservatorদের জন্য অনুপাতিক ব্যয় বাংলায় অনেক বেশী। বাংলায় বনভূমি শতকরা ১৪ ভাগের বেশী নয়। অথচ বনভূমি হওয়া উচিৎ অন্ততঃ ২৫ ভাগ। Regional basisএ অন্তত: এই পরিমান বনভূমি থাকা একান্ত প্রয়োজন। বনভূমি নষ্ট হওয়ায় বহু দেশ মরুভূমিতে পরিণত হইয়াছে। পৃথিবীতে বহু মরুভূমি এককালে বনভূমি ছিল। পুরাতন গেজেট খুলিলে দেখা যাইবে মেদিনীপুর, নদীয়া, প্রভৃতি জেলায় বারিপাত যাহা একদা ছিল তাহা বনভূমি নষ্ট হওয়ায় কমিয়া কমিয়া এখন প্রায় অর্দ্ধেক দাঁড়াইয়াছে। এখনি মধ্য পশ্চিম বঙ্গে একটি dry belt সৃষ্টি হইয়াছে। ইহার প্রতিকার না হইলে দেশ মরুভূমিতে পরিণত হইতে বেশী দিন লাগিবে না। ফসল ফলাও আন্দোলনের সাথে এই বনভূমির পরিমাণ রক্ষা ওতঃপ্রোতভাবে জড়িত। বনভূমি সৃষ্টি হইলে বৃষ্টি হইবে। Soil erosion বন্ধ হইবে, বন্যার হাত হইতে দেশ বাঁচিবে, ফসলও বাড়িবে। দার্জ্জিলিং, সিকিম, ভুটান, নেপাল, পার্ব্বত্য অঞ্চলে বনভূমি রক্ষা সর্ব্বাগ্রে প্রয়োজন। Soil erosion সেখানেই বেশী হয়। এই বনভূমি তৈরী করিতেছেন কাহারা ? এবং তাঁহারা কেমন অবস্থায় আছেন ? সেখানে শাসন ব্যবস্থা কিরূপ মাথা মোটা তাহা একটু অনুধাবন করিলেই বুঝা যাইবে। বাংলায় ৩৬ জন গেজেটেড্ অফিসার--বেতনের হার ২২০৲ টাকা হইতে ২,১৫০ টাকা পর্য্যন্ত। এই ২,১৫০৲ টাকার উপর ডিরেক্টর অব ফরেষ্ট স্পেশাল pay হিসাবে আরোও ৩০০৲ টাকা পান। এই ৩৬ জন আবার ৭২ জন ফরেষ্ট রেঞ্জারকে চালিত করেন অর্থাৎ একজন গেজেটেড্ অফিসার ২জন রেঞ্জারকে চালিত করেন। অবিভক্ত বাংলায় এবং ভারতীয় যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের অন্যান্য প্রদেশে দেখা যায় একজন গেজেটেড অফিসার ৬ জন থেকে ৭ জন রেঞ্জারকে চালিত করেন। ভারতীয় যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের অন্যান্য প্রদেশে একজন Conservator ৬টি হইতে ৯টি ডিভিসন চালান। আর আমাদের এখানে চালান গড়ে ৩$\frac{১}{২}$টি। আর নূতন ডিভিসনগুলিকে ডিভিসনই বলা চলে না। অবিভক্ত বাংলায় সমস্ত সুন্দরবন একটি ডিভিসন ছিল। এখন সুন্দরবনের প্রায় সবই পড়িয়াছে পাকিস্থানে। আমাদের ত দুইটি রেঞ্জ নামখানা ও বসিরহাট। এই দিয়ে সুন্দরবনের একটি ডিভিসন হইতে পারে না। অথচ ইহাই জোর করিয়া করা হইয়াছে। আমি বর্ত্তমানে আমাদের যে সুন্দরবন আছে তাহা খুব তন্ন তন্ন করিয়া ঘুরিয়াছি, সেখানে একটি সুন্দরী গাছ আবিষ্কার করা অত্যন্ত কষ্টকর। আসল বন সবই পূর্ব্ব পাকিস্থানে খুলনায় পড়িয়াছে। তারপর মালদা, বর্দ্ধমান, সেন্ট্রাল বাঁকুড়া প্রভৃতি ডিভিসনগুলিকে বর্ত্তমানে ডিভিসনই বলা চলে না। ইহাদের একটি ডিভিসনও কারশিয়াং, বক্সা, জলপাইগুড়ি প্রভৃতি স্বাভাবিক ডিভিসনের একটি রেঞ্জেরও সমান নয়। স্বাভাবিক ডিভিসনগুলিতে রেভিনিউ সংগ্রহ হয় প্রতি বৎসর প্রায় ২০ লক্ষ টাকা, কয়েক শত একর জমিতে নূতন প্লানটেসন হয়; এক একটিতে প্রায় ২৫,০০০ oorrospondenoe হয়। আর নূতন ডিভিসনগুলিতে কোথাও কোন রেভিনিউ ত পাওয়া যায়ই না এমন কি অনেক সময় অনেক স্থানে প্লানটেসনের জন্য উপযুক্ত জমিও আজ পর্য্যন্ত সংগৃহীত হয় নাই। অথচ প্রত্যেকটি ডিভিসনের জন্য D. F. O., Ranger, Deputy Ranger, Forester এক পাল—তাঁহারা ঘুমাইয়াই কূল পান না। একটি Rangerএর যেখানে কাজ নাই সেখানে প্রথমেই এত staff রাখার দরকার কি ? এ ত development scheme নয়! এ যেন self-development scheme. একজন Chief Conservator হইতে হইলে অর্থাৎ ২,৫০০৲ হইতে ২,৭০০৲ টাকার গ্রেডে উঠিতে হইলে কয়েকজন Conservatorএর প্রয়োজন। প্রত্যেক Conservatorএর জন্য কয়েকজন D. F. O.র প্রয়োজন এবং প্রত্যেক D. F. O.র জন্য একটি করিয়া ডিভিসন প্রয়োজন। অতএব

দরকার থাক আর না থাক তাহাই করা হইতেছে। Conservatorএর সঙ্গে শাসন বিভাগের Commissionerদের তুলনা হয়। প্রত্যেক Commissionerএর জন্য যেমন কয়েকটি জেলা ও জেলা Magistrateএর প্রয়োজন, প্রত্যেক Conservatorএর জন্য তেমনি কয়েকটি ডিভিসন ও D. F. O.র প্রয়োজন। একটি গ্রামের জন্য যেমন Commissioner, জেলা Magistrate, S. D. O. ও অন্যান্য অফিসার নিয়োগ করা হাস্যোদ্দীপক ব্যাপার এও সেই রকম হাস্যোদ্দীপক ব্যাপার। কর্মচারিগণ নিজেদের স্বার্থের জন্য অনেক মতলব আঁটিতেছেন। আমাদের অর্থসচিব সুদক্ষ ব্যক্তি; তাঁহার সহকারীরাও বিচক্ষণ ও উপযুক্ত ব্যক্তি। আশা করি তাঁহারা সুবিবেচনা করিবেন। আশা করি বর্তমান set-upএ তাঁহারা যাহাই করুন পাকাপাকি set-upএ তাঁহাদের যেন কেহ ফাঁকি না দিতে পারেন। দেশ আজ স্বাধীন হইয়াছে; জনসাধারণের স্বার্থ আজ আমাদের সজাগ হইয়া রক্ষা করিতে হইবে। কিরূপ হাস্যোদ্দীপক মাথামোটা শাসন ব্যবস্থা তাহা Development Circleএর দৃষ্টান্তেই বোঝা যাইবে। এখানে একজন Conservator করা হইয়াছে, তাহার অধীনে ৪টি division করা হইয়াছে, যথা, Silviculture, Utilisation, Working Plans, Bengal Forest School ইহার কোনটাই একটি পুরা division নহে। যুদ্ধের পরে Utilisation Departmentএর কোন কাজই নাই। মালগাড়ীর ব্যবস্থা করাই ছিল উহার মুখ্য কাজ। এই department এখন অক্লেশে উঠাইয়া দেওয়া যাইতে পারে। Forest School পূর্ব্বে North Circleএর সাথে ছিল। ইহাকে নূতন division করার কোনই প্রয়োজন ছিল না। কিন্তু গরজ বড় বালাই। Development Circleএর Conservator পান মাসিক ১,৮৫০৲ টাকা। তিনি একাই ৪ জন D. F. O.র (যাদের মাহিনা ৩০০৲ হইতে ৮০০৲ টাকা) অপেক্ষা বেশী মাহিনা পান। আর এই কয়জন উপরের কর্মচারী মাত্র ৮ জন Ranger ও ১০ জন Forester ও Deputy Rangerকে চালান। Conservatorরা কেহ কলিকাতায়, কেহ দার্জিলিংএ বাস করেন। বনভূমির যাঁহারা সৃষ্টিকর্তা তাঁহারা কালেভদ্রে বনে বাস করেন। সহরে ফাইল ঘাঁটা আর বন তৈরী করা সম্পূর্ণ আলাদা জিনিষ। মোটরে যতটুক যাওয়া যায় তাহার অতিরিক্ত বড় ইহারা বনের ভিতরে গমন করেন না। আগে এক একজন ইংরাজ Conservator যেমন, সেবিয়ার সাহেব যিনি এভারেষ্ট expeditionএ যোগ দিয়াছিলেন, বনের মধ্যেই কাটাইতেন। অনেক সময় বনের মধ্যে একটি গাছের দিকে তাকাইয়া সারাদিন তাঁহারা কাটাইতেন। কখনও গভীর বনের মধ্যে চতুর্দ্দিকে আগুন জ্বালাইয়া কেবল মাটির উপর একটি sleeping bagএর মধ্যে দুরন্ত শীতে রাত কাটাইতেন। তাঁহাদের মত মোটা বেতন লইতে আমরা শিখিয়াছি কিন্তু তাহাদের গুণ আমরা পাই নাই। আজ সাহেবরা চলিয়া গিয়াছেন কিন্তু কালো আদমীরা সাহেব হইয়াছেন। ইহাদের অনেকের confidential report খুলিলে দেখা যাইবে ইহারা divisionএর charge পাইবার উপযুক্ত বলিয়া বিবেচিত হইবেন না; আর আজ ইহারা Conservator সাজিয়া বসিয়াছেন। ৭২ জন Rangers ও ২৬৮ জন Deputy Rangers ও Forester এই মোট ৩৪০ জন অধস্তন কর্মচারী আমাদের আছেন। প্রকৃতপ্রস্তাবে হাতে কলমে ইহারাই বনভূমি তৈরী করেন। ইহাদের বেতন ৩০৲ টাকা হইতে ২০০৲ টাকা পর্য্যন্ত। ১৮৬৯-৭০ সালে যখন অখণ্ড বাংলার রেভিনিউ ছিল মাত্র ১,৬৪,৩৬৮৲ টাকা তখনও ইহারা যাহা পাইতেন আজ ১৯৫০ সালে যখন রেভিনিউ হইয়াছে ৫৯,১০,০০০ তখনও ইহারা তাহাই পাইতেছেন। এতদিন ইহাদের graded service ছিল। এমন দেখা গিয়াছে একটি Matric, I. Sc. or B. Sc. পাশ করা ভদ্র যুবক ২০।২৫ বৎসর নিবিড় বনের ভিতর বন সৃষ্টির কাজে কাটাইল তথাপি তাহার বেতন ৩০৲ টাকাই থাকিয়া গেল। জলপাইগুড়ি, ডুয়ার্স, হিমালয়ের inaccessible undeveloped area, সুন্দরবনের গভীর বন, বহু স্থানে আমি ইহাদের সংস্পর্শে আসিয়াছি। ইহাদের কষ্টের অন্ত নাই। লোকালয় হইতে বহু দূরে ইহারা একদিন নয়, দুই দিন নয়, বৎসরের পর বৎসর সভ্য জগতের বাহিরে কাটাইতে বাধ্য হয়। ছেলে মেয়েদের শিক্ষার কোন ব্যবস্থা নাই। চিকিৎসার ব্যবস্থা সরকারের করার কথা, কিন্তু কে ব্যবস্থা করে। "বাতাসিতে," হিমালয় পাহাড়ের একটি রেঞ্জে পাগলাঝোরা অতিক্রম করিয়া গেলাম। একবার পদস্খলন হইলেই পাগলাঝোরায় মৃত্যু অবশ্যম্ভাবী। একেবারে চার পাঁচ হাজার ফুট নীচে পড়িতে হইবে। কোন রকমে এক পা, এক পা করিয়া অগ্রসর হইতে হয়। বাতাসিতে উপস্থিত হইয়া দেখি একটি Rest House আছে। ঐ Rest Houseটি গেজেটেড অফিসারগণের ব্যবহারের নিমিত্ত করা হইয়াছে। তথায় sanitary arrangement ও জলের সুন্দর ব্যবস্থা আছে। কিন্তু, এই Rest Houseএ বৎসরে একবারও Conservator আসেন কি না সন্দেহ। অথচ এখানকার বনভূমি যাহারা তৈয়ারী করে, দুরন্ত শীতে ও বর্ষায় যাহারা সভ্য জগতের বাহিরে দিনের পর দিন কাটাইতে বাধ্য হয়, সেই রেঞ্জার ও ফরেষ্টারদিগের বাড়ীতে জলের কোন ব্যবস্থাই নাই।

Mr. SPEAKER: If you wish to deal only with "Forest" can't you deal with particular item when it comes up and not in a general discussion.

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: আমার যা সময় আছে আমি তার মধ্যেই শেষ করব।

Mr. SPEAKER: এখন ৭।।টা বেজে গিয়েছে, Finance Ministerএর speechএ হয়ত এক ঘণ্টা লেগে যাবে।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: এ সমস্ত কথা না বললে, রেঞ্জারদের দুরবস্থার কথা কেউ বুঝতে পারবেন না।

Mr. SPEAKER: আমি বলছি "Forest" সম্বন্ধে যখন আলোচনা হবে ও cut motions আসবে তখন আবার আপনি বলবেন।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: তখন আমি বলতে পারব না।

Mr. SPEAKER: কেন পারবেন না ? আমি তখন আপনাকে সময় দেব।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: আপনি যদি এখন আমাকে বলতে না দেন তা'হলে বলব না।

Mr. SPEAKER: সময় যখন অল্প, তখন আপনার speech short করে বলুন।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: Forestএর cut motionএ আমাদের বলতে দেওয়া হয় না। গতবার আমি অনেক cut motion দিয়াছিলাম কিন্তু একটাতেও বলতে সুযোগ পাই নাই।

Mr. SPEAKER: আমি আপনাকে Forestএর cut motionএর সময় বলতে যথেষ্ট সময় দেব। Finance Minister অসুস্থ, তিনি সারাদিন এখানে বসে আছেন, তাঁর পক্ষে আর বেশীক্ষণ থাকা সম্ভব নয়।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: জানি আমাদের অর্থসচিব মহাশয় অসুস্থ, তিনি এতক্ষণ রহিলেন আর না হয় দশ মিনিট বেশী অপেক্ষা করবেন। গত বছর আমি cut motionএ বলতে পারিনি।

Mr. SPEAKER: এ-বছর বলতে পারবেন। Even if the party does not allow you, I will allow you, but whether the party allows it or not, it is for the party to decide.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of order, Sir. উনি family matter সম্বন্ধে এখানে বলছেন এটা out of order. সুতরাং out of order যেটা সেটাকে এখানে আলোচনা করতে দেওয়া উচিৎ হবে না।

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: আমি জানাচ্ছি আমাদের দিক দিয়ে, এদের প্রতি একটু দৃষ্টি দেওয়া কর্তব্য। বাগুসিতে দেখিলাম, রেঞ্জারের একটি মেয়ে, ভয়ঙ্কর জ্বরে ভুগিতেছে, ফরেষ্টারের স্ত্রী আজ চার দিন ধরিয়া প্রসব বেদনায় কাতর—কোথায় ডাক্তার ! কে দেখে ! শুনিলাম ইহার আগের এক ফরেষ্টার হটাৎ বদলি হওয়ায় তাহার স্ত্রী সদ্যপ্রসূত শিশু সন্তানকে কোলে লইয়া ঐ ভয়াবহ পাগলাঝোরার পথে পায়ে হাঁটিয়া পার হইয়াছে। দশ হাজার ফিট উচ্চ টঙ্গলু রেঞ্জ অফিসে দেখিলাম চিমনী নাই, অথচ এখানে যখন বরফ পড়ে তখনও সময় সময় অধঃস্তন কর্মচারীদের কাটাইতে হয়। ম্যালেরিয়া অধ্যুষিত ডুয়ার্সের নিবিড় বনে যাঁহারা বাস করেন তাঁহাদের দুর্গতিও আমি স্বচক্ষে দেখেছি। ইহারা বেতন পান ৩০৲ টাকা কিন্তু ঘোড়ার এলাউন্স পান প্রায় ৫০৲ টাকা অর্থাৎ একটি মনুষ্য পরিবারের জন্য আমিরা যাহা ব্যয় করা প্রয়োজন মনে করি একটী ঘোড়ার জন্য তাহা অপেক্ষা বেশী ব্যয় করা প্রয়োজন বোধ করি। ঘোড়াটী ফরেষ্টারকে নিজে কিনিতে হয়। অনেক সময় এই ঘোড়াকে বাঘে খাইয়া ফেলে ; তখন B.A. পাশ করা ছেলে মারা গেলে যেমন ক্ষতি হয় তেমনি ইহাদের ক্ষতি হয়। সুন্দর বনে যাহারা ঐ সামান্য টাকার কাজ করেন তাঁহাদের পরিবার লইয়া নৌকায় কাটাইতে হয়। অনেক সময় খালের দুই পারে বাঘ ডাকে। এই বাঘের ডাকে ভয় পাইয়া একজনের স্ত্রীর হার্ট খারাপ হইয়া যায় এ খবর আমি জানি। ইহাদের একেবারে নির্ব্বাসিত জীবন। সাত দিন পরে পরে ইহাদের পানীয় জল নৌকা আসিয়া

দিয়া যায়। ঝড়-তুফানে নৌকা না আসিতে পারিলে কষ্টের ইহাদের সীমা থাকে না। আমাদের কাল সাহেবদের হৃদয়হীনতার একটা ঘটনা আমি জানি তাহা এখানে না বলিয়া পারিতেছি না। তখন অবিভক্ত বাংলা। দুই D.F.O. কাজের কৃতিত্ব দেখানোর ব্যস্ত। একজন অধঃস্তন কর্মচারীকে খুলনা রেঞ্জের সুন্দর বনে মার্কিং ও সেলিং দুটী কাজেরই ভার দেওয়া হইল, যাহা স্বভাবত দুইজনের কাজ। কর্মচারীটিকে সকাল হইতে সন্ধ্যা পর্য্যন্ত জল-কাদার মধ্যে দাঁড়াইয়া মার্কিং করিতে হইত ও সন্ধ্যায় ফিরিয়া রাত্রি একটা পর্য্যন্ত সেলিংএর কাজ করিতে হইত। কয়েক মাসের মধ্যে কর্মচারীটির স্বাস্থ্য ভাঙ্গিয়া পড়িল। রিউমাটিক জ্বরে আক্রান্ত হইয়া খুলনা হাঁসপাতালে চার পাঁচ মাস সে শয্যাশায়ী হইয়া থাকিবার পর যখন একটু আরোগ্যের পথে আসিয়াছে তখন ষ্ট্রেচারে করিয়া বন বিভাগের একটী লঞ্চে উঠাইয়া Civil Surgeon তাহাকে নিজ দেশে ঢাকায় পাঠাইবার ব্যবস্থার সদয় হইয়া উদ্যোগী হইলেন। বন বিভাগের কাল সাহেবটী ইহাতে ভয়ানক রুষ্ট হইলেন। তিনি বলিলেন যে উহা কিছুতেই সম্ভব নহে। Imperial Officeএর লঞ্চে অধঃস্তন কর্মচারী কিছুতেই যাইতে পারিবে না। লঞ্চখানি অবশ্য খালি যাইতেছিল। দয়ালু Civil Surgeon তখন ডিষ্ট্রিক্ট ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেটের একখানি লঞ্চ খালি যাইতেছিল, তাহাতে ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেটের সম্মতি লইয়া কর্মচারীটিকে পাঠাইবার উদ্যোগ করিলেন। কিন্তু বন বিভাগের সাহেবটী আরও চটিলেন। তিনি বলিলেন যদি Imperial Officerএর লঞ্চে অধঃস্তন কর্মচারী যায়, তাহ'লে তিনি দেখিয়া লইবেন। Graded Service সুতরাং ভয়ে কর্মচারীটি লঞ্চে আর গেলেন না। অতি কষ্টে অন্য ব্যবস্থা করে তিনি ঢাকা গেলেন, কিন্তু দুখানি Imperial Officerএর লঞ্চ খালি গেল। আজ স্বাধীন ষ্টেট্ এসেম্‌ব্লীর বাজেট আলোচনার সময় এ সকল কথা বিবেচনা করিতে হইবে। মুখে কেবল কৃষক-প্রজা-রাজ প্রতিষ্ঠিত করিব বলিলেই কুলাইবে না। এই ৩৪০ জন অধস্তন কর্মচারী প্রভৃত প্রস্তাবে হাতে কলমে বন বিভাগ তৈয়ারী করেন। সুতরাং আজ আমাদের দরদী মন লইয়া ইহাদের সুখ-দুঃখের প্রতি নজর দিতে হইবে। নতুবা স্বাধীনতার কোনই মূল্য নাই। ইহাদের অনেককে অকারণে হয়রানিতে পড়িতে হয়। বারবার ইহাদের transfer করিয়া বিব্রত করা হয়। ছোট কর্মচারীরা মাইলে দশ পয়সা মাত্র transferএর সময় পায়। লট-বহর লইয়া নড়াচড়া করার খরচ ইহাতে পোষায় না। এমনও দেখা গিয়াছে যে transferএর সময় গর্ভবতী স্ত্রী রাস্তায় প্রসব হইয়াছে। দুদিন দেরীর জন্য আবেদন করিলে উপরওয়ালারা তাহাতে কিছুমাত্র কর্ণপাত করেন না। আমি এমন ঘটনা জানি যে একজন কর্মচারী তাঁহার রুগ্না স্ত্রীকে লইয়া এক বৎসরে পাঁচবার স্থানান্তরিত হইয়াছেন এবং ইহাতে তাঁহার অতিরিক্ত পাঁচশো টাকা ব্যয় হইয়াছে। সর্বশেষে তিনি যেখানে গিয়াছেন, সেখানে তাঁহার পরিবারকে লইয়া যাইতে পারেন নাই; কেন না সেখানে বন বিভাগের কোন কোয়ার্টার ছিল না, বা অন্য কোন বাড়ীও পান নাই।

Mr. SPEAKER: আপনি অনেক বলেছেন, আর বলবেন না।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: আমি আর বেশী সময় নেব না। আমি বলি আমাদের অর্থমন্ত্রী মহাশয় ইহাদের দুঃখকষ্টের প্রতি একটু দরদ দিয়ে দেখুন; নতুবা বনভূমি গঠনের নূতন উৎসাহ আমরা কি করিয়া সৃষ্টি করিব? কংগ্রেস বলিয়াছেন সর্বনিম্ন বেতন অপেক্ষা সর্বোচ্চ বেতন কুড়ি গুণের অধিক হইবে না। অথচ দেখা যায়, একজন forest guard যে বেতন পাইয়া থাকেন, তাহা অপেক্ষা বন বিভাগের সর্বোচ্চ কর্মচারী ১৪১ গুন বেশী বেতন পাইয়া থাকেন। সর্বশেষে একটা সত্য ঘটনার কথা উল্লেখ করিয়া আমার বক্তব্য শেষ করিব। একবার একটী forest guard বন বিভাগের কাজে রত থাকা কালে জ্বরে আক্রান্ত হইয়া মারা যায়। তিন দিন পরে তাহার পাহারা দেওয়ার উচ্চ ঘরের উপর যখন তাহাকে আবিষ্কার করা হইল, তখন তাহার চোখ দুটী পিঁপড়ায় খাইয়া ফেলিয়াছে। এখানে যাঁহারা আছেন, অর্থসচিবও আছেন, আপনারা সকলে এদের দুঃখকষ্টের কাহিনী শুনিলেন। Forestএর পাকাপাকি যে set up করিবেন তাহার পূর্ব্বে Forest Advisory Boardএর recommendation বিশেষ করিয়া বিবেচনা করিবেন। মাথামোটা শাসন ব্যবস্থা আরও মাথা-মোটা করিলে অধঃস্তন কর্মচারীরা কি করিয়া সুবিচার পাইবেন।

The Hon'ble NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, with your permission, Mr. Sen will read my reply?

Mr. SPEAKER: All right.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Sir, before I take up the specific points raised by different speakers while discussing my budget statement, I must apologise to the House through you, Sir, for not being able, owing to illness, to be personally present throughout the discussion.

I am really grateful to the House for taking a kindly view of my absence and thank the honourable members for the consideration shown to me. I must thank the honourable members for the many good words said about the budget and the budget statement. I am also thankful to them for the criticisms; for, it is through criticisms and discussions that Government policy takes shape in a democracy. I, therefore, welcome these criticisms. I am fully conscious of the many shortcomings of the budget. We are badly in need of many things and we hope for many things more. But the budget can fulfil only a few such hopes. Disappointments are, therefore, bound to occur. But such disappointments are good if they urge us to new efforts.

The general discussion on the budget is in the nature of a hardy annual for a Finance Minister. The opinions expressed and theories advanced vary from grave to gay, and the avalanche of words with which a budget statement is greeted are not often quite related to earthy subjects and hover around academic theories and ideological abstractions of a variety to which our ears have now grown accustomed.

This is the occasion when all good things of the world are demanded by the magic touch of words, and a Finance Minister, who cannot promise a Utopia by the artifice of budgetary provisions, seems to be not worth his vocation. Unfortunately for me, Sir, I can do neither and I have contented myself to remain on this earth earthy without letting myself away to theories and abstractions which, when examined in the cold light of facts, seem as vacuous as a deflated baloon. My difficulty is that I am reared and nurtured in the hard, practical school of life and shaped by stern reality. I judge every problem in the light of the practical bearing and not with any preconceived bias for any "ism" however much alluring it may be. If I have to disappoint those of my honourable friends to whom "isms" count more than facts of life, it is because as a Finance Minister it does not lie with me to ignore reality merely for the sake of any *a priori* economic ideology which is not relevant to our present needs and requirements.

My esteemed friend Mr. Abul Hashem has found fault with me for my inability to discover any original economic outlook of Indian or Asiatic variety. That is a tall order indeed and I plead guilty to the charge without any compunction whatsoever. I am one of those who think that it is better to be right than to be original. So long as the policy we advocate, following the policy of the Indian National Congress, is right and conducive to the best interest of the people in the existing condition of things, we need not feel ashamed for the policy we pursue even if it lacks the charm of novelty. As I have indicated in my budget speech, we are working under various handicaps, and with so many problems confronting us, national and international, it would be a suicidal step for us to go after originality in such a condition of flux, when a wrong step, experimental in nature, may easily spell disaster. On the other hand, I am convinced that the economic policy which our Government are pursuing is the most practical policy under the circumstances, viz., hastening slowly towards a society in which everybody must have his due according to his ability and full opportunity for self-development and self-expression, without one section being exploited by the other. We are determined to keep the balance even between the different sections, so that in the fulness of time the people may enjoy the fruits of freedom in every front of life. It need not be emphasised with irritating frequency that the aim of this Government as of every popular democratic Government, is to raise the standard of living of the people and serve the common man. In this century of the common man, no Government can overlook his interests except at their own peril. We are wedded to that ideal, and within our limitations and within the framework of the existing order of things, which we do not propose to subvert except by gradual evolutionary process, we are doing our best to hasten improvement in every sector of the life of the common man. In this task

we are not tied to the chariot wheel of cants or dogmas or fashionable phrases and we are pursuing a policy which we consider as practical under the present conditions. Big words are good for winning popular applause, but big things need a practical approach, a readiness to appreciate realities, and a clear sense of perspective and priority. This may indeed seem too unostentatious a policy, but this is nevertheless a wise policy and it is better to be wise than to be spectacular.

As anticipated, my honourable friend, Dr. Banerjee, has returned to the charge and conjured up his vision of a "classless democracy". I confess, Sir, that although it looks quite good in cold print, I do not quite understand what it means, and how, in the context of the economy in which we are reared and which we are not out to abolish in the authentic Russian fashion, we can bring about a classless democracy of Dr. Banerjee's standard specification, by budgetary provisions. If this has to be brought about, if at all possible, we must first of all fulfil certain prior conditions before the stage can be set for a delectable Utopia of Dr. Banerjee's fancy. For the moment, those conditions are not there and we are only proceeding along lines which the Congress Party in office has accepted as the best practical policy under the circumstances. I am yet to know a country where a classless society exists, and I have my doubts if even in the Land of all the Good, I mean Russia, there is that type of classlessness which Dr. Banerjee envisages.

Dr. Banerjee, along with a few other speakers, has made two points regarding the omission of the abolition of landlordism and nationalisation of industries. He seems to think that these two measures will tend to hasten the end of all our economic ills. Sir, I do not share his optimism; for, I do not think that from the practical point of view these will go far to solve our problems without creating fresh ones. If by liquidating zamindars of the type of my friends, the Maharaja of Burdwan and the Maharaja of Cossimbazar, we could fill the land with milk and honey, we should not have waited a moment to take to such a delightfully easy palliative. But, Sir, in this province the liquidation of landlords means the liquidation of all tenure-holders almost up to the limit of actual tillers of the soil. And if such a vast number of intermediary tenure-holders are to be paid compensation, as provided for in the Constitution, the money required would be collosal, and it would be for the honourable members to think out whether we have got the resources to take such a step without breaking our backs and with any immediate commensurate gain to the tillers of the soil. The House does not surely, I hope, want us to accept that tremendous responsibility for the sake of mere ideological fancy when, in actual result, this may land us into unforeseen consequences. Whatever we do in this respect must be done with due care and caution and according to our capacity to face its consequences. The needs of the common man must stand first and unless we are able to secure him a reasonably comfortable living, we would not be justified in spending our whole energy and resources on the purchase of zemindary, or launching on such schemes as prohibition. As for nationalisation of industries, I do not know how Dr. Banerjee, himself an eminent Congressman, can express views which run counter to the accepted policy of the Congress adumbrated in clearest possible language by the highest authorities. As far as this Government are concerned, there has been no deviation from that policy except that we are not acting in a hurry to repent at leisure without regard to our limited capacity in men, materials and money. As I have said, we prefer not to chew more than we can eat, and at the moment we have already a mouthful to tackle.

I quite appreciate Dr. Banerjee's anxiety for the refugees which we all share. But I do not find my way to oversimplify the solution as he has done. He speaks of acquiring all the wild area round about Barasat for settling the refugees. This sounds quite all right on paper, but those like me who

have some experience of large-scale town-planning know that this cannot be as *easily done as is said.* There are so many practical difficulties and the time-factor involved in the process is so long that it may easily land the Government in a costly project without commensurate result. Our policy is a planned dispersal of the refugees and although our success in this direction has been rather tardy owing to various reasons, we are now coming to grip with the problem in a determined manner and already our plans are well under way. But the House will appreciate that the recent happenings across the border are tending to create fresh problems for us and already streams of people are coming over to this side for safety. With the cramped space at our disposal and the increasing density of population per square mile in West Bengal, any such plan may easily founder on the rock of want of elbow room. Unless, therefore, such rooms are made available to us, it will be a tremendous problem for us to tackle with unaided efforts. Even in this regard we are doing everything possible to secure what we consider to be our just claim.

My friend, Sri Deven Sen has criticised my reference to declining productivity of labour. Sri Sen has denied that there has been any fall in the production of labour due to omissions or commission of labour itself. He does not deny that there has been a fall; for the facts are all too inescapable; but he attributes this to other factors such as deterioration of machinery. Now, it is quite obvious that after the last World War started, it was not possible to repair and replace old machinery as and when due, with the result that heavy arrears on this account accumulated. This is no doubt a factor in the decline in productivity, but it is nothing but self-deception to regard this as the one and the only explanation of the decline. In view of the improving labour-management relations, I do not like to dilate upon this point, but the "go-slow" methods of labour are too well known to need any elaborate proof. Productivity of labour has sometimes declined sharply from year to year even when machinery has remained practically the same as before. In the iron and steel industry, there was one instance of a fall of productivity by 45 per cent. in a period of six years, and I do not think that it is possible to attribute the whole of this fall to aging machines. Sri Sen has wrongly assumed that the specific instance which I cited was from the coal industry. No doubt there has been a fall in productivity in coal mines also, but this was not the instance in point. The House may recall that only the other day the Railway Minister stated in the Indian Parliament that during the last ten years, the productivity of railway labour fell by something like 30 per cent. (from 100 in 1938-39 to 69·38 in 1948-49) and he made an appeal to the labourers not only to arrest the fall, but regain the pre-war level of *per capita* productivity. It is obvious that the fall in productivity to which the Railway Minister referred was that resulting solely or mainly from labour itself, and not from deterioration of equipment.

Sri Khagendra Nath Das Gupta has tried to find fault with my observations regarding income-tax. Sri Das Gupta has stated that I have been in the wrong to say that the Indian income-tax rates are the highest in the world, and he cited the case of the United Kingdom where the rates are still higher. If he will refer to the relevant portion of the budget statement, he will find that I expressly excepted the United Kingdom and said that the Indian rates were perhaps the highest among the other countries. In any case, the high rates in the United Kingdom can, by themselves, be no justification for similarly high rates in India. In America, the rates are much lower and still America is economically much better off than the United Kingdom. As a matter of fact, the case of Great Britain stands on a special footing altogether. The high level of food subsidies and comprehensive social services of Britain make the cost of Government extremely high and high rates of income-tax are almost inevitable. In spite of this, however, public opinion in Great Britain is quite critical of the exorbitant

rates of income-tax and in the past few years there have been some concessions in the rates and more are expected to follow, provided Britain can hold her mounting tide of Government expenses. Moreover, British economy is a mature one and her principal industries are all fully developed. The effect of high taxes cannot, in such a context, prove so much deterrent to trade and industry as they would in a developing country like ours where capital is still inadequate and shy and requires, therefore, more positive incentives.

Though the exigencies of the war and of the post-war period have brought about quite a high level of income-tax in Britain today, we should never lose sight of the developing period of British industry when the rates were extremely low. The Colwyn Committee on National Debt and Taxation which reported in 1926 on various aspects of British fiscal policy at the end of the first world war arrived at the conclusion, "with regard to the supply of capital from individual and corporate savings", that "industry has suffered materially from the effect of high income-tax and super-tax". The same is true of the United States of America where income-tax was either nil or the rate was extremly low when the country was making its rapid marches on prosperity. I repeat, therefore, that our fiscal policy must be attuned more to the policy pursued in countries like Argentine, Australia and Canada than to that of United Kingdom where the position is quite different. I do not like to tire the House with details of recent reductions in income-tax rates in these countries, but I assure that such reductions have been quite substantial.

Many members have spoken of universal primary education. For the introduction of universal primary education in the State we require, besides a trained public opinion, Rs. 60 crores for non-recurring expenditure for buildings only, Rs. 13.12 crores for recurring expenditure annually and 92,000 teachers. Our present expenditure on primary education is Rs. 1,73 crores. It is far from my intention to state this as an excuse, but to point out that this cannot be done overnight or in the course of a year or two. It has to be undertaken slowly and steadily. The same holds true of every line of development. Further, expenditure on these lines which result in increased production only at a distance of time, cannot be pushed quickly without putting an almost unbearable strain on the community. The surest way to success is to push it slowly and steadily as the productive power and the resources of the community expand. If we try to advance at a galloping stride disregarding the economic background, we may fall and every failure will be a retrogression for us.

That we have been able to make some headway and that we are on the right track will be evident from the booklet "West Bengal State Rupee—from where it comes and where it goes", which has been circulated to the honourable members. In undivided Bengal the proportion of expenditure on "General Administration" was above "Education" and "Medical", but now it is below both of them. Barring "Police" and "Food", "Education" stands first today and "Medical" takes the second place. I do not think I need labour hard for defending expenditure on food. But I must say a few words about expenditure on "Police" which has been criticised by many honourable members as being on the high side. I do not suppose that any honourable member seriously thinks of weakening the Police force. They know too well how outbreaks of violence occur in this State. West Bengal is a border province. Besides having to protect a long and unnatural boundary, she has to face the onslaught of communism from the East. But still the Police expenditure in West Bengal is only Rs. 4 crores and 83 lakhs as against Rs. 7 crores in Bombay, Rs. 7 crores in the United Provinces and Rs. 6 crores in Madras. Having regard to all these facts our expenditure on "Police" must be considered on the low side. I may assure the House that the expenditure on "General Administration" in West Bengal compares very favourably with other States of the Union.

It should nevertheless be realised that such expenditure is unavoidable because the more the Government would take up social service measures, the more would be the scale of expenditure; but so long as this expenditure is reflected in the increasing amenities of the people, it can always be morally and socially justified.

It is natural that the House should evince a natural interest in developmental plans. With a view to appraising the honourable members as fully as possible of the progress of the schemes, I have separately circulated, along with the budget papers, a statement showing the progress of development schemes and new schemes outside the development programme. It will appear that in the case of most schemes the progress is not unsatisfactory. The House will appreciate what a strain it has been on the State finances to continue the development schemes in spite of the sudden curtailment of the Development Grants and Loans by the Government of India. After partition, till 31st March, 1951, we shall be spending Rs. 34 crores and 72 lakhs on development schemes against which we shall be receiving Rs. 16 crores and 95 lakhs only from the Government of India though the plans were made on the understanding that the full amount will be available from the Government of India. The list of schemes is quite impressive, e.g., the Damodar Valley Project, the Mayurakshi Project, the Road Development Schemes, the Road Transport Scheme, the North Calcutta Rural Electrification Scheme, the Development of the Sibpur Engineering College, the Rural Health Centres Scheme, the Haringhata Scheme, the Grow More Food Scheme, etc. If we can carry them through successfully and expeditiously, we shall be doing something really good for the future of the State though the strain on the present resources is rather heavy. My friend, Dr. Banerjee, has expressed satisfaction at the Road Development Programme, while Sri Khagendra Nath Das Gupta has expressed the opinion that there has been overemphasis on roads. Still another, Sri Shyamapada Bhattacharyya, has said that sufficient importance has not been given to roads. Such differences of opinion will exist and Government have to adopt a programme according to an order of priority. Dr. Banerjee has suggested that there should be some sea-fishing schemes. Evidently he has not cared to go through the Red Book, otherwise he would have seen that under Grant No. 26 there are two schemes, namely, Scheme for Sea-Fishing with the services of a Danish Expert and Danish Cutters, and exploitation of Coastal and Estuary Fishery and provision of a Fishing Fleet. I would also refer him to a scheme for the Power Craft Career Unit for transport of fish. My friend Sri Shyamapada Bhattacharyya has suggested that mustard oil should be free from sales tax. I may point out that it is already exempt.

Government's policy towards district boards has been criticised by some honourable members and my Hon'ble Colleague in charge of the Local Self-Government Department will deal with it in due course. I will only say that district boards can improve their status and usefulness only by increasing their efficiency and capacity for service. Already there is a growing movement for the resumption of many of the functions of district boards by the State Government and it is for the district boards to check this movement by proving their usefulness.

I have been accused, Sir, of throwing a challenge on behalf of capitalists. Mock-heroics have never been my way and I have never been in the habit of throwing challenges. I have merely stated what I think as the correct position and I have not tried to seek escape behind doctrines and slogans which are irrelevant in the context of the reality of our present situation. I firmly believe that if we are to provide people with more employment and produce more wealth and bring more resources to the coffers of the State, we must give capital all due incentive in order to increase the tempo of the productive process. This is the hard truth at the moment, and no dogma or shibboleth can suggest an escape from this basic fact. I have always

believed that economic classification does not resemble a caste system with complete barriers between one class and another. The rich and the poor are not two castes and society does not consist of warring elements. Society is a harmonious group of classes co-operating with each other. I am a firm believer in equal opportunity and co-operation of classes, so that the poor man of today may be the rich man of tomorrow. There is no caste called the capitalists. Capital is an essential requirement of production. Whether it is democracy, or communism, or socialism or whatever form of Government we may live under, capital is essential if production is to be carried on. Capital can be formed only by saving and, I believe everybody must be given the facilities to save. I have said it often that it is the middle class in this country which has been responsible for the bulk of the saving. The labourers and the agriculturists should also save and contribute to the formation of capital in the country, and with that end in view necessary facilities should be made available to them. Everybody should have facilities to save so that everybody, rich or poor, high or low, can play a part in the formation of capital in the country and can crop a share in the capital of the country. That is the only way to progress, and there cannot be a better form of socialism based not only on democratic Government, but also on democratic ownership of capital. I believe in the democratic way of life and I also believe that society will never be free of class. Classes will always be there Even among labourers there will be classes. There will be the skilled men and the unskilled men; there will be manual workers and brain workers, but they will not fight and struggle against each other. The way to prosperity of one class will not be by exploiting or exterminating another class. They will all prosper by co-operation. It is by co-operation and collaboration that they prosper. I do not want to build a society of one class only under the style of classless society by exterminating all other classes. In my scheme all classes live together in co-operation and collaboration and unfettered freedom for self-development and self-expression. I am a believer in such a society because, I think, that such a society is suited to the genius of India.

There are some other points which I need not go into. At the time of voting on supplies my Hon'ble Colleagues in charge of different departments will reply to them. I only refer to my friend Dr. P. C. Ghosh who has spoken about the need for economy. We are fully alive to it. My Hon'ble Colleagues in charge of different departments will explain to the House in course of moving the demand for grants how vigilant they are in this respect. He has also referred to the question of bank failures. I may state that we are fully alert on this point. It is a Central subject but still we have been doing our best to persuade the Government of India and the Reserve Bank to offer as much help as they can. Sometime ago the Government appointed a Committee with a High Court Judge as Chairman and a representative of the Reserve Bank on it to go into certain important questions connected with bank failures. I may state that the Government of India and the Reserve Bank accepted all the recommendations and the Government of India have undertaken legislation on the lines. Dr. Ghosh has also spoken of nationalisation of industries. Government of India's policy on this point is well known and that, I presume, represents Congress policy also. I have already referred to the point and need not dilate on it further. At the time of voting of supplies, other points will be touched by my honourable collleagues.

Before I resume my seat I thank you, Sir, and the honourable members for giving me a patient hearing.

SI. SIBNATH BANERJEE: What about the points raised by other speakers?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Those will be taken up at the time of voting on demands.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 8-20 p.m. till 10 a.m. on Saturday, the 25th February, 1950, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Saturday, the 25th February, 1950, at 10 a.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 9 Hon'ble Ministers and 37 members.

(When the meeting commenced, the House was very thin.)

Sj. SHEO KUMAR RAI: I think it is best to adjourn the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, no. We cannot adjourn the House.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR 1949-50.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, in the absence of my honourable friend, Sj. N. R. Sarker, I may be permitted to present the Supplementary Estimate before the House.

Sir, I beg to present before the House the Supplementary Estimate of Expenditure for the current year. The total amount covered by these estimates is 3 crores 78 lakhs out of which 8 lakhs 20 thousand is for charged expenditure. Of this total, 55 lakhs 9 thousand, being 5 lakhs 67 thousand under "51A—Interest on Capital Outlay on Multipurpose River Schemes" and 49 lakhs 42 thousand under "50—Civil Works" represent provision required on account of revised classification and corresponding savings under the heads in which they were originally included will be surrendered. Rupees 47 lakhs 62 thousand represent provision on account of Cooch-Behar and 91 lakhs represent provision for outstanding debits of the Food Department. The balance of 1 crore 84 lakhs represents provision either for new schemes or excesses over original estimates.

The House will find that the largest demand under the heads of Revenue Expenditure is under "50—Civil Works". The bulk of this is for construction works in connection with development schemes of different departments. The provision in respect of these works was originally included in the provision for development schemes under the various major heads. Now that this portion of the provision will be adjusted under "50—Civil Works" an equivalent saving in the budget provision under the respective major heads will be surrendered.

The next largest demand is under "57—Miscellaneous". The provision is required mainly to meet the expenditure on refugees. A portion of the expenditure which will remain outstanding will be recovered from the Government of India next year or offset by receipts on account of sale of finished articles produced by the refugees. The net charge on provincial revenues will ultimately amount to 10 lakhs.

The demand of 1 crore 24 lakhs under the capital head "85A—Capital Outlay on Provincial Schemes of State Trading" is for clearing outstanding debits of 2 crores 9 lakhs from other Governments on account of supply of food grains to West Bengal in 1947-48 and 1948-49 and for purchase and distribution of sugar which has been recontrolled with effect from 9th September, 1949. The balance will be met by reappropriation of savings within the same grant.

The demand of 47½ lakhs under the Deposit head "Cooch-Behar Deposit Account" is due to the fact that all expenditure on account of Cooch-Behar for the period of the current year from 1st January, 1950, the date on which

Cooch-Behar was merged with West Bengal, to 31st March, 1950, is being adjusted under one Deposit head as above. With effect from 1st April, 1950, the expenditure on account of Cooch-Behar will be adjusted under the appropriate heads in the Revenue Account, Capital Account, etc. It will be noticed that we have asked for a token grant of Re. 1 under the new head "80A—Capital Outlay on Multipurpose River Schemes". The original provision for these schemes was made under the head "68—Construction of Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works". Though both the heads are included in the same grant and the charge under the new head can be met by reappropriation, a token grant is being asked for in view of the new accounts classification.

The reasons for all the demands in the Supplementary Estimate have been set forth in detail in the Explanatory Memorandum given under each head. The Hon'ble Ministers in charge of different departments will go into them more fully, if necessary, as each demand is moved.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The West Bengal Security Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal Security Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Security Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

Sir, the West Bengal Security Bill was passed into an Act in the early part of 1948. Then it was amended by another West Bengal Security Act passed by the Legislature in the latter part of 1948, and it was notified on the 1st November, 1948. One of the provisions of this Act was that it shall in the first instance remain in force for a period of one year, provided that, if a resolution in that behalf is before the date on which it would otherwise have ceased to operate passed by the Provincial Legislature, it shall continue in force for a further period of one year from such date. Sir, this clause was similar to a clause which had been introduced into the Bihar Security Act, and the matter was put before the Judges of the Patna High Court and they decided some time in June last year that a provision of this character introduced into an Act, even if a resolution has been passed by the Legislature, would not be operative, because they hold that by a resolution you cannot continue the period of operation of an Act. Sir, it will be recalled that in April, 1949, this Legislature agreed to a resolution put before it for continuing the operation of the Act for one year. But in view of the finding of the Patna High Court we had to issue an Ordinance in July, 1949, the subject-matter of the Ordinance being the same as the provisions contained in the original Act. Therefore, this Ordinance has been in operation since July, 1949. Ordinarily this Ordinance would expire within six weeks after the convening of this Assembly, so that it will cease to operate from the 15th March. There is another difficulty which has arisen for which we have to put this matter before the Legislature at an early date; and if members of the Legislature have not received proper notice I offer my apologies to them, but the reason was that there was another finding of the Patna High Court which said that the Ordinance or the Act, i.e., the Bihar Act, was *ultra vires*, for although it was certified under Article 372 of the Constitution by the President it was *ultra vires* because the President had certified it at ten o'clock on the 26th and all the Acts under the previous Constitution ceased to operate on the midnight of the 25th. Therefore, the Ordinance being dead and inoperative could not be revived by an adaptation order issued by the President. In view of that fact we felt that we should cover ourselves with the provisions of the Act

thus placed before the Legislature, so that no question might arise as to the validity of the Ordinance under which we are acting today. If you look at the Act, you will find that this Bill practically follows the original provisions of the Ordinance or of the previous Act except that in Articles 21 and 22 we have made different provisions in order to adjust our Bill to the provisions of the New Constitution. In this Bill as against the Act or the Ordinance which is now in operation we have provided a period of restraint for three months, because that is under Article 22 of the Constitution, and that within three months we shall have to put before Judges as provided for in the Constitution for review of the cases. Sir, there had been put before the Assembly certain amendments some of which refer to the policy behind the Act and ask that the policy may be reconsidered. For instance, there are the amendments Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and so on up to 10, 15, 16, etc. These are amendments which were received after 3 p.m. I do not know, Sir, whether you will allow those amendments to be put forward. But there are other amendments which are before the House put in proper time.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, on a point of information, the others are the amendments that I moved before the House——

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I do not yield to Sri Sibnath Banerjee. All the other amendments which affect the principles of the Bill we oppose definitely—either the commitment to Select Committee or the raising of issues of fundamental importance so far as the principles of the Bill are concerned. With regard to some of the amendments, I may refer——

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not necessary to deal with the amendments.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: All right, Sir. With these words, I put before the House the West Bengal Security Bill, 1950, for consideration.

Mr. SPEAKER: Now, Sj. Sibnath Banerjee to move his short-notice amendment.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, before moving the short-notice amendment I want to oppose the whole thing.

Mr. SPEAKER: Do you wish to speak on the main motion?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Yes, Sir. The amendments will come later on. I am now opposing the introduction itself.

Mr. SPEAKER: The motion now is for consideration.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Before I make some——

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Can he oppose introduction, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is wrong. It is for consideration. He is opposing the main motion for consideration.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I thank you for having admitted the amendments that I gave after 3 p.m. yesterday. When I explained the position, unfortunately the Hon'ble Chief Minister was not present in the House and perhaps anybody who was deputising for him did not inform him what actually did happen. Sir, as I explained yesterday and I explain again today, I got the Bill and the notice the night before yesterday.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I do not think the honourable member need proceed on that because those amendments have already been allowed. It is all right.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please move your motion, Mr. Banerjee.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, before that I think I should say something about the privilege. Yesterday it was my request to allow the short-notice amendment, but today I would point out that it is my right and that right has been infringed by the Leader of the House. Sir, section 62 says that, "Any member who wishes to move an amendment to any Bill under the consideration of the Assembly shall give notice thereof, at least ten days before the first day on which the Bill is to be taken into consideration by the Assembly". So the whole thing has been rushed through, and I object to it. On the 16th in the programme that was given it was stated that this Bill would be taken up on some other day. On the 20th they changed it. Thus sudden change is very inconvenient because everybody fixes his programme according to the programme circulated by the Leader of the House. If all on a sudden there is a change it is very inconvenient. That is my first point.

Sir, the second point is that by right we can demand ten days' notice. Sir, on the 17th this Bill was published in the gazette and we could expect twenty-one days for circulation and for information of honourable members. On the 17th the Bill was published in the gazette, and today, i.e., on the 25th we are considering the Bill and the House is asked to pass it. Sir, this is hardly fair to the members.

Sir, there is another aspect which I would like to ask you to take into consideration. Sir, today there is a *hartal* in the city and it was with the greatest difficulty that I could reach the House. I was late by ten minutes even then. I do not find any of the members in Opposition. They might have been faced with the same difficulty. In a House where the Opposition is almost entirely absent, it is hardly fair to pass this Bill or to rush it through. I am suggesting that because of the *hartal* today and of the special difficulties, at least this Bill should not be considered today. Sir, that is my submission.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is that all?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, this is an extraneous thing which is happening here. I am drawing the attention of the Leader of the House through you, Sir, to have this much charitable disposition towards Opposition; let them come and express their views on the Bill. Today they are being denied that privilege.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Do you suggest that there should be a *hartal* in the House also?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Yes; I am certainly suggesting to adjourn the House, so that the Opposition may come and express their views.

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot take notice of any *hartal*. The quorum is present in the House and I think we should proceed with the business of the House.

With regard to the question of privilege I have already allowed short-notice amendments. Therefore, there is no real need to delay the matter and I think we should proceed with the Bill. The main motion for consideration of the Bill is before the honourable members and if you wish to speak upon that motion, you can do so. What I propose to do is this: you please move the motions which are standing in your names, viz., amendment for circulation, amendment for sending the Bill to Select Committee. Then if you wish to speak on the main motion, you can do so.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I think you have completely misunderstood me. I do not ask you to adjourn the House. I ask the Leader of the

House to adjourn consideration of this Bill if he cares for the Opposition, so that they may have an opportunity to express their views. The Leader of the House jumped from his seat and shouted. He has also misunderstood me. I do not request you to adjourn the House. I only request the Leader of the House, through you, to adjourn the House in view of the fact that many of the Opposition members are not present in the House. I know my request will be rejected, but that is an appeal.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Can he adjourn the House under the rules?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Yes; during the budget discussion this House was adjourned on the initiative of the Leader of the House, for example, when Srijut Sarat Chandra Bose died, and it was adjourned times without number previously when the situation demanded it.

Then, Sir, regarding moving of the amendments, as I was pointing out, there are certain sections of the Assembly Procedure Rules which provide certain procedure, namely, 10 days' time for amendments, etc. Sir, you have framed these rules and I expected that the House would be guided by those rules. They have been completely flouted and, therefore, I am appealing to you to see to it that these rules that you have framed are fully observed. Of course, there is a rider everywhere that the Speaker can override any rule. He can do away with the 21 days' or 10 days' time-limit. Sir, I know that right you have, but at the same time, as the custodian of this House, you are not supposed to belong to any party, and therefore the members of the Opposition and others also who are not in the Opposition look up to you to see that the rules as framed by you are observed. In this instance they have not been observed and I record my protest. The Leader of the House said that he was sorry that he had to rush through the Bill because of certain circumstances. I sympathise with him, but at the same time I should say that legislature is legislature and this Bill should not be hustled like this. If there is any difficulty, he should find out the means out of that difficulty not by hustling the Bill in this way nor by overriding the rules and procedure of this House but by other means. Therefore, I am recording my protest. There was only four days' time. Circulation was given on the 20th, and 24th was the last date for giving amendments and today on the 25th the Bill is being taken up for consideration. This is surely unfair. At least ten days' time should have been given. So this is my submission regarding the procedure which has been followed.

Mr. SPEAKER: With regard to procedure I wish to say there is no doubt about the fact that a shorter time is being given for consideration of this Bill than was necessary under the ordinary procedure rules. As a matter of fact, I have pointed out to the Government that more time should have been given to the members to consider the Bill. So far as the present Bill is concerned, yesterday I told you about the circumstances in which the Bill is here. Now, so far as the amendments to the motion for the consideration of the Bill are concerned, I have received the amendments. So far as you are concerned, you have sent your amendments and I have circulated them. Therefore, all that is necessary has been done and everything is before the House, and now I think we must proceed with the Bill.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I do not know, Sir——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. It is not a question of argument. I have answered to your point of privilege and now, I regret, there cannot be any discussion over what has been said. If you wish to mention anything new, I have no objection, but if you wish to repeat the same argument, I am sorry I cannot allow it.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I do not wish to repeat the argument. What I want to say is that the amendments were tabled yesterday and sufficient time has not been given to the members of the House to consider those amendments. They were given yesterday at about 5 p.m. To ask us to consider them today at 10 o'clock is very unfair to us. I am not talking about my amendments which you have accepted. I am talking of other amendments which were tabled yesterday. Some time should be given to consider them.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think you have recorded your protest and you have made your submission. Nothing more can be done. The position is that this Bill is an important Bill and Government wants to consider this Bill today. Now so far as your amendments are concerned, I have admitted them and I have allowed you to move them. Will you kindly move them?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I request that my objection be considered by the House. Now I shall move my amendments.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please move amendment No. 1 and amendment No. 2 together.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, they are independent amendments—one for circulation and another for sending the Bill to Select Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right. Please move your amendment No. 1 and then speak.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move by way of amendment that the West Bengal Security Bill, 1950, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon by the 17th of May, 1950.

Sir, I shall be short. (A VOICE: Why?) Because I had no time to study the Bill, thanks to the machination of the Leader of the House.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I do protest against this insinuation. Let him prove his case. It does not improve the chances of his case being properly understood, if he begins in this fashion "machination of the Leader of the House".

Mr. SPEAKER: Such an expression should not be used.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I will request the Leader of the House to supply an alternative word.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I dot not propose to, but I want him through you, Mr. Speaker, to withdraw that expression "machination of the Leader of the House".

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, I ask you to withdraw that expression.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I do not find it to be unparliamentary, but if you hold it to be unparliamentary, I withdraw it.

Mr. SPEAKER: If you say to a member that it is your machination, then certainly you are casting aspersion upon that member. I think you should withdraw that expression.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I withdraw it because you hold it to be unparliamentary, though I do not think so.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: May I ask if any member can question the ruling of the Chair?

Mr. SPEAKER: No; I do not think so. Mr. Banerjee, I ask you to withdraw that expression unconditionally.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I withdraw it. I asked for an alternative word. In Bengali it is called "চক্রান্ত"

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Go and consult a dictionary!

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: যেজন্য আমি এই বিলকে circulationএ দেবার কথা বলছি তার কারণ এটাকে ভাল করে চিন্তা করবার সময় হয় নাই। ১৭ই তারিখে publish হয়েছে, ২৫শে তারিখে এটা ভাল করে consider করা যায় না বা সম্ভব হয় না। তারপর West Bengal Security Actএ যা ছিল তা থেকে এটাকে আরো ব্যাপক করা হয়েছে এবং আরো অনেক নূতন নূতন জিনিষ ঢুকান হয়েছে। কিন্তু আমরা জানি যে এর অপপ্রয়োগ হয়ে থাকে; সেইজন্যে আমি এটাকে circulationএ দিতে চাচ্ছি, যাতে এই সম্বন্ধে ভাল করে চিন্তা করে better বিল এই Houseএর সামনে আসতে পারে।

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as the second amendment with regard to reference of the Bill to the Select Committee is concerned, we have not received the consent of the members. Therefore, that motion is out of order. Similarly no consent has been received with regard to the motion of Sj. Bepin Behari Ganguli referring the matter to the Select Committee. Therefore, both these motions for Select Committee reference are out of order. Now, the only motion is the amendment of Sj. Sibnath Banerjee.

The motion of Sj. Sibnath Banerjee that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon by the 17th of May, 1950, was then put and a division was called by Sj. Sibnath Banerjee.

(While the division bell was ringing.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: May I ask on a point of order. Nobody said "Aye", not even Mr. Banerjee. Can he claim a division.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the member is entitled to claim a division.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: All right.

The motion of Sj. Sibnath Banerjee that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon by the 17th of May, 1950, was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

Ayes—1.

Banerjee, Sj. Sibnath

Noes—30.

Bandyopadhaya, Sj. Pramatha Nath
Banerjee, Sj. Susil Kumar
Barman, the Hon'ble Syama Prasad
Chatterjee, Sj. Haripada
Chaudhuri, the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath.
Choudhury, Sj. Annada Prosad
Das, Sj. Radha Nath
Das Gupta, Sj. Khagendra Nath
Dass, Sj. Kanailal
Ganguli, Sj. Bepin Behari
Gayen, Sj. Arabinda
Ghose, Sj. Bimal Comar
Gupta, Sj. J. C.
Haldar, Sj. Kuber Chand
Majumdar, the Hon'ble Bhupati
Mandal, Sj. Annadaprasad
Mandal, Sj. Bankubehari
Mandal, Sj. Umesh Chandra
Mookerjee, the Hon'ble Kalipada
Naskar, Sj. Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, the Hon'ble Hem Chandra
Panja, the Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath
Poddar, Sj. Anandilal
Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta
Roy, the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sj. Jajneswar.
Roy Singh Sarkar, Sj. Satish Chandra
Sen, Sj. Debendra Nath
Sen, the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra
Sinha, the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra

The Ayes being 1 and the Noes 30, the motion was lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy that the West Bengal Security Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, regarding my second amendment, of course it is not before the House because I could not get *the consent of the Congress members. Now I would like to know the position in future if we propose a Select Committee. I was told* by some members of the Congress that they are not authorised to consent or agree to any Select Committee, but the procedure of the House, the convention of the House is whenever a Select Committee is suggested the names of all the groups are given there. We, the Opposition, find ourselves in a difficulty, that is, if we have to give names, it is only of the Opposition and the Government members' names we cannot give. We would like to be directed by you what we should do under the circumstances.

Mr. SPEAKER: As to what are the difficulties I am not concerned with. I am only concerned with the fact that any person who moves any amendment referring the matter to the Select Committee must place before the Speaker the consent of the members whose names he proposes. I am not in a position to help the honourable member to obtain the consent of others.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I am not suggesting that. Under the circumstances we shall have to suggest the names of only Opposition members, but we have to suggest the names——

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, it is for you to suggest any names you like.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: It is a question of privilege of the House. If there is a Minister, his name must be there. If he does not give his consent, that means no amendment for Select Committee can be moved.

Mr. SPEAKER: If a member chooses not to include an Hon'ble Minister and if he chooses to mention the names of other members, he is at liberty to do so. The Minister in charge of the Bill will be there under the rules.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I am suggesting that this is a completely new procedure which has been adopted in this House. I can only express that it is a Fascist method of not allowing us to move any motion of Select Committee by preventing any member of the Congress to consent or to agree, and the Minister himself not agreeing we cannot move any amendment for Select Committee. That right of moving Select Committee amendments has been taken away by the Government and the Leader of the House by not agreeing to serve in the Select Committee. We cannot even place it before the House. That right has been taken away by the Congress Party today which was never done by the League Party or any other party in the past.

Mr. SPEAKER: What the Congress Party has done or a particular party has done is not material to the House.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I then amend it, as the Government Party.

Mr. SPEAKER: The position is whether a particular member consents to serve on a Committee or not is a matter of choice, or he may be directed by others not to do so. How can the House help you? If you wish to move a motion for Select Committee, you will have to obtain the consent of the members whom you wish to serve on the Select Committee. If you fail, there is no machinery which can protect you.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I suggest that the matter be sent to the Privilege Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not a matter to be sent to the Privilege Committee. It is necessary that consent should be obtained from the members.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: That would be an absurd position. The position is that the right of the Opposition to move motion for Select Committees is being taken away.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then, you could have mentioned only the names of the members who agree to it. Afterwards you could name others, 10 or 7 or 5 or whatever that may be.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, can I move a motion for Select Committee in which the mover of the Bill will not be there?

Mr. SPEAKER: You cannot. The Minister in charge of the Bill will be there.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I cannot. I do not think I am allowed to do so.

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as the rules are concerned, if you wish to move a motion for Select Committee consisting of persons who consent to it, you can do so. If the Leader of the House does not consent, you should omit him.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I think that on a Select Committee the first name that has been given is the name of the mover of the Bill, that is, the Minister who moves the Bill, must be there

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, he is complaining of Fascist methods. May I suggest, Sir, that he never approached me for my consent? It is not that I have not given it to him, nor to Mr. Ganguli. Therefore, it is a Fascist method to force a member to be on a Committee even though he has not been approached to be on the Committee.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I am sorry I did not approach him because he was not in the House yesterday.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, I think we have fully discussed the matter. Will you please now move your amendment?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, may I take it from you that I can move a motion for Select Committee in subsequent Bills on which the Minister moving the Bill will not be there, but only the Opposition members? Will it be in order?

Mr. SPEAKER: If you want my advice, you should see me in my Chamber. I cannot give you my advice on the floor of the House.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I do not ask your advice. I want your ruling.

Mr. SPEAKER: The rules are there and they give but one interpretation. Unless and until the actual occasion for it arises, how can I give you a ruling on a hypothetical question? You now move your amendment.

Clause 1.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 1, sub-clause (*4*), line 1, for the word "three" the word "one" be substituted.

The reason is very clear এই আইন ৩ বৎসর না থেকে যত কম হয় সেইজন্য আমি ১ বৎসর suggest করেছি।

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that for sub-clause (*3*) of clause 1 the following be substituted, namely:—

"(*3*) It shall come into force at once".

SJ. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I oppose this and in opposition I would like to speak something.

এই indecent haste এর মানেটা কি? মাননীয় প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বল্লেন যে March মাসের কত তারিখ পর্য্যন্ত এর আয়ু রয়েছে। সেই তারিখ পর্য্যন্ত চল্‌তে পারে সেটা ছিল বিলের মধ্যে অথচ নিজেরাই Select Committeeতে দিলেন না। তাঁরা নিজেরাই যে amendment করছেন তা অপ্রয়োজনীয় amendment. যতদিন না এই Act passed হচ্ছে ততদিনই ত এই Ordinanceই রয়েছে। এবং তার কোন ত্রুটীও নাই। আর যদি এটা পাকা করতেই হয়, তাতে আমি বল্‌তে চাই যে এটা অপ্রয়োজনীয়। As it is ভাবে যেটা রয়েছে সেটা চল্‌তে পারে। প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলেছেন যে এটা in operation রয়েছে। সেই তারিখের মধ্যে যদি pass না হয় তাহলে অন্য problem দাঁড়াবে। আজকে যে অবস্থায় original বিলটা রয়েছে সেটা যতদিন না pass হবে ততদিন এই Ordinanceই চালু থাকবে। সেই জন্য আমি এটা oppose করছি।

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that for sub-clause (*3*) of clause 1 the following be substituted, namely:—

"(*3*) It shall come into force at once."

was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

Ayes—29.

Bandyopadhaya, Sj. Pramatha Nath
Banerjee, Sj. Susil Kumar
Barman, the Hon'ble Syama Prasad
Chatterjee, Sj. Haripada
Chaudhuri, the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sj. Radha Nath
Dass, Sj. Kanailal
De, Sj. Kanai Lal
Ganguli, Sj. Bepin Behari
Gayen, Sj. Arabinda
Ghose, Sj. Bimal Comar
Gupta, Sj. J. C.
Haldar, Sj. Kuber Chand
Majhi, Sj. Nishapati
Majumdar, the Hon'ble Bhupati
Mandal, Sj. Annadaprasad
Mandal, Sj. Bankubehari
Mandal, Sj. Umesh Chandra
Mookerjee, the Hon'ble Kalipada
Naskar, Sj. Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, the Hon'ble Hem Chandra
Panja, the Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath
Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta
Roy, the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sj. Jajneswar.
Roy Singh Sarker, Sj. Satish Chandra
Sen, Sj. Debendra Nath
Sen, the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra
Sinha, the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra

Noes—1.

Banerjee, Sj. Sibnath

The Ayes being 29 and the Noes 1, the motion was carried.

The motion of Sj. Sibnath Banerjee that in line 1, sub-clause (*4*) of clause 1, for the word "three" the word "one" be substituted was put and lost.

The question that clause 1, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

SJ. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I move that in clause 2, sub-clause (*1*), lines 2 to 5, the words beginning with "and includes" and ending with "of the community" be omitted.

I also move that after clause 2, sub-clause (*9*)(*d*), the following new paragraph be added, namely:—

"(*dd*) to further or help black-marketing."

I further move that clause 2, sub-clause (*e*), be omitted.

Clause 2(*1*)এতে বলা হয়েছে "essential commodity" means food, water, fuel, light or power এই পর্য্যন্ত আমি থাকতে দিচ্ছি। তারপরে যেটা বলা হয়েছে, যথা "and includes such other thing as may be declared by the State Government by notification

to be essential for the life of the community" সেটা আমি omit করতে চাই; কারণ এখানে State Governmentএর উপর আমার কোন আস্থা নেই। সেই জন্য তাদের বিবেচনার উপর ছেড়ে দিতে আমি রাজী নই। তারা যদি সব mention করে ভেবে চিন্তে আনতে পারেন তাহ'লে না হয় বিবেচনা করা যায়। এই যে বাগড়া তারা দিয়েছেন সেটা আমি মানতে রাজী নই। Clause 2(9)এ বলা হয়েছে "Subversive act means any act which is intended or is likely to endanger communal harmony, etc.," ইহার বদলে "Subversive act means only that act which leads specifically to endanger". এই সম্বন্ধে শ্রদ্ধেয় বিপিন গাঙ্গুলী মহাশয়ের একটা amendment ছিল কিন্তু তিনি তাহা move করেন নাই। যেখানে বলা হয় "is intended or is likely to" সেটা এমন ব্যাপক যে সেটা অত্যন্ত বিপদজনক ব্যাপার। কার কি intention বোঝা কঠিন। প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের উদ্দেশ্য কি আছে জানি না। আমার উদ্দেশ্য কি আছে তাও অজ্ঞাত। I. C. S. officerদের অভ্যাস এখনো যায় নি, এখনো তারাই draft করে দেয়। তারপর clause 2(9)(d)তে আমি আর একটু add করতে চাই। Subversive actএর মধ্যে "black-marketing"ও include করা উচিত। কারণ "black-marketing"এর ফলে জিনিষপত্তরের দাম বেড়ে যাচ্ছে এবং সঙ্গে সঙ্গে strikeও বেড়ে যাচ্ছে। কিছুদিন আগে কয়েকজন বড় বড় নেতা বলেছিলেন black-marketeerদের ফাঁসী দেওয়া দরকার। আজকে তাঁরা কিছুই বলছেন না। ওরা ঐ Actএ পড়ে, ওরা যারা নিরীহ লোকদের বিব্রত করে, তাদেরও এই বিলের মধ্যে আনা দরকার। সেই জন্য আমি এটা বাড়িয়ে দিতে বলছি। এবং তারপর sub-clause (e) সেটা delete করা হউক। তাতে বলা হচ্ছে "to impede, delay or restrict (i) any work, or operation, or (ii) any means of transport or locomotion, necessary for the production, procurement, supply or distribution of any essential commodity, except in furtherance of an industrial dispute as defined in the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947". এটা আমরা জানি কি thin.

এইসব থাকা সত্ত্বেও বার বার আমরা দেখতে পাচ্ছি এটা কেহ গ্রাহ্য না কোরে আমাদের উপর Ordinance থাকার সময় সেই Ordinanceএর অপপ্রয়োগ হয়। এর Explanation যা রয়েছে তাও আরও খারাপ। লম্বা লম্বা Explanation...... কিন্তু আমাদের জানা আছে যে বার্ণপুরে workerদের মধ্যে lawfully registered unionএর মধ্যে থেকে যারা প্রচার করছিল তাদের সেখান থেকে তাড়িয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছে এবং কাউকে কাউকে ধরা হয়েছে। তারপর আমরা High Court বা higher court থেকে release order পেয়েছি।

আমার মতে আইনটা থেকে sub-clause (e) এটা বাদ দেওয়া দরকার।

এই riotএর সময় আমাদের দুইজন লোককে ধরা হয়েছিল জোড়াসাঁকো থানায়। তাদের নাম রাম কুমার গুপ্ত ও সমীরুদ্দিন কাশ্মীরী। সেখানকার থানার officerদের নাম আমি করতে চাই না। তাদের থানার মধ্যে নিয়ে নির্দয়ভাবে প্রহার করেছে এবং তাদের বলা হয়েছিল যে তারা বোম ফেলেছিল, তারা তখন আমাদের Peace Committeeতে কাজ করছিল, তারা ওখানে কি কোরে বোম ফেলল?

এই কোরে প্রথমে দুই জন, তার পর দুই জন, এই রকম কোরে ৯ জনকে arrest কোরে রেখেছিল। এবং যারা খবর নিতে গিয়েছিল এবং জিজ্ঞাসা কোরেছিল যে কোন sectionএ আটক রাখা হয়েছে তাদেরও arrest করা হয়েছে। এটা delete করা দরকার।

মি: স্পীকার, স্যার, আমি এই সমস্ত amendmentগুলি এক সঙ্গে move করতে পারি, তাহলে একবারে division হয়ে যায়।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Clause না হ'লে হয় কেমন কোরে?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: সবই আপনারা পারেন। কল যখন জানা আছে তখন স্পীকার মহোদয়ের হাতে কি কোন রাস্তা নাই, দেখুন খুঁজে।

Mr. SPEAKER: আপনাদের হাতে রাস্তা আছে, আমার হাতে নাই।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: প্রধান মন্ত্রী বুঝাচ্ছিলেন আমাকে তার আগেই আপনি division ডেকে ফেলেন।

The motion of Sj. Sibnath Banerjee that in clause 2, sub-clause (*1*), lines 2 to 5, the words beginning with "and includes" and ending with "of the community" be omitted, was then put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Sibnath Banerjee that after clause 2, sub-clause (*9*)(*d*), the following new paragraph be added, namely:—

"(*dd*) to further or help black-marketing."

was then put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Sibnath Banerjee that clause 2, sub-clause (*e*), be omitted, was then put and lost.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

Ayes—30.

Bandyopadhaya, Sj. Pramatha Nath
Banerjee, Sj. Susil Kumar
Barman, the Hon'ble Syama Prasad
Chaudhuri, the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sj. Radha Nath
Dass, Sj. Kanailal
De, Sj. Kanai Lal
Doloi, Sj. Harendra Nath
Ganguli, Sj. Bepin Behari
Gayen, Sj. Arabinda
Ghose, Sj. Bimal Comar
Gupta, Sj. J. C.
Haldar, Sj. Kuber Chand
Majhi, Sj. Nishapati
Majumdar, the Hon'ble Bhupati
Mallick, Sj. Ashutosh
Mandal, Sj. Annadaprasad
Mandal, Sj. Bankubehari
Mandal, Sj. Umesh Chandra
Mookerjee, the Hon'ble Kalipada
Naskar, Sj. Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, the Hon'ble Hem Chandra
Panja, the Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath
Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta
Roy, the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sj. Jajneswar.
Roy Singh Sarker, Sj. Satish Chandra
Sen, Sj. Debendra Nath
Sen, the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra
Sinha, the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra

Noes—1.

Banerjee, Sj. Sibnath

The Ayes being 30 and the Noes 1, the motion was carried.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

The question that clause 4 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 6.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I move that in clause 6, sub-clause (*4*), line 1, after the word "officer" the words "not less than of the rank of Inspector" be inserted.

I also move that in clause 6, sub-clause (*6*), line 4, for the word "three" the word "one" be substituted.

একটু সামান্য argument দিব। এখানে বলা হয়েছে "any police officer or any other person authorised in this behalf by the State Government may search, etc." এখানে একটু restriction হওয়া দরকার। আমাদের দেশে Magistrateকে আশীর্বাদ করে "তুমি দারোগা হও"। Officerদের rank যদি ঠিক না থাকে তাহলে একটু ভাবনার কথা। সাধারণ পুলিশকে ধরে দিলে

আসতে বন্ধে বেঁধে নিয়ে আসে। তাই restriction করতে চাই। যদি আমাদের নির্ধারিত হতেই হয় তাহলে যদি একটু বড় officer হয় তাহলে আশা করা যায় অন্তত: যাদের না হয় দুইদিন পরে যোগ্য officer পাওয়া যাবে, তারা এটাকে ঠিকমত প্রয়োগ করতে পারবে। এখানে Inspector করা দরকার।

The motion of Sj. Sibnath Banerjee that in clause 6, sub-clause (*4*), line 1, after the word "officer" the words "not less than of the rank of Inspector" be inserted was then put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Sibnath Banerjee that in clause 6, sub-clause (*6*), line 4, for the word "three" the word "one" be substituted was then put and lost.

The question that clause 6 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 7.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I move that in clause 7, sub-clause (*5*), line 4, for the word "three" the word "one" be substituted.

আমার মনে হয় এই যে peculiar circumstanceএ এই যে Ordinance করা হয়েছিল, এবং যে রকমভাবে এই বিল rush through করা হচ্ছে, সে Ordinance থাকলেও তা করতে পারেন। সেই জন্য যদি ১ বৎসর সাজা দেওয়া হয় তাহলে ন্যায়ের পক্ষে এবং বিচারের পক্ষে তা যথেষ্ট হবে।

The motion was then put and lost.

The question that clause 7 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 8.

The question that clause 8 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 9.

The question that clause 9 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 10.

The question that clause 10 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 11.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I move that in clause 11, sub-clause (*3*), line 3, for the word "five" the word "one" be substituted.

ইহার জন্য কোন argument দেব না।

The motion was then put and lost.

The question that clause 11 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 12.

The question that clause 12 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 13.

Mr. SPEAKER: Amendment No. 13 is a negative amendment, and so it is not in order. The honourable member can oppose this clause.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: If it is declared out of order, then I oppose it.

Mr. SPEAKER: Do you want to say something?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Yes, Sir.

আমি আশঙ্কা করছি অনেকেই এই বিলটা পড়েন নাই। যাহা section 13এতে বলা হচ্ছে তা সংবাদপত্রের কণ্ঠরোধ। সংবাদপত্র মাত্রই capitalistদের কথা লেখে এবং গভর্ণমেণ্টের বাধ্য হয়ে ঢাক বাজায়। যদি তা না করে তাহলে ৫ হাজার-১০ হাজার পর্য্যন্ত জামানৎ চাওয়া হয়। এমনি Press Act যা আছে, তাই যথেষ্ট আছে। আবার নূতনভাবে এটাকে করবার কোন সঙ্গত কারণ নাই। আজকে যারা Governmentএ বসে আছে তারা বেশ ভালভাবে জানেন ওটাকে কিভাবে ব্যবহার করছেন। "পশ্চিম বঙ্গ পত্রিকা এবং আরও অনেক পত্রিকার উপর তা করছেন। তার জন্য এটার কোন দরকার নাই। এবং তারা সংবাদপত্রকে বেশ ভালভাবে control করছেন। আমি এখানে Fascist কথাটা ব্যবহার করব না, তবে একনায়কবাদ প্রয়োগ করছি। এখানে Public Press বা অন্য লোকে কিছু বলবে কিন্তু এঁরা সেটার কণ্ঠরোধ করতে চান, সেটা অত্যন্ত মারাত্মক। Democracy যদি ঠিক মতন function করতে চায়, তাহলে Houseএর মধ্যে এবং বাইরে যে Press রয়েছে, সেই Press যাতে নির্ভীকভাবে সব কিছু সমালোচনা করতে পারে তার ব্যবস্থা করা প্রয়োজন। এর দ্বারা তার কণ্ঠরোধের যে প্রচেষ্টা করা হচ্ছে তা আমি oppose করছি।

The question that clause 13 do stand part of the Bill was then put and a division called, with the following result:—

Ayes—30.

Bandyopadhya, Sj. Pramatha Nath
Banerjee, Sj. Susil Kumar
Barman, the Hon'ble Syama Prasad
Chaudhuri, the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sj. Radha Nath
Dass, Sj. Kanailal
De, Sj. Kanai Lal
Dolui, Sj. Harendra Nath
Ganguli, Sj. Bepin Behari
Gayen, Sj. Arabinda
Ghose, Sj. Bimal Comar
Gupta, Sj. J. C.
Haldar, Sj. Kuber Chand
Majhi, Sj. Nishapati
Majumdar, the Hon'ble Bhupati
Mallick, Sj. Ashutosh
Mandal, Sj. Annadaprasad
Mandal, Sj. Umesh Chandra
Mookerjee, the Hon'ble Kalipada
Murarka, Sj. Basantlal
Naskar, Sj. Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, the Hon'ble Hem Chandra
Panja, the Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath
Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta
Roy, the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sj. Jajneswar.
Roy Singh Sarker, Sj. Satish Chandra
Sen, Sj. Debendra Nath
Sen, the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra
Sinha, the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra

Noes—1.

Banerjee, Sj. Sibnath

The Ayes being 30 and the Noes 1, the motion was carried.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, আপনি যা ruling দিয়েছেন, তার ওপর কিছু বলছি না। কেন না clause 13 এবং আরও অনেক clauseএর কথা শুনলাম যা আপনি out of order করে দিয়েছেন। অতীতে আমাদের অভিজ্ঞতা আছে যে clause delete করতে হ'লে একটা ছাপান form ব্যবহার করতে হয়। Clause delete এইভাবে অন্যান্য পার্লামেণ্ট করে না বলেই আমার ধারণা। আমার অনুরোধ আপনি এ সম্বন্ধে একটুখানি বিবেচনা করুন ও দেখুন।

Mr. SPEAKER: This matter was considered several times and the position as I explained to you is this: If a member wants an entire clause to be deleted the same effect can be obtained by opposing that clause. If you can defeat that clause the object of your amending motion is achieved. If you wish to move an amendment to a part of the clause, that is allowed, but you cannot move an amendment to delete the entire clause.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, the same thing can be done in both ways, either by moving an amendment to delete the entire clause or by opposing the clause itself.

Mr. SPEAKER: It was considered by my predecessors, and I find, that is the uniform practice which is observed.

Clause 14.

The question that clause 14 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 15.

The question that clause 15 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 16.

The question that clause 16 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 17.

The question that clause 17 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 18.

The question that clause 18 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 19.

The question that clause 19 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 20.

The question that clause 20 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 21.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in sub-clause *(1)* of clause 21, lines 1 to 4, for the words "The State Government, if satisfied with respect to any particular person that with a view to preventing him from doing any subversive act it is necessary so to do, may make an order........" the following be substituted, namely:—

> "The State Government, if satisfied with respect to any particular person that he is doing or is about to do or is likely to do any subversive act, may, with a view to preventing him from doing such act, make an order. . . . ."

Sir, I beg also to move that after sub-clause *(1)* of clause 21, the following sub-clause be inserted, namely:—

> "*(1a)* Subject to the provisions of sub-section *(5)*, an order made under sub-section *(1)* shall be served on the person in respect of whom it is made in the manner provided in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for service of a summons, and upon such service such person shall be deemed to have had due notice thereof".

Act V of 1898.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: সুশীল বাবু এটা কেন move করলেন, সেটা আর একটু পরিষ্কার করলে বুঝতে সুবিধা হ'ত। এটার screw আরও tight করা আবশ্যক। এটা ছিল—"The State Government, if satisfied with respect to any particular person that with a view to preventing him from doing any subversive act it is necessary so to do, may make an order, etc." এটা বোঝা যায়—একটা subversive act করতে যাচ্ছে, তার prevention করবার ব্যবস্থা করা হ'ল। কিন্তু যেটা দিয়েছেন সেটা আরও ব্যাপক। এই formula সম্বন্ধে আগেই

বলেছি এটা অত্যন্ত মারাত্মক। এটা যাঁরা গভর্ণমেণ্টে থাকেন, তাঁদের হাতে অত্যন্ত handy weapon হ এবং Oppositionকে নানা রকমভাবে দমন করবার অস্ত্র হিসেবে এটা ব্যবহৃত হয়। সেইজন্য আমি এটা oppose করছি। Amendmend যেটা করছেন সেটার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে originalটাও oppose করছি। Amendmend যেটা দিয়েছেন সেটা still more emphatically oppose করছি।

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that in sub-clause (*1*) of clause 21, lines 1 to 4, for the words "the State Government, if satisfied with respect to any particular person that with a view to preventing him from doing any subversive act it is necessary so to do, may make an order ......" the following be substituted, namely:—

"The State Government, if satisfied with respect to any particular person that he is doing or is about to do or is likely to do any subversive act, may, with a view to preventing him from doing such act, make an order........."

was then put and agreed to.

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that after sub-clause (*1*) of clause 21 the following sub-clause be inserted, namely:—

"(*1a*) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (*5*), an order made under sub-section (*1*) shall be served on the person in respect of whom it is made in the manner provided in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for service of a summons, and upon such service such person shall be deemed to have had due notice thereof".

Act V of 1898

was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 21, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 22.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I move that in clause 22, sub-clause (*1*), line 2, for the word "three" the word "one" be substituted.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I move that in sub-clause (*1*) of clause 22, lines 2 and 3, after the words "three months" the following be inserted, namely:—

"or where the order is made under sub-section (*3*) of section 36, for such period not exceeding three months from the date of the arrest under sub-section (*1*) of section 36".

I also move that item (*ii*) of the first proviso to sub-clause (*1*) of clause 22 be omitted.

I further move that in proviso (*iii*) to sub-clause (*1*) of clause 22, lines 3 and 4, for the words and figures "following arrest under section 36 within three months of the date of such arrest" substitute the following, namely:—

"under sub-section (*3*) of section 36, within three months of the date of the arrest under sub-section (*1*) of section 36".

I further move that in proviso (*v*) to sub-clause (*1*) of clause 22, line 6, for the word "exceeding" the words "extending beyond" be substituted.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Before vote is taken I would like to say something.

এর শেষ দিকে যে proviso রয়েছে যেখানে fresh orderএর provision করা হয়েছে সেটা থেকে দেখা যাচ্ছে যে একবার যাকে নেওয়া হ'ল জেলে, আবার release order হ'ল এবং সঙ্গে সঙ্গে তাকে জেল গেটে ধরে ৩ মাস আটকে রাখা যেতে পারে, এই যে provision রয়েছে এটা mockery of justice. যে Actএ বলা হ'ল, সে ভুল করেই হোক, আর যেভাবেই হোক higher courtএর orderএ ছাড়া হ'ল।

কিন্তু আবার তাকে জেল গেটে ধরা হ'ল, এটা absolutely funny. অন্য কোন দেশে *Habeas Corpus*এ ছাড়া হ'লে আর ধরা হয় না। কিন্তু আমাদের এই Security Act বা III Regulation of 1818এ আবার তাকে ধরা হবে। এর provision ৩ মাস বা ৩ বছর না ক'রে ৩০ বছর করে দেব, একবারেই ছাড়া হবে। আবার কেন ধরা হবে, এটা কার উর্ব্বর মস্তিষ্কে এসেছে, তা বুঝতে পারি না।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I think I ought to explain to my friend because he has made a mistake. There are two provisions in this Act, section 22 and section 36. Under section 22 Government may arrest a certain person. Under section 36 the police officer can arrest a certain person. All the amendments of Sj Susil Kumar Banerjee are to the effect that the total period before which the case should go before a Judge should not exceed three months because of the New Constitution. It is in favour of the person arrested, not against him. Suppose a warrant is issued under section 22 by Government today and another warrant is issued by a police officer 15 days later. In these amendments we say that the total period before which the case should go up before a Judge should not exceed three months in any case. Therefore it is in favour of the person who is arrested that these amendments have been brought by Government. The total period whether it is under section 22 or under section 36 should not exceed three months.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of information, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: What is your point of information? Just put your question. Please remember that according to our practice a member is not allowed to speak on the same amendment twice and so please do not speak on the amendment again. Just put your question.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: এই যে ৩ মাসের rule করা হয়েছে according to the Constitution আটক রাখবার, 22 provisoতে বলা হয়েছে "not exceeding three months." তাহ'লে আমাদের Constitutionএর provision three monthsএ বাঁচি না। যাতে বাঁচি তার জন্য fresh order চাই। তিন মাসের বেশী ত রাখতে পারেন না। এটা আমি বুঝতে পারছি না। দয়া ক'রে বুঝিয়ে দিন।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, if my friend had read the Constitution, under section 22(7) the Parliament has the power to increase the period of detention for more than three months in certain classes of cases under certain circumstances. Therefore this is only an enabling clause in order to fit in with section 22(7). There are section 22(4) which says three months and section 22(7) which says a longer period. Therefore, this section has been brought in in order to put it in line with the Constitution.

The motion of Sj. Sibnath Banerjee that in clause 22, sub-clause (*1*), line 2, for the word "three" the word "one" be substituted was then put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that in sub-clause (*1*) of clause 22, lines 2 and 3, after the words "three months" the following be inserted, namely:—

> "or where the order is made under sub-section (*3*) of section 36, for such period not exceeding three months from the date of the arrest under sub-section (*1*) of section 36,"

was then put and agreed to.

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that item (*ii*) of the first proviso to sub-clause (*1*) of clause 22 be omitted was then put and agreed to.

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that in proviso (*iii*) to sub-clause (*1*) of clause 22, lines 3 and 4, for the words and figures "following arrest under section 36 within three months of the date of such arrest", substitute the following, namely:—

> "under sub-section (*3*) of section 36, within three months of the date of the arrest under sub-section (*1*) of section 36,"

was then put and agreed to.

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that in proviso (*v*) to sub-clause (*1*) of clause 22, line 6, for the word "exceeding" the words "extending beyond" be substituted was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 22, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 23.

The question that clause 23 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 24.

Mr. SPEAKER: The amendment of Sj. Sibnath Banerjee is out of order.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I will speak against it.

আমি ভাষা খোঁজবার চেষ্টা করছি। কারণ আজকে Leader of the House একটু irritated। ব্যাপারটা হচ্ছে এদেশে এটা কখনো ছিল না, বৃটিশ রাজত্বেও এটা কখনো ছিল না, এটা ফ্যাসিষ্ট হিটলার করেছে, মুসোলিনী করেছে। যেখানে একনায়কত্ব চলে সেখানে হয়। (A VOICE: রাশিয়ায়?) রাশিয়ায় ত মেরেই ফেলে। (হাস্য) রাশিয়া থেকে ত কিছু শেখেন নাই, যেটা বলি সেটা follow করার চেষ্টা করুন। কাজেই এই clauseটা অত্যন্ত মারাত্মক হবে। বলা হচ্ছে—"—harbours or conceals such person shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years and shall also be liable to a fine and so on and so forth". Explanationও দেওয়া হচ্ছে যে "the word 'harbour' includes the supplying a person with shelter, food, drink, money, clothes, arms and amunition" বুঝতে পারি। কিন্তু একজন ক্ষুধার্ত লোক বাড়ীতে এসেছে, তাকে দুটো খেতে দিলাম। আর তার পর প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের চরেরা তা দেখতে পেয়ে অমনি তাকে ধরে ফেললেন ওকে harbour করেছে ব'লে। (The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: কোথায়, কোথায়?) আপনি তা ভাল করেই জানেন। এখনো যে তা দেখতে পান না, তা নয়, এখন মোটরে না যেয়ে পায়ে হেটে যদি যান আগে যেমন যেতেন, তাহ'লে দেখতে পাবেন। আজকাল যে মোটরের ধুলা উড়িয়ে যান, তাই দেখতে পান না। ক'লকাতায় এখনো অনেক লোক না খেয়ে থাকে, ফেন চায় ব'লে বাড়ী বাড়ী ঘুরে বেড়ায়। একটু চোখ খুলে গেলেই দেখবেন।

এই যে একটা ব্যাপার কেউ ভিক্ষা চাইলে কোন লোক তাকে একটা পয়সা দিলে, আর অমনি সেই লোককে ওদের মতে guilty করা হ'ল harbouring করলো বলে। এতেই দু'বছর সাজা ও এক হাজার টাকা জরিমানা। এই যে একটা মারাত্মক clause, এটা থাকা উচিত নয়। অন্য সব সভ্য দেশে যেমন আছে, এটা হওয়া উচিত যে guilty তাকে ধরে punishment দেওয়া হোক। অন্য লোক তাকে সাহায্য করলে, টাকা দিলে, সে বেচারী শীতে কাঁপছে তাকে একখানা কাপড় দিলে, এটা মারাত্মক অপরাধ ব'লে গণ্য হ'বে, এটা আমাদের স্বাধীন দেশের আইন করা হচ্ছে। এটা থাকা উচিত নয়। এটা অত্যন্ত মারাত্মক হবে।

The question that clause 24 do stand part of the Bill was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

Ayes—29.

Bandyopadhaya, Sj. Pramatha Nath
Banerjee, Sj. Susil Kumar
Barman, the Hon'ble Syama Prasad
Chaudhuri, the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sj. Radha Nath

Dass, Sj. Kanailal
De, Sj. Kanai Lal
Dolui, Sj. Harendra Nath
Ganguli, Sj. Bepin Behari
Gayen, Sj. Arabinda
Gupta, Sj. J. C.
Haldar, Sj. Kuber Chand
Majhi, Sj. Nishapati
Majumdar, the Hon'ble Bhupati
Mallick, Sj. Ashutosh
Mandal, Sj. Annadaprasad
Mandal, Sj. Umesh Chandra
Mookerjee, the Hon'ble Kalipada
Murarka, Sj. Basantlal
Naskar, Sj. Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, the Hon'ble Hem Chandra
Panja, the Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath
Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta
Roy, the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sj. Jajneswar.
Roy Singh Sarker, Sj. Satish Chandra
Sen, Sj. Debendra Nath
Sen, the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra
Sinha, the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra

Noes—1.

Banerjee, Sj. Sibnath

The Ayes being 29 and the Noes 1, the motion was carried.

Clause 25

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I move that in clause 25, sub-clause (*1*), line 2, for the word "subversive" the word "communal" be substituted.

এখানে subversiveএর যে definition সরকার বহু ব্যাপক দিয়েছেন, তাতে অনেক জিনিষ subversive বলা যেতে পারে। যদি এটা specify করা হয় তাহলে ভাল হয়।

The motion of Sj. Sibnath Banerjee that in clause 25, sub-clause (*1*), line 2, for the word "subversive" the word "communal" be substituted was then put and lost.

The question that clause 25 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 26

The question that clause 26 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 27

The question that clause 27 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 28.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I know that my amendment No. 17 is not in order, but I can speak on it. But I won't exercise that right. (Laughter.)

The question that clause 28 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 29.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: আমি harbour করা সম্বন্ধে পূর্ব্বে যা বলেছি, সেটা এখানে বেশী করে খাটে। এটা হ'ল একটা Act যেটা পূর্ব্বে ছিল না--আজ স্বাধীনতা পাবার পরে নুতনভাবে হয়েছে। বিদেশী এসে শাসন করবার সময় যেটা দরকার মনে করেননি, কিন্তু আজ আমাদের শাসকরা মনে করছে যে এখন দরকার। অনেকের ছেলে, মেয়ে, ভাই, ভগিনি subversive activitiesএ লিপ্ত আছে, তাদের বলা হচ্ছে তোমরা spyএর কাজ কর। C.I.D. police রয়েছে, তাদের দিয়ে যে সমস্ত কাজ করান হয়, সেই সকল কাজ আজকে এদের করতে বলা হচ্ছে। তোমরা spyএর কাজ কর বলে তাদের অবমাননা করা হচ্ছে। তোমরা spyএর কাজ কর on behalf of the police এই রকম কোন ধারা এই Billএ থাকা উচিত নয়।

The question that clause 29 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 30.

The question that clause 30 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 31.

The question that clause 31 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 32.

The question that clause 32 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 33.

The question that clause 33 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 34.

The question that clause 34 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 35.

The question that clause 35 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 36.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I move that in sub-clause *(1)* of clause 36, line 5, the word "reasonably" be omitted.

I also move that in sub-clause *(3)* of clause 36, line 7, after the words "final order" the words and figures, "including any order under section 21," be inserted.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: "Arrest without warrant" এইটার provision এখানে রয়েছে সেইটা আমি protest করছি। এবং custodyতে যে ৩০ দিন আটক রাখা হবে, এটাতেও আমি আপত্তি জানাচ্ছি। Without warrantএ ধরা উচিত নয়। "Arrest without warrant" এটা অত্যন্ত dangerous provision. আজকে ডা: রায় হয়ত মনে করছেন যে আমাকে arrest করবেন। কিন্তু কাল এরকম হতে পারে যে আমিই তাঁকে arrest করতে পারি। (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: তার আগেই ডা: রায় পালিয়ে যাবেন।) ডা: রায়, তাঁর বন্ধু হরেন্দ্র নাথ চৌধুরী ও বহু কংগ্রেস নেতাগণ পূর্বে এই রকম আইনের বিরুদ্ধে বহু বক্তৃতা করেছেন, কিন্তু আজ এটা কেন special provision করছেন তা আমি বুঝতে পারছি না। (A VOICE: তখন যে আমরা পরাধীন ছিলাম)

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that in sub-clause *(1)* of clause 36, line 5, the word "reasonably" be omitted was then put and agreed to.

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that in sub-clause *(3)* of clause 36, line 7, after the words "final order" the words and figures ", including any order under section 21," be inserted was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 36, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 37.

The question that clause 37 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 38.

The question that clause 38 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 39.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE : এটার সম্বন্ধে আমি কিছু বলবার আগে, আমি প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের নিকট শুনতে চাই এই ব্যাপারটা কি? এই যে court-এর power কতখানি খর্ব্ব করা হয়েছে সেটা বুঝিয়ে বলে দিলে আর আমাকে কোন বক্তৃতা করতে বা এটা oppose করতে হবে না।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: You better tell me your difficulty.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: The difficulty is, no order made in exercise of any power conferred by or under this Act shall be called in question in any Court. তার মানে কোন Court-এর কোন Jurisdiction থাকছে না।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Except under section 491 of the Code of Criminal Procedure.

The question that clause 39 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 40.

The question that clause 40 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 41.

The question that clause 41 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 42.

The question that clause 42 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 43.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 43, lines 5 and 6, for the words "and in force immediately before the commencement of this Act shall on such commencement continue in force and" the word "shall" be substituted.

The motion was put and agreed to.

The question that clause 43, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 44.

The question that clause 44 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE : I expect that the mover will say something. আপনার কাছ থেকে একটু inspiration চাচ্ছি। আজকে আপনার দলকে একটু বেশী ভোট আছে বলেই এই Act-টা পাশ করে নিলেন, কিন্তু পরে ভাববেন। এই রকমভাবে আইন পাশ করার কি ফল। এই রকম আইন British-made Ordinance-এ ছিল। স্বাধীনতা ১৫ই আগষ্ট পাওয়া গিয়েছিল, কিন্তু তার পরেও এই আইন পাশ হয়েছিল। এখন Republic হবার পরেও আরও কড়া আইন পাশ হচ্ছে। একটু ভেবে দেখবেন ভবিষ্যৎ ইতিহাসের দিকে। এইত দেখছেন চারিদিকে লোক মরছে, হয়ত একদিন আমি থাকব না, ডাঃ রায়ও থাকবেন না। এও মনে রাখবেন জগত নশ্বর, সকলই নশ্বর (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: বিলটাও নশ্বর, মাত্র তিন বছর।) (Laughter.) এখন একটা জিনিষ করুন যা চিরস্থায়ী হয়। Anderson সাহেবের modelগুলো না নিলেই ভাল হ'ত। যে মতেতে স্বাধীনতা সত্য সত্যই প্রসার করে সেই রকম ভেবে দিলে কৃতজ্ঞ হব। সেই জন্য আক্ষেপ জানাচ্ছি ও অনুরোধ করছি এইটা বদলে একটা ভাল বিল দিয়ে যাবুন।

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Security Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I oppose it.

The motion of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy that the West Bengal Security Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed, was then put and a division called, with the following result:—

Ayes—28.

Bandyopadhaya, Sj. Pramatha Nath
Banerjee, Sj. Susil Kumar
Barman, the Hon'ble Syama Prasad
Chaudhuri, the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sj. Radha Nath
Dass, Sj. Kanailal
De, Sj. Kanai Lal
Doiui Sj. Harendra Nath
Gayen, Sj. Arabinda
Gupta, Sj. J. C.
Haldar, Sj. Kuber Chand
Majhi, Sj. Nishapati
Majumdar, the Hon'ble Bhupati
Mallick, Sj. Ashutosh
Mandal, Sj. Annadaprasad
Mandal, Sj. Umesh Chandra
Mookerjee, the Hon'ble Kalipada
Murarka, Sj. Basantlal
Naskar, Sj. Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, the Hon'ble Hem Chandra
Panja, the Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath
Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta
Roy, the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sj. Jajneswar.
Roy Singh Sarker, Sj. Satish Chandra
Sen, Sj. Debendra Nath
Sen, the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra
Sinha, the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra

Noes—1.

Banerjee, Sj. Sibnath

The Ayes being 28 and the Noes 1, the motion was carried.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 12-18 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Tuesday, the 28th February, 1950, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 28th February, 1950, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 51 members.

Quorum.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: I do not see there is quorum in the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is what I was thinking also. Let me see. I find there is quorum.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Conveyance of properties of Indian Muslims in Calcutta

***41A.** (SHORT NOTICE) **Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Registration Department be pleased to state if it is a fact—

(*i*) that instructions were issued to the Registrar of Calcutta on or before the 26th January, 1950, not to register conveyances or sale deeds and leases of Calcutta properties belonging to Indian Muslims living in Calcutta, and

(*ii*) that the Registrar of Calcutta refuses to register conveyances or sale deeds of properties belonging to Indian Muslims?

(*b*) If the answers to (*a*) be in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state under what law or Ordinance this order was issued?

MINISTER in charge of the REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri): (*a*)(*i*) No. No direction has ever been issued to the Registrar of Calcutta or any other registering officer not to register deeds of transfer of properties of Indian Muslims. The registration of deeds executed by evacuees or intending evacuees from India has, however, been subjected to some enquiries as a safeguard against evasion of taxes in accordance with the provisions of the Payment of Taxes (Transfer of Property) Act, 1949.

(*ii*) No.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that documents tendered for registration in the month of October, 1949, have not been registered as yet?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I am not aware of it.

Mr. SPEAKER: How can you expect the Hon'ble Minister to know what documents were tendered for registration in the month of October, 1949?

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: But he is in charge of the department. Let me put the question in this way: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that documents tendered for registration accompanied by a certificate from the Income-tax Officer that the parties had paid their income-tax have not been registered even after a period of four months?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I am not aware of it.

The Burdwan Raj College

***42. Janab ABUL HASHEM:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) what capital grant, if any, the Government of Bengal made to the Burdwan Raj College for the construction of its present building;

(*b*) what capital grant and casual grant, if any, the Government of Bengal has made to the Burdwan Raj College since its removal to its present building;

(*c*) whether the Government exercises any supervision or control over the funds and accounts of the Burdwan Raj College;

(*d*) whether the college funds are deposited in any scheduled bank or with the Burdwan Raj Estate;

(*e*) whether any income and expenditure accounts of the college are submitted to the Government;

(*f*) if so—

(*i*) what had been the income and expenditure of the college for the last three years, and

(*ii*) what annual contribution, if any, the college receives from the Burdwan Raj Estate;

(*g*) whether the college accounts are audited annually by Government recognised auditors;

(*h*) whether the Government exercises any control over the governing body of the Burdwan Raj College or the composition thereof;

(*i*) the present composition of the governing body of the Burdwan Raj College and the rules regulating such composition;

(*j*) whether it is a fact that decisions of the managing committee are not operative if they do not get approval of the President;

(*k*) whether it is a fact that the manager of the Burdwan Raj Estate functions as the Chief Executive Officer of the Burdwan Raj College;

(*l*) if so, under what rules of the Education Department is he allowed to do so;

(*m*) whether he is aware that there have been several strikes in the Burdwan Raj College in the year 1948 and in the current year and

(*n*) whether the Government would consider the desirability of making an enquiry into the administration of the institution and auditing of the college funds?

MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri): (*a*) Rs. 2,69,438.

(*b*)(*i*) Rs.20,000 from the Relief Department for the expansion of the college building in 1948-49.

(*ii*) Rs.33,000 from the Education Department for the improvement of science teaching in 1947-48.

(*iii*) Rs.6,000 from the Education Department as lump grant in 1948-49. Besides the above the college received the following grants from Government and paid through the Calcutta University :—

	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49
	Rs	Rs.	Rs.
Laboratories ..	750	1,500	500
Library	750	750	Nil
Gymnasium .	250	250	250
Total	1,750	2,500	750

(*c*) As the college does not receive any recurring grant the present control is limited to the extent of the fulfilment of the conditions attached to non-recurring grants given by this department from time to time

(*d*) It is reported that the funds of the college are kept in three places, viz.—

(*i*) Burdwan Raj Treasury;

(*ii*) Central Bank of India;

(*iii*) Postal Savings Bank.

(*e*) As this college does not receive any recurring grant from Government no account of income and expenditure is submitted to the department annually.

(*f*)(*i*) On enquiry it is learnt that average monthly income and expenditure of the Raj College are as follows :—

Year.	Income	Expenditure.
	Rs	Rs.
1945-46	5,193	5,117
1946-47 .	5,663	5,542
1947-48	11,988	7,854

(*ii*) Average monthly contribution from the Raj Estate as reported by the Principal—

Year.	Contribution.
	Rs.
1945-46	584
1946-47 . ..	392
1947-48	1,083

(*g*) It is reported that the college accounts have not been audited since 1942. The college authorities have been asked to get the college accounts audited and submit a report.

(*h*) The composition of the governing body was sanctioned by Government in 1940.

(*i*) The personnel of the governing body as stood on 13th December, 1948, was as follows :—

(1) Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, *President*.

(2) District Magistrate, Burdwan, *Vice-President*.

(3) Captain Abhoy Chand Mahatab Saheb.
(4) Sri Rajendra Kumar Sen, Manager, Burdwan Raj Estate.
(5) Sri Santosh Kumar Basu.
(6) Sri Girindra Kumar Chatterjee.
(7) Janab Ghulam Murtaza.
(8) Sri Benoyendra Nath Sen, Teachers' Representative.
(9) Sri Bhujanga Bhusan Mitra, Teachers' Representative.
(10) Sri Chandi Charan Mitra, Principal.

(*j*) All proposals which are likely to increase the recurring deficit of the college require the approval of the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan.

(*k*) Government have no definite information on the point.

(*l*) Does not arise.

(*m*) Government are aware of a strike in September, 1948, but have no information about other strikes.

(*n*) An inspection of the college has already been made by the Director of Public Instruction, and audited accounts of the college have been called for.

Procurement of food from certain thanas of Bankura district

***44. Sj. KANAI LAL DE:** (ক) মাননীয় খাদ্যমন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুগ্রহপূর্ব্বক জানাইবেন কি যে, বাঁকুড়া জেলার রাণীবাঁধ, খাতড়া ও ছাতনা থানায় দুর্ভিক্ষের সূচনা হইয়াছে কি না?

(খ) যদি ঐসকল অঞ্চলে দুর্ভিক্ষের সূচনা হইয়া থাকে, তাহা হইলে মন্ত্রী মহাশয় অনুগ্রহপূর্ব্বক জানাইবেন কি, ঐ অঞ্চল হইতে এ বৎসর সরকারী শস্য সংগ্রহ বন্ধ রাখার প্রয়োজনীয়তা সরকার বিবেচনা করেন কি না; এবং ঐসকল অঞ্চলের প্রয়োজন মিটাইবার মত আবশ্যকীয় ধান্য ঐ অঞ্চলে মজুত রাখার প্রয়োজনীয়তা বিবেচনা করিতেছেন কি না?

MINISTER in charge of the CIVIL SUPPLIES DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen): (ক) না। তবে বাঁকুড়া জেলার ঐ তিনটী থানায় ধান বিশেষ করে আউশ ধানের ফলন এবার স্বাভাবিক হয়নি। ঐঅঞ্চলে চালের দাম মণ প্রতি ১২॥০ টাকা হইতে ১৫৲ টাকা।

[(*a*) No. But a partial failure of particularly *Aus* crop has been reported from these police-stations. Rice is, however, available in these areas at Rs.12/8 as. to Rs.15 per md.]

(খ) গভর্ণমেন্টের মতে ঐ অঞ্চলে শস্য সংগ্রহের কাজ বন্ধ রাখার প্রয়োজনীয়তা নাই এবং বন্ধ রাখা যুক্তিসঙ্গতও নয়। ঐ অঞ্চলের যে কোন অবস্থার জন্য আবশ্যকীয় শস্য বাঁকুড়া জেলায় মজুত আছে।

[(*b*) Government think it neither necessary nor expedient to suspend procurement operations in those areas. Government have sufficient stocks at their disposal in the district to meet any emergency there.]

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রিমহাশয় জানেন কি যে রাণীবাঁধ অঞ্চলে শুধু আউস ধানই নয় আমন ধানও হয় নাই।

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: আমন ধান কিছুটা কম হয়েছে। একেবারে হয়নি বলা চলে না।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রিমহাশয় জানেন কি আউস ধানের ফসল স্বাভাবিকভাবে হয় নাই?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: স্বাভাবিক হয় নাই সে কথা সত্য। কোথাও ১০ আনা, কোথাও ৮ আনা হয়েছে।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রিমহাশয় জানেন কি যে আমন ধান সেখানে খুব কম ফসল হয়েছে?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: আমন ধানেরও ফসল কম হয়েছে; কোথাও ৬ আনা, কোথাও ৮ আনা।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রিমহাশয় জানেন কি ঐ অঞ্চলে ভাদ্র মাসের শেষ পর্য্যন্ত একেবারেই বৃষ্টি হয় নাই?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: বৃষ্টি একেবারেই হয় নাই একথা ঠিক নয়; তবে পর্য্যাপ্ত হয় নাই।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: যে বৃষ্টি হয়েছিল তাতে ধানের আবাদ ভাল হয় নাই।

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: ধানের আবাদ ভাল হয় নাই সে কথা ত আগেই বলেছি।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রিমহাশয় বলবেন কি ঐ অঞ্চলে কত acre-এ আবাদ হয়েছে?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Notice চাই। অত হিসেব আমার মনে নাই।

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHYAY: যদি বলি ৪।৬ আনা হয়েছে তবে কি ভুল বলা হবে?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: আমি ত আগেই বলেছি ৬ হতে ৮ আনা হয়েছে।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয়কে যদি বলি ধান সিকি অংশ হয়েছে তাহলে কি ভুল হবে?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: সিকি অংশ হয়েছে বলা ভুল হবে। কিন্তু সিকি অংশ কম হয়েছে বলা যায়।

GOVERNMENT BILLS.

The West Bengal Jute (Control of Prices) Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: May I have your permission to move and pilot this Bill on behalf of the Hon'ble Nalini Ranjan Sarker?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to introduce the West Bengal Jute (Control of Prices) Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to move that the West Bengal Jute (Control of Prices) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

Sj. ARDHENDU SEKHAR NASKAR: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 3(*1*), line 1, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 3, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

The question that clause 4 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

Sj. ARDHENDU SEKHAR NASKAR: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 5, line 1, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 5, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 6.

Sj. ARDHENDU SEKHAR NASKAR: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 6, lines 1 and 2, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 6, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 7.

The question that clause 7 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 8.

The question that clause 8 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 9.

The question that clause 9 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 10.

The question that clause 10 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to move that the West Bengal Jute (Control of Prices) Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The West Bengal Jute Goods (Control) Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal Jute Goods (Control) Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to move that the West Bengal Jute Goods (Control) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2

Sj. ARDHENDU SEKHAR NASKAR: Sir, I beg to move that in sub-clause (b) of clause 2, line 2, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 2, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3

Sj. ARDHENDU SEKHAR NASKAR: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 3, lines 1 and 3, for the words "Provincial Government" and "Province" the words "State Government" and "State" be substituted respectively.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 3, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4

Sj. ARDHENDU SEKHAR NASKAR: Sir, I beg to move that in sub-clause (1) of clause 4, line 1, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

Sir, I beg to move that in sub-clause (1)(a) of clause 4, line 4, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motions were then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 4, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 6.

The question that clause 6 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 7.

The question that clause 7 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 8.

Sj. ARDHENDU SEKHAR NASKAR: Sir, I beg to move that in sub-clause (*2*) of clause 8, line 2, for the words "Provincial Government" the words "State Government" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 8, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 9.

The question that clause 9 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Jute Goods (Control) Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The West Bengal Fire Services Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal Fire Services Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Fire Services Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

The question that clause 4 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 6.

The question that clause 6 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 7.

The question that clause 7 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 8.

The question that clause 8 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 9.

The question that clause 9 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 10.

The question that clause 10 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 11.

The question that clause 11 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 12.

The question that clause 12 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 13.

The question that clause 13 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 14.

The question that clause 14 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 15.

The question that clause 15 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 16.

The question that clause 16 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 17.

The question that clause 17 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 18.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in sub-clause (*3*) of clause 18, line 2, the words "to be" be omitted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 18, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 19.

The question that clause 19 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 20.

The question that clause 20 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 21.

The question that clause 21 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 22.

The question that clause 22 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 23.

The question that clause 23 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 24.

The question that clause 24 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 25.

The question that clause 25 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 26.

The question that clause 26 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 27.

The question that clause 27 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 28.

The question that clause 28 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to

Clause 29.

The question that clause 29 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 30.

The question that clause 30 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 31.

The question that clause 31 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 32.

The question that clause 32 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 33.

The question that clause 33 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 34.

The question that clause 34 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 35.

The question that clause 35 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 36.

The question that clause 36 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 37.

The question that clause 37 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 38.

The question that clause 38 do stand part of the Bill was then put agreed to.

Clause 39.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that for clause 39 the following be substituted, namely:—

Repeal of Bengal Act I of 1893. "39. The Licensed Warehouse and Fire-Brigade Act, 1893, shall be deemed to be repealed on and from the date on which this Act comes into force in Calcutta; and on and from such date— **Ben. Act I of 1893.**

(*a*) without prejudice to the application of section 8 of the Bengal General Clauses Act, 1899, all rules, orders, declarations, financial arrangements and appointments made under the Licensed Warehouse and Fire Brigade Act, 1893, shall continue in force in so far as they are not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, until varied or rescinded; **Ben. Act I of 1899.**

(*b*) all assets held by the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, for the use of and on behalf of the Fire-Brigade, under the Licensed Warehouse and Fire-Brigade Act, 1893, shall pass to and be vested in the State."

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 40.

The question that clause 40 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Schedule.

The question that the Schedule do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Fire Services Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The West Bengal State Laws (Extension to Cooch Behar) Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal State Laws (Extension to Cooch Behar) Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal State Laws (Extension to Cooch Behar) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

In requesting the House to take the Bill into consideration I would just make a short remark. Since the 1st January, 1950, Cooch Behar has been merged into and constituted a district of West Bengal. The laws which were in force in Cooch Behar before the merger continued to be in force there until the West Bengal Laws could be brought into force by legislation. The extension of West Bengal Laws is, however, to be effected in such a manner as to cause the minimum of dislocation. Government have, therefore, decided to extend the West Bengal Acts gradually according to necessity.

The present Bill seeks to extend six of the Bengal and West Bengal Acts to Cooch Behar.

The motion of the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that the West Bengal State Laws (Extension to Cooch Behar) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

The question that clause 4 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 6.

The question that clause 6 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Schedule.

The question that the Schedule do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal State Laws (Extension to Cooch Behar) Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The West Bengal Premises Requisition and Control (Temporary Provisions) Amendment Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal Premises Requisition and Control (Temporary Provisions) Amendment Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Premises Requisition and Control (Temporary Provisions) Amendment Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

Sir, immediately after the partition of Bengal the West Bengal Government were faced with the problem of providing accommodation in public interest to a large number of Government servants, public institutions and other stranded persons in the Province of West Bengal. Again, the attainment of political sovereignty by India necessitated the expansion of many departments and it was quite impossible even for Government to secure additional accommodation without paying inflationary rents. The Act in question was therefore enacted in 1947 to meet the urgent and growing demand for accommodation. More than two years have elapsed since then, but there has been no easing of the situation nor is there any likelihood of its improvement in the near future, rather the situation is deteriorating. In pursuance of the power conferred by this Act it has been possible for Government to accommodate many Government Departments and offices, public institutions, innumerable stranded public servants, high and low, both of the Central and Provincial Governments, many refugees, officers of foreign Embassies and staff, etc. Discontinuance of the Act will dislodge these persons, public servants and bodies, which is not a practicable proposition. The West Bengal Premises Rent Control (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1948, comes into play when the relationship of landlord and tenant has been established. This Act can hardly give any relief to persons in immediate or continuing need of accommodation.

On the 6th and 7th December, 1949, the District Officers met in a conference and it was unanimously resolved at that conference that the life of the Act in question should be extended for a further period of three years. In view of the facts stated above the terms of the Act are therefore going to be extended for a further period of three years by the proposed Bill.

The motion of the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that the West Bengal Premises Requisition and Control (Temporary Provisions) Amendment Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I beg to move that the West Bengal Premises Requisition and Control (Temporary Provisions) Amendment Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Before the motion is put to vote, Sir, may I ask of the Hon'ble Minister as to whether the provisions in the Rent Control Act for the increase of rent will also apply to Government when requisitioning a house? I want to have some enlightenment on this question from the Government whether the Rent Control Bill will apply to Government also?

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: May I, Sir, reply to the honourable member opposite asking the question? Legally the status of a person occupying a requisitioned house is not the same as of a tenant within the meaning of the Rent Control Law. But, it has been the general practice of Government, since the days of the Defence of India Act, that, where any increase in rent is allowable under the Rent Control Act for the other set of tenants, usually the Government shall follow the same procedure in the case of requisitioned premises also and that practice is obtaining even now.

The motion of the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that the West Bengal Premises Requisition and Control (Temporary Provisions) Amendment Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed was then put and agreed to.

The West Bengal Jute Goods Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal Jute Goods Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to move that the West Bengal Jute Goods Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

Sir, if you look at the Statement of Objects and Reasons, you will find that the Government of West Bengal are anxious that prices of jute goods should be stabilised at levels which, besides being profitable to manufacturers, would also retain the attractiveness of jute goods as a cheap packaging material in the world market. But unbridled speculation in jute goods produces an effect adverse to the policy of the Government. It is therefore thought prudent to eliminate gambling practices in the jute goods trade by banning certain markets in which jute goods are bought and sold. Government propose to take this power for the purpose.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

The question that clause 4 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I beg to move that the West Bengal Jute Goods Bill, 1950, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The West Bengal Premises Rent Control (Temporary Provisions) Bill, 1950.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal Premises Rent Control (Temporary Provisions) Bill, 1950.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Premises Rent Control (Temporary Provisions) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration.

Sir, in moving for consideration of the Bill I think I owe to the House a more detailed Statement of the Objects and Reasons for this measure than what has been appended to the Bill. The honourable members are aware of the circumstances brought about by the war which necessitated promulgation of the Bengal House Rent Order, 1942, followed by the Calcutta House Rent Order, 1943, under the Defence of India Rules with a view to check profiteering in rent and arbitrary eviction of the tenants. The operation of the provisions of these orders was continued by the promulgation of the Calcutta Rent Ordinance, 1946, the life of which was extended by the Bengal Ordinance Temporary Enactment Act, 1947, and again by the West Bengal Expiry Laws Act, 1948. Meanwhile communal disturbances and the partition of the province rendered the situation in regard to housing accommodation still more difficult. Accordingly it was considered necessary to enact the West Bengal Premises Rent Control Act, 1948, which was a more comprehensive measure than the Ordinance of 1946. But as there was no improvement in the housing situation dissatisfaction of the public began being ventilated in the Press and by representation to Government that the Act had failed in its object of giving adequate protection to tenants and bringing about better relations between the landlords and the tenants. An insistent demand was made for amendment of the provisions of the Act relating to fixation of standard rent, eviction of tenants, right of sub-tenants, jurisdiction and procedure of courts in respect of ejectment suits, unauthorised realisation of *selami*, tenantable repairs and maintenance of essential services by the landlords, and deposit of rent. Some judicial findings also pointed out certain defects and

anomalies in the Act which nullified the clear intention of the Legislature. In the circumstances Government set up a Committee in June, 1949, with Sj. Atul Chandra Gupta, Advocate, as Chairman and several other members for the purpose of examining the working of the Act with reference to similar enactments in other provinces of India as well as in the light of the various suggestions received from different quarters for amendment of the Act. The Committee after making an exhaustive enquiry and taking into consideration the different shades of opinion on the working of the Act submitted a report which has been before the public for some time. Besides making suggestions for amendment of the Act with a view to removing the defects and administrative difficulties in the working of the Act, the Committee recommended a number of substantial changes in the law. Government have given the most anxious consideration to the recommendations of the Committee, and it is the opinion of the Government that the amendments proposed by the Committee are just and fair and will provide for establishing better relationship between the landlords and tenants and for regulating their respective rights and obligations. Therefore, the Government have accepted the recommendations of the Committee almost in their entirety and this Bill has been framed on the basis of the recommendations of the Committee.

I think, Sir, I should now explain briefly some of the important changes in the existing law which have been introduced in the Bill.

Under the proviso to clause 1(3) powers have been obtained for Government to extend the Act to any area irrespective of the existing limitation under the present Act, namely, that it can be extended only to such areas as satisfy the requirement of section 6(1) of the Bengal Municipal Act, 1932, and three-fourths of the adult male population of the area are employed in non-agricultural pursuits.

In the matter of fixation of standard rent the distinction between premises in Calcutta and other areas as exist under the present Act has been done away with and clause 9 of the Bill read with Schedule A which forms the most important part of the enactment has been remodelled with that view. The amendments lay down definite methods of fixing standard rent in different cases instead of leaving matters to the discretion of the Controller about which there is considerable dissatisfaction and about which there have been also variations in different judgments of different courts. The existing clause (g) of section 9 of the Act which gives wide discretion to the Controller to fix standard rent if the rent at which the premises are for the time being let is not in the opinion of the Controller just and fair has been very much criticised. It has accordingly been omitted from the Bill. In respect of premises wholly or substantially constructed after the 31st December, 1949, provision has been made for fixing the standard rent so as to secure an outturn of not less than 4 per cent. and not more than 6 per cent. of the reasonable cost of construction including the reasonable price of the land. This provision has been made in the proposed Bill with a view to give encouragement to new house-building which is so urgently required in an over-congested city like Calcutta. The permissible increase of rent in respect of residential premises has been fixed at 5 per cent. in the case of basic rent of not more than Rs. 100 per month and 10 per cent. in the case of basic rent of more than Rs. 100 per month as against the increase permissible in the existing Act varying between 6¼ per cent. and 20 per cent. in Calcutta and between 10 per cent. and 25 per cent. in other areas. In the case of non-residential premises it has been fixed at 10 per cent. in the case of basic rent of not more than Rs. 100 per month and 15 per cent. in the case of basic rent of more than Rs. 100 per month as against the existing permissible increase varying between 12½ per cent. and 40 per cent. in Calcutta and between 20 per cent. and 50 per cent. in other areas which is considered to be unreasonably high in the present circumtsances.

Greater protection has also been given to tenants against eviction under clauses 12, 13 and 14 of the Bill. The existing law which provides for *ipso facto* termination of a tenancy for default in payment of 3 months' arrears of rent is considered too harsh. It has accordingly been provided that a suit for ejectment of a tenant would be entertainable for default in payment of 2 months' rent only but that the tenant would get relief against forfeiture if all rents due up to date be paid with interest at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *plus* cost of the suit. Retrospective relief has been given in all pending suits and in cases where possession has not yet been taken. In regard to eviction on the ground that the premises are required by the landlord for building or rebuilding or for his own occupation, powers have been obtained for the Court to judge the reasonableness of the demand and the actual requirement of the landlord and not merely the *bona fide* character of the demand.

The provisions regarding sub-tenants as to which there has been very considerable public criticism have been modified. In the opinion of Government the proper policy would be to see that while not encouraging speculation in sub-letting it should not be so forbidden as to limit accommodation unduly. Provision has accordingly been made in the Bill making the existing law more lenient by providing that a tenant who has sub-let a major porton of the premises may not be evicted from the whole, but may continue as a tenant of the portion in his actual possession and the right of the lessee under the general law to sub-let in the absence of any contract specifically withholding such right has not been interfered with.

Another important matter regarding which a modification has been made in clause 16 read with Schedule B is the jurisdiction of courts in respect of eviction suits. To obviate the high cost of litigation in the Original Side of the High Court it was provided in the existing Act that ejectment suits should be triable only by the Court of Small Causes But the High Court has held that its jurisdiction has not been taken away by the existing Act. Thus the object of the Legislature has not been frustrated. This lacuna in the existing Act has been removed by a specific provision in the Bill. In the case of larger premises, however, the rent of which exceeds Rs. 500 per month, the jurisdiction of the Original Side of the High Court has been retained.

The existing provisions for deposit of rent have been largely modified under clauses 19, 20 and 21. The procedure of first a tender and then a money order on refusal and then deposit of the rent with the Controller if the money order is not accepted and for the Controller again to forward the deposit money by postal money order to the address of the landlord is over-complicated. The amendments of the existing procedure as made in the Bill will allow the tenant to make the deposit at his own risk and make him liable eventually to a penalty if the deposit is made unreasonably. The landlord in his turn has also been made liable to a penalty if he falsely tries to get the tenant penalised

The existing provision of the Act which empowers the tenant to make repairs or to make measures for the maintenance of essential services to the premises under certain circumstances and to recover the cost thereof by deduction from the rent not exceeding 1/12th of the rent payable by the tenant per annum in any year has largely defeated the purpose of the provision. Accordingly under clause 38 it has been made clear that the repairs or measures for the maintenance of essential services shall not be deemed to include such measures or repairs without which the premises are not habitable or usable. The landlord has been made liable to make such repairs and to take such measures in any event as under the general law. On his failure to do so, the tenant will be entitled to have the repairs done without the limitation as to the amount recoverable as provided under the existing Act.

With these words, Sir, I commend the Bill for the consideration of the House.

Mr. C. E. CLARKE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Rent Control Bill is one which is likely to be a hardy annual. As I understand the Bill before the House, it is intended to restore the equillibrium between landlord and tenant which exists under the ordinary circumstances of supply and demand and which has been seriously upset by the present normal shortage in housing property; to protect the honest tenant against the unscrupulous landlord, who has been given unwarranted powers of exploitation by the present circumstances, and equally to avoid putting the just landlord at the mercy of unprincipled tenants. It has to be admitted that the Act now in force lamentably fails in these motives. It has been a harassment to the principled property owner and a source of bewilderment and even on occasion oppression to the vulnerable tenant. I believe that the Bill we are now considering is in many respects a marked improvement on its predecessor. But I feel bound to question to what extent it will meet completely and satisfactorily its requisite functions.

For instance, the new provisions reduce the standard rent legally permitted to the landlord to, at the most, about 20 per cent. for residential accommodation and 25 per cent. for non-residential accommodation about the 1941 level. For important classes of property the margin allowed is considerably less. To the dishonest landlord, whom I fear will find ways of making up his income illegally, this might be *de facto*, if not *d jure*, a not unfair return. The costs of materials, of maintenance and repair of services and of capital replacement have all approximately trebled since 1941. The landlord's costs under these heads now represent 50 per cent. of his pre-war rent and an increase of 35 per cent. of this rent above his pre-war costs. The legitimate relief which it is proposed to give him to cover this inflation of his outgoings varies between 5 and 25 per cent It is clear from these figures that on such a margin it will be difficult for him to keep his buildings wind and water proof, maintain a good standard of repair and provide for capital replacement. With the strictest parsimony he can expect to derive no appreciable return on the outlay of his money—a return which may represent to him a means of livelihood. Unless reasonable rents are allowed landlords will be discouraged from maintaining their property in a satisfactory condition of repair. They will be tempted to undertake only essential structural maintenance work and the condition of property will fall even lower than at present Moreover, new building, so essential to relieve the present situation, will be discouraged, because no investor, despite the urgent need, will be prepared to embark on a long-term business venture if there is danger that the Legislature, at some subsequent date, will deprive him of even a reasonably small return on his outlay. Finally, the inequity of these proposals fall heaviest on the law-abiding landlord. I am convinced, Sir, that legislation of this kind defeats its own purpose by putting a premium on dishonesty and irregularities.

Now, Sir, I shall consider for a moment the tenant's side of the question. Present circumstances weigh the normal balance of the market in favour of the landlord. But for legislation of the kind before us, the tenant is entirely at his mercy and an easy victim of exploitation at the hands of the unprincipled. His redress is to appeal to the protection of law which the present measure provides. For it to be effective that redress must be easily and simply obtained, otherwise the oppressive landlord will still retain the whip-hand. The position is complicated by the private individual's natural reluctance to have recourse to law. For the landlord the activities controlled by the Act are a matter of business concern; for the tenant of residential accommodation they are a fundamental necessity of life. The landlord accordingly commands the established advantages of financial resources and business experience which permit him to meet legal expenses

and drag out proceedings through successive courts, knowing that he is certain of recovering his outlay in the end because the tenant's resources will be exhausted first. The average tenant has little or no reserve of resources. Often he cannot afford to suffer the burden of the cost of legal proceedings (even at the hope of recovery later), or of legal advice. Moreover he fears that he has to have recourse to law—a subject in which a lay man is not well acquainted. He is apprehensive that the proceedings may prove so protracted and involve so many successive steps of litigation that he is unable to foresee the extent of his ultimate liability which may in the end be inflated beyond his means.

I put the question, therefore, whether everything has been done in framing this measure to bring legitimate redress for victimisation within easy reach of the humblest. A simple example is the question of costs. The Bill states that costs "may" be granted by the Controller. A tenant with limited private resources requires to know before he enters into litigation that he is reasonably certain of recovering his expenses. I suggest, Sir, that the discretion left to the Controller would, on the experience of certain instances which have occurred under the present Act, have been better made a mandatory instruction. What is required, Sir, is first a clear and unequivocal definition of the law. This, I consider, has been taken a stage further in the present Bill from the Act which it replaces, but is still not complete as, for instance, on the question of whether the present measure overrides a pre-existing lease. Secondly, it is necessary that the Tribunal before which disputes are, in the first instance, taken should be easily accessible, not hedged round by complicated rules of legal procedure, and possess a status and skill which will enable it to arbitrate authoritatively and with such wisdom that a higher court is seldom likely to find need to reverse its decisions. There will accordingly be little incentive to the litigious to take the matter further.

We have seen so many and so frequent changes of legislation on this difficult subject and not a few examples of particularly poor drafting, that I sincerely hope the present measure will see a useful and not prematurely shortened life. I regret, Sir, that I have my doubts, if the landlord's return is cut below a fair economical level and the weaker party is not given the simplest means of redress.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, may I briefly reply to the points raised by the honourable member opposite? I am glad that he has agreed with me that this measure marks an improvement over the existing Act, and I hope, Sir, that with co-operation from all sections of the public this Act will be worked in the spirit in which it has been framed. I quite realise that the present problem arises largely from the supply and demand position. But, Sir, so long as supply falls short of the demand there must be some regulation, so that the owners of a limited number of houses may not be able to rack-rent or profiteer at the cost of the poor tenants.

Sir, the honourable member opposite has also raised two or three questions. The first point that he has raised is that under the present system the resources of property-owners are very big and they can prolong litigation to such an extent that tenants are unable to defend themselves to the ultimate end. I quite realise these difficulties and, therefore, Sir, provision has been made in the Bill which tries to simplify the procedure of deposit of rent and so on and it also tries to shorten the proceedings as far as possible. But, Sir, the honourable member has suggested that the whole procedure should be some sort of an arbitration instead of a formal litigation. Sir, I think it would be unjust to have some sort of an arbitration in this matter without absolutely going into the formalities of a court of law because the property rights are involved and many intricate questions of

law are also involved. In that case it is desirable that in certain circumstances at least there should be judicial revision and authoritative pronouncement not only from the district court but also from the highest judiciary in the State, viz., the High Court. Therefore provision has been made that in certain circumstances cases may also be taken up to the High Court so that there may be no room for doubt as to the interpretation of the sections of the proposed Bill and the Controllers may not be in a fix as to how to interpret the different sections in different situations.

Sir, I hope that this Act will give relief to the suffering tenancy to a large extent and I also hope that the lacuna that led to what is to be called a lamentable failure of the existing Act has been so removed that the present Bill will not suffer from those difficulties and largely, if not wholly, fulfil the object for which the present Bill is seeking to replace the existing Act.

The motion of the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra Sinha that the West Bengal Premises Rent Control (Temporary Provisions) Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4

The question that clause 4 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 5, line 3, for the word "twenty" the word "fifteen" be substituted.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, I accept the amendment.

The motion of Sj. Bimal Comar Ghose that in clause 5, line 3, for the word "twenty" the word "fifteen" be substituted was then put and agreed to.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that to clause 5 the following proviso be added, namely:—

"Provided that the provisions of this section shall not in any way affect any right acquired or accrued under section 5 of the West Bengal Premises Rent Control (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1948, or require the landlord to refund any premium or *salami* or other like sum in addition to the rent received by him in accordance with the provisions of that section".

West Ben. Act XXXVIII of 1948.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Sir, the object of this amendment, so far as I have been able to understand, is that under the present section 5 of the existing Act certain permission was given in a certain class of cases where *salami* could be taken for rebuilding or building purposes and where leases exceeded a period of twenty years.

Now, Sir, that section is being remodelled under the present Act. In order that there may not be any confusion between the existing section 5 and the proposed section 5 and in order that any action taken under the existing section 5 may not be held illegal under the new section 5, this proposed amendment only tries to validate any action that may have been taken under the existing section 5. Under the circumstances I accept the amendment.

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that to clause 5 the following proviso be added, namely:—

"Provided that the provisions of this section shall not in any way affect any right acquired or accrued under section 5 of the West Bengal Premises Rent Control (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1948, or require the landlord to refund any premium or *salami* or other like sum in addition to the rent received by him in accordance with the provisions of that section".

West Ben. Act XXXVIII of 1948.

was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 5, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Mr. SPEAKER: I wish to make one observation in regard to such amendments to such important Bills as the Rent Bill. Some arrangement should be made so that these amendments may be received by us in time to enable us to circulate them among the members. The members are not in a position to consider as to whether the amendments are in order or not, and they should be given an opportunity to do so. I am bound to feel that a Bill which affects practically everybody and which is so much liable to the court's interpretation and decision, I think for such a Bill some arrangement should be made so that amendments may be received in time to enable them to be circulated among the members and at least for the office to examine them.

Clause 6.

The question that clause 6 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 7.

Mr. SPEAKER: Clause 7.

Sj. SHEO KUMAR ROY: Sir, I think most of the members who are present have not got a copy of the new amendments. I think in the circumstances it is not advisable to admit the amendments and proceed further.

I think, Sir, as this Bill will concern everybody and affect everybody, we must pay more attention to the amendments. As we have not yet been supplied with copies of these short-notice amendments, I suggest that the House do adjourn now, so that in the meantime we could get copies of such amendments and consider them.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: May I suggest that in view of the short-notice amendments which had to be moved for unavoidable reasons, the House may consider up to clause 8 which has practically no short-notice amendment and the rest of the clauses may be taken up to-morrow, and I hope that the honourable member who is so anxious for giving his consideration to the Bill will come forward and attend this House tomorrow and give us his suggestions and benefit us with his advice.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think this is a reasonable suggestion. Up to clau 8 there are no short-notice amendments, and I think we are not justified proceeding further than this clause today in view of the short-noti amendments cropping up later.

The question that clause 7 do stand part of the Bill was then put a agreed to.

Clause 8.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: beg to move that in clause 8, line 1, the words "after this section comes into force" be omitted.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: I accept it.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 8, as amended, do stand part of the Bill w then put and agreed to.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have asked the office to circulate all the amendmen received up to this time. I do hope that there will be no further amen ments save and except those few that my crop up later about which I not know now.

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: Sir, I have an amendment on clause 14.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please make it over to office so that it may be circula along with other amendments and member may have no grievance about

Adjournment

The House was then adjourned at 5-25 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Wednesda the 1st March, 1950, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

WBGP-30/1-41A-350